SCRIBNER'S POPULAR HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES

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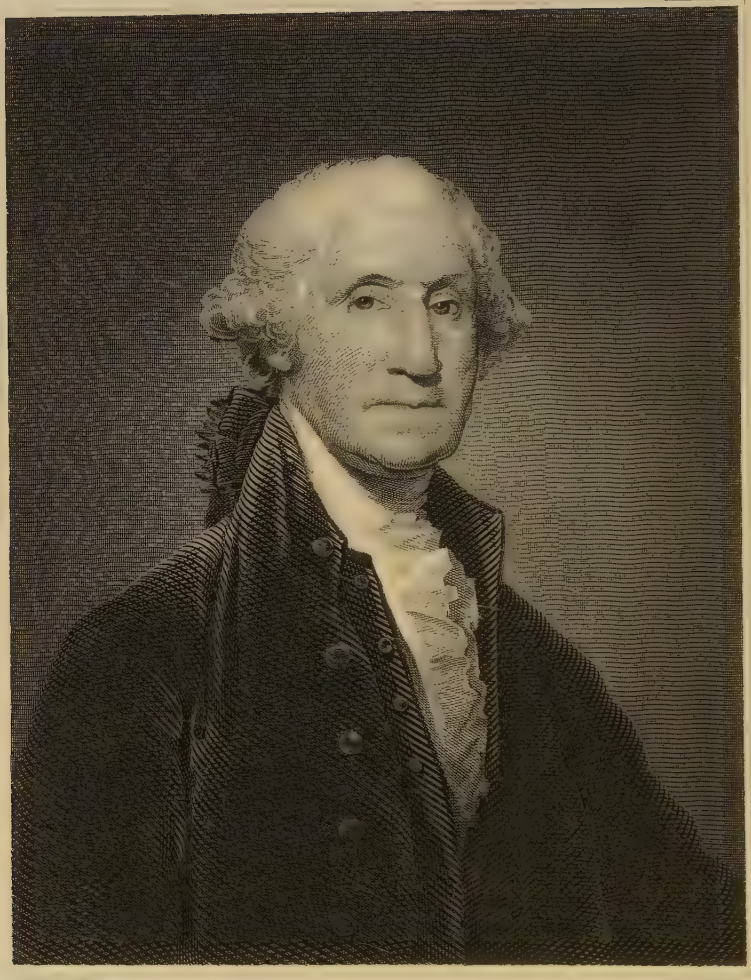

SCRIBNER'S
POPULAR HISTORY OF
THE UNITED STATES

FROM THE EARLIEST DISCOVERIES OF THE WESTERN HEMISPHERE BY THE NORTHMEN TO THE PRESENT TIME

BY
WILLIAM CULLEN BRYANT
SIDNEY HOWARD GAY
NOAH BROOKS

WITH MORE THAN SIXTEEN HUNDRED ILLUSTRATIONS AND MAPS

VOLUME III

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INDEPENDENCE HALL.

New York in 1673.

CHAPTER I.

NEW YORK UNDER THE ENGLISH.

Condition of New York on the Arrival of Andros as Governor. — Comparison with New England. — Andros visits Connecticut. — His Reception by Captain Bull at Saybrook. —Complained of by Lady Carteret, and others. — His Recall to England. — New Proprietors of East Jersey. — Thomas Dongan appointed Governor of New York. — General Assembly ordered by the Duke of York. — Charter of Liberties adopted. — Assembly dissolved by James. — Dongan's Administration. — Andros as Governor-general. — Accession of William and Mary. — Affairs under Lieutenant-governor Nicholson. — His Council-men, Phillipse, Van Cortlandt, and Bayard. — Captain Leisler assumes Command, and acts as Governor. — Supported by a Committee of Safety and recognized by the Colonies. — His Difficulties. — Troubles with the French and Indians. — Contest with Captain Ingoldsby. — Surrenders the Government to Colonel Sloughter. — Trial and Execution.

When Edmund Andros first arrived in America, — fifteen years before the catastrophe, already related, that overtook him in Boston,[1] — the colony of New York which he was to govern contained only about six or seven thousand people. The population of New England is computed to have been at that time not less than one hundred and twenty thousand. Striking as the con-

New York under Gov. Andros.

[1] See vol. ii., p. 393, *et seq.*

trast is between these colonies of nearly the same age, it is not difficult to account for it. The colonial commerce of that period had no need to seek out the most commodious, or the most accessible of harbors; the small or inconvenient ports, whose selection was determined by some other exigency than that of trade, answered all commercial necessities. The superiority of soil and of climate, the easy access from the sea, the navigable inland waters, and the central position of New York, so certain to insure the future supremacy of the State, were not yet taken advantage of with that stern purpose and restless energy through which the hardy people of New England so outstripped their slower and duller neighbors of another race.[1]

Condition of the province.

From the accession of the English, however, there came, with English ideas and English enterprise, an increase of prosperity and a more rapid growth to New York, although the influence of the Dutch, especially in the social character of the people, was long felt. Within four years of Andros's arrival there was an addition of probably a third to its population. Besides the natural increase, which prosperity would stimulate, there was some emigration from England, — still more, perhaps, from other colonies.

The eastern part of Long Island, from its relations to Connecticut, felt this new impulse more sensibly and rapidly than any other part of the colony. Whaling soon became an important industry on that shore, and Southampton was deemed worthy of mention with New York by Andros as one of the two principal places of trade. Nantucket, — settled in 1659 by Thomas Macy and his family,[2] — which, with Martha's Vineyard, made a county of New York, was also at this early period engaged in the whale-fishery along the coast; but it was a far more important industry at the eastern end of Long Island than anywhere else in any of the colonies. Albany continued the centre of the Indian trade, and was of importance as the place of negotiation with the Indians, and with the French. These negotiations, involving the question of whether the Iroquois or Five Nations should be

[1] Even a century later the population of New England was nearly three times as great as that of New York, though the area — exclusive of Maine, which was still largely a wilderness — was less. It was not till within the last fifty years that the natural advantages of New York were able to overcome the superiority which New England had so long held, and which was largely due to difference of character in the founders of the colonies.

[2] The first proprietor of Nantucket was Thomas Mayhew, who bought the island of James Torrett, the agent of the Earl of Stirling, in 1641. Mayhew conveyed nine tenths of it to nine others, namely: Tristram Coffin, Thomas Macy, Richard Swain, Thomas Barnard, Peter Coffin, Christopher Hussey, Stephen Greenleaf, John Swain, and William Pile. Pile sold his tenth to Richard Swain, and the nine proprietors then took as partners John Smith, Nathaniel Starbuck, Edward Starbuck, Thomas Look, Robert Barnard, James Coffin, Robert Pike, Tristram Coffin, Jr., and Thomas Coleman. Thomas Macy was the first to settle, with his family, upon his lands. Others soon followed. — *A Short Journal of the First Settlement of Nantucket, etc.* By Zaccheus Macy. *Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, vol. iii.

controlled by French or English, a question on which peace or war so often depended, occupied much of the time and attention of Andros and his immediate successors.

In a report upon the condition of his colony in 1678 Andros says that he could muster two thousand militia men; the fort in New York — James-Fort — mounted forty-six guns; that at Albany twelve guns, and the fortifications at Pemaquid in Maine seven guns. In each of these the garrisons were victualled for a year. Within two years twenty thousand acres had received new settlers. The colony contained twenty-four towns or villages; it exported yearly about sixty thousand bushels of wheat, besides provisions, fish, tobacco, peltries, lumber, and even horses; and the valuation of its estates was £150,000. A merchant was thought a substantial citizen who was worth a thousand or even five hundred pounds; the standard of wealth in a planter was only half as high.

Island of Nantucket.

Condition of the province.

The annual export trade of the province was carried on in fifteen vessels of an average measurement of a hundred tons. Of these one third belonged to New York, and some were built there. Occasionally there was an arrival from England, the yearly value of the imports amounting to £50,000; but most of these small vessels must have been engaged in a coastwise trade, the most important of which, no doubt, was bringing tobacco — their single staple — from Virginia and Maryland, and exchanging

for it bread-stuffs and provisions. No law, however severe, could induce their planters to raise for themselves sufficient food for their slaves so long as a crop of tobacco returned a profit.

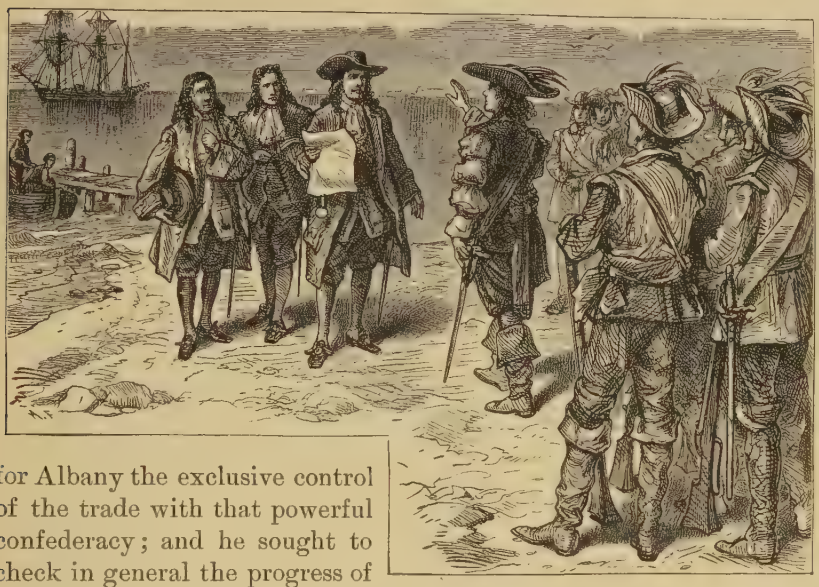
There were slaves also in New York, but not enough to influence the system of labor. As Andros said, they were "but very few." Beggars there were none; the poor who could not support themselves were taken care of — easily taken care of, no doubt, as there could not have been many. The manufacture of flour soon became an important industry; and more than one attempt was made by legislation, which for some years succeeded, to give a monopoly of it to the city of New York. Ministers, Andros said, were "scarce," and "religions many." The Catholic Duke, his master, could tolerate all sects so long as the law of England proscribed his own.

This, briefly, was the condition, two hundred years ago, of the little town destined in the lapse of time and events to become one of the foremost cities of the world. To Andros the province seemed, doubtless, of small value, as it had to Nichols, unless he could retain New Jersey and the country on the Delaware within his jurisdiction, and extend it also over that portion of New England embraced within the Duke of York's patent. One of the earliest acts of his administration was to assert this claim, seizing as the occasion information sent him by Winthrop of the breaking out of Philip's war. He was "very much troubled," he wrote to the Connecticut Governor, "at the Christians' misfortunes and hard disasters in those parts, being so overpowered by such heathen." But, he added, "I intend, God willing, to set out this evening, and to make the best of my way to Connecticut River, His Royall Highnesses bounds there."

Andros visits Connecticut.

The Connecticut authorities were alarmed at this plain intimation of the purpose of the new Governor to maintain the Duke's claim to their province. The General Assembly was convened, and one Captain Bull was sent to Fort Saybrook with a hundred men to resist this violation of their chartered rights. Andros was not permitted even to read the Duke's patent to the people, and, after declining to submit the question in dispute to a commission, he yielded to the evident determination to be rid of him, which he could not resist, and reëmbarked for New York. The rebuff may have irritated him, but if the tradition preserved by Trumbull be true, it amused him no less. This Captain Bull, he said, was a bull whose horns should be tipped with silver. He hardly could have failed to remember this first reception in Connecticut when twelve years later he came to Hartford as Governor-general, to demand the colonial charter. He could then compel submission, but he was met with the same spirit of defiance, which could still baffle if it could not rout him.

Though his efforts to retain New Jersey were unsuccessful;[1] though the distant settlement at Pemaquid, in Maine, where he built a fort, was an expensive and almost useless acquisition; and though he failed to bring Connecticut under the jurisdiction of New York, his administration of the affairs of his immediate government was judicious. He inaugurated the policy which aimed to detach the Five Nations from an alliance with the French, and to secure



Andros at Saybrook.

for Albany the exclusive control of the trade with that powerful confederacy; and he sought to check in general the progress of the French at the West. But he saw that the position of New York was, in comparison with other colonies, one of insignificance, and he believed it would remain so unless all the northern provinces were united under a single government.

He urged this policy upon the Duke of York, and it is quite possible that he did not regret being recalled — as he was in 1680 — when complaints from Lady Carteret, the widow of Sir George, of unwarrantable interference in the affairs of New Jersey, required that he should return to England. Some charges of misgovernment were also made against him by others between whom and himself differences, more or less serious, had arisen, — particularly by Christopher Billop of Staten Island, whom Andros had sent as his deputy to the Delaware and then recalled for misconduct. These accusations fell to the ground, and events disposed of those of Lady Carteret. Andros, who, on a visit to England three years be-

Recall of Andros.

[1] See chap. xx., vol. ii.

fore, had been created a knight, was now further rewarded by being made a gentleman of the king's bed-chamber.

New proprietors of East Jersey.

The Carteret interest in East Jersey ceased, soon after the recall of Andros — as has been already shown in another chapter — by the sale of the young Sir George's patent to Penn and his associates. In March, 1682–83, these twelve proprietors associated with themselves twelve others, most of whom were Scotch.[1] The Governor of the province was Robert Barclay of Ury, a distinguished member of the Society of Friends, a favorite of the Duke of York, and the author of that Quaker classic: "An Apology for the True Christian Divinity, as the Same is Preached and Held Forth by the People, in scorn called Quakers." The Scotch interest in East Jersey induced, from time to time, a large emigration from Scotland, many seeking in the new colony an asylum from both religious and political persecution at home. At Ambo Point, at the mouth of the Raritan, a new city was founded at this time and called Perth — now Perth Amboy — in honor of the Earl of Perth. This became ere long the capital of the province, in place of Elizabethtown, and for a while was a successful rival even of New York in commerce.

Brockholst appointed Lieutenant-governor of New York.

On leaving the colony Andros had appointed Anthony Brockholls — or Brockholst — as Commander-in-chief of the Militia and as Lieutenant governor. But he neglected to renew the order for collecting the customs-duties, which had expired by limitation, and Brockholst was at once involved in a controversy with the merchants. They refused to pay these duties, and William Dyre, formerly of Rhode Island, who was collector of the port as well as mayor of the city, seized a cargo of goods. The merchant brought a suit against the collector; his act was pronounced illegal,

Payment of customs-duties refused.

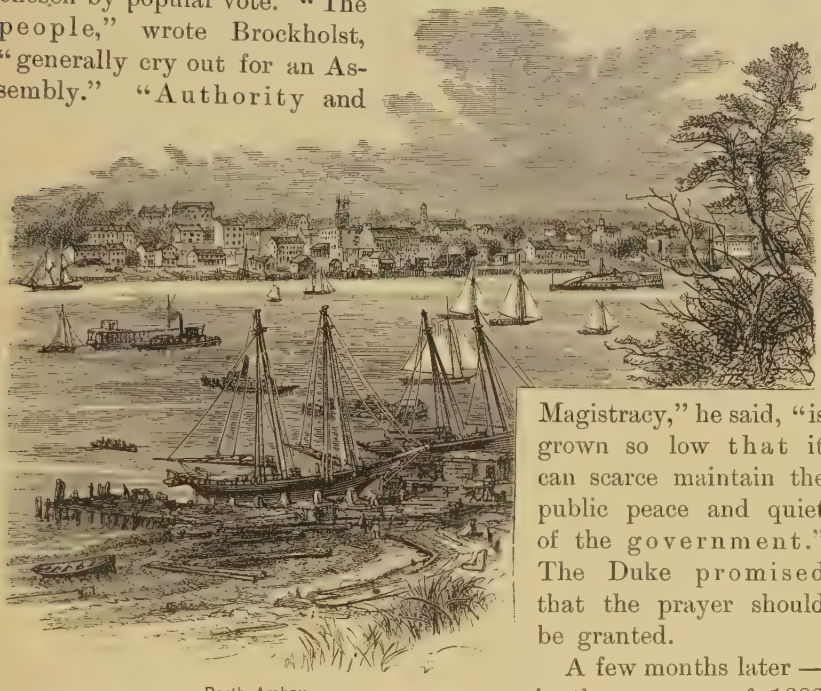
and an indictment found against him for treason in usurping power over the people. Brockholst and his council sustained the decision of the court, and the city seal and his commission were demanded of Dyre. He refused to surrender them, disputed the authority of the court, summoned specially for his trial, on the ground that their power and his emanated from the same

Collector Dyre tried and acquitted.

authority, — the Duke of York, — and one could not be responsible to the other where there was a common master. He was hereupon arrested and sent to England for trial, where, in due time, it was decided that he was guiltless of any offence.

[1] The twenty-four proprietors of East Jersey, a majority of whom were Friends, were James, Earl of Perth, John Drummond, Robert Barclay, David Barclay, Robert Gordon, Arent Sonmans, William Penn, Robert West, Thomas Rudyard, Samuel Groome, Thomas Hart, Richard Mew, Ambrose Rigg, John Haywood, Hugh Hartshorne, Clement Plumstead, Thomas Cooper, Gawen Lawrie, Edward Byllinge, James Braine, William Gibson, Thomas Barker, Robert Turner, and Thomas Warne.

For some months there was entire free trade in the colony, for customs-duties are never a free-will offering; but a more important result of the controversy was that the Court of Assizes, which attempted the trial of Dyre, represented to the Duke that arbitrary taxation, without regard to the wishes and interests of the people, was a grievous burden, and that a remedy for this and other evils could only be found in the right of self-government through a General Assembly chosen by popular vote. "The people," wrote Brockholst, "generally cry out for an Assembly." "Authority and Magistracy," he said, "is grown so low that it can scarce maintain the public peace and quiet of the government." The Duke promised that the prayer should be granted.



Perth Amboy.

A few months later — in the summer of 1683 — a new governor, Colonel Thomas Dongan, the younger son of an Irish baronet, was sent out to supersede Brockholst. He brought orders to issue writs for the election of eighteen representatives of the people, who were to constitute a General Assembly to be, with the Governor and Council, the government of the colony. Their acts were to be subject to the approval of the Governor, and finally of the Duke. The Governor and Council, whose appointment still remained with the Duke, were to grant lands, establish courts and custom-houses, control the militia; but no tax was to be levied without the consent of the Assembly. No man was to be punished except by due course of law; a grand jury of inquest, and trial by jury, were decreed; martial law and the billeting of soldiers in private houses were declared illegal; the right of dower, in

Thomas Dongan, Governor.

one third of the real estate of the husband, was secured to widows; religious freedom was guaranteed to all professing Christians who did not disturb the public peace; the right of suffrage was given to every freeholder and freeman in any corporation; the Assembly was to meet every three years with the right of meeting and adjourning as it saw fit during the session; and the members and their servants — if not more than three — were for that time free from arrest or any legal action, except in cases of treason or felony. An Act embodying these franchises, under the title of "The Charter of Libertys and Privileges" was passed by the Assembly, at its first meeting in October, 1683, and sent to the Duke of York for his approval.

The Charter of Liberties and Privileges proposed.

The new form of government was quite as liberal as that accorded by royal charter to any of the colonies. But it was not to last long. The Duke gave no formal assent to the Act of the Assembly, and within less than two years from the time of its first meeting Charles II. died and his brother succeeded to the throne. The new policy, begun with New England, of uniting the crown colonies under a single governor, soon embraced New York.

When the first troubles, which awaited the King at home, were disposed of, James had leisure to give his serious attention to colonial affairs; a new commission with fresh instructions was then given to Dongan, and Andros was sent out as Governor-general of New England. In these the King declared it to be his will and pleasure that the recent "Charter of Franchises be repealed, determined and made void." New England was first to be reduced to obedience; New York, meanwhile, was to be held in subjection as a royal province, its government invested in a governor and council of the King's appointment without regard to the popular will. James objected to the phrase, "The People, met in General Assembly." The motto upon the great seal of New England, delivered to Andros, was more to his mind: "Nunquam Libertas gratior extat," — "Liberty is never more agreeable than under a pious King."[1]

Andros Governor-general of New England

Dongan was faithful to his master but not less faithful to the interests of his colony. He followed the policy of Andros in unwearied efforts to conciliate the Five Nations, to secure their trade for his own countrymen, to cripple the influence of the

Dongan's policy.

[1] The whole sentence in Claudian's *De Laudibus Stilichonis*, from which the motto is taken, is: —

. . . . *Nunquam libertas gratior extat,*
Quam sub rege pio. . . .

It was probably assumed that the loyal subject would remember, or evolve from his own consciousness, the latter portion of the passage in looking at the figure of the King on the seal.

French over the native tribes, and to repel French intrusion upon the territory south of the St. Lawrence and the chain of the great lakes. In these efforts he was the more successful because he was a Catholic, could call English Jesuits to his aid, and satisfy the religious sentiment in the Indian, which inclined to the symbols of the Church of Rome, so far as he was moved at all by Christian teaching.

No former governor saw more clearly than Dongan how much the wealth and importance of the province would be enhanced if its jurisdiction could include the territory south and east, originally covered by the Duke of York's patent. Penn had planted his vigorous commonwealth at the south, taking from New York the rich lands of the Delaware; East Jersey, under its successive Lieutenant-governors, — for Barclay remained in England, — Rudyard, Lawrie, Lord Neill Campbell, and Andrew Hamilton, had in ten years doubled in population. If the prosperity of his neighbors did not excite the jealousy of Dongan, it at least made him the more anxious that his own colony should have the advantage of it. He proposed that Pemaquid — too far off to be of any value to New York — should be given to Massachusetts, and in lieu thereof Connecticut and Rhode Island be annexed to New York. That any part of Connecticut should go to Massachusetts would be, he said, "the most unproportionable thing in the world, they having already a hundred times more land, riches, and people than this Province, and yet the charge of this government more than that." He complained that New Jersey robbed New York of her trade and her people; that Pennsylvania was encroaching upon New York territory on the Susquehanna; that Connecticut was, as always, grasping, tenacious, prosperous at her neighbor's expense, of evil influence over the New York towns of Long Island, whose "refractory" people would carry their oil to Boston and

Seal of New England.

their whalebone to Perth, rather than to their own capital. In 1687, while on Long Island they were already complaining of the want of land, the Governor wrote that he believed there had not come into his colony, within seven years, twenty English, Scotch, or Irish families. The population, he added, had increased by Dutch and French — Huguenot — emigration; but this fact he used only as an additional argument for annexing the nearest English colonies to his own; — "that a more equal ballance may be kept between his Mat^ys naturall born subjects and Foreigners, which latter are the most prevailing part of this Government."

Prosperity under Dongan.

He hardly did justice, however, to the growth of New York, in his ardent desire to extend its dominion. In the first fourteen years of English occupation its population had trebled. Yet he acknowledged that "the people [were] growing every day more numerous," and as a reason for suggesting the necessity of more forts, he said, they were "generally of a turbulent disposition." He gave them credit for great vigor, for, he said, "the men that are here have generally lusty strong bodies;" and of the other sex he had an equally high opinion, for this is his representative woman: "In this country there is a woman yet alive from whose Loynes there are upwards of three hundred and sixty persons now living."

But the old pleas were powerless now. The policy of the Duke, the provincial Proprietary, was not the policy of the King, who meant to take away all charters and unite the colonies in a single royal province. In only one case did Dongan succeed in effecting any change in colonial relations, — it was agreed to end the long and vexatious controversy as to the boundary line between Connecticut and New York by fixing its starting-point, where it has ever since remained, on the Byram River instead of the Mamaroneck. Another early act of his administration makes it memorable: the province was subdivided into twelve counties with new names to some of them, which names, though not the boundaries, remain unaltered. Ulster was so called for the Irish earldom of the Duke of York; Orange, for his son-in-law, William of Orange; Richmond, probably, for his illegitimate son by the Duchess of Portsmouth; Duke's, which comprised Nantucket, Martha's Vineyard, Elizabeth Islands, and No Man's Land, was so named, no doubt, for the Duke himself, as Duchess was either for his wife or his mistress. Suffolk took its name from an English county, and so also did Cornwall, which included Pemaquid and the rest of the Duke's possessions in Maine.[1]

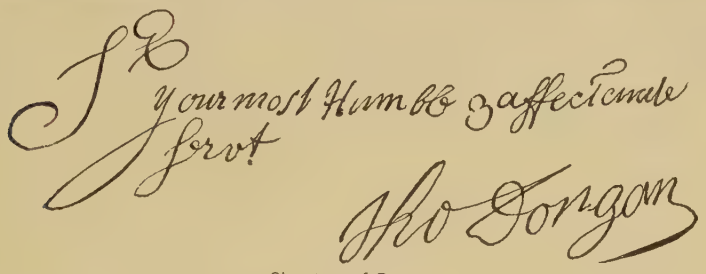
The Connecticut boundary.

Naming of Counties.

[1] The twelve counties were: The City and County of New York, Richmond, Queen's, King's, Suffolk, Duke's, Westchester, Ulster, Orange, Duchess, Albany, and Cornwall.

The new government of the "Territory and Dominion of New England" was enlarged by the addition of New Jersey and New York, and a new commission issued to Andros as Governor-general in 1688. Though many may have rejoiced at the removal of the Catholic Governor, Dongan, the act by which he was superseded was by no means popular. To merge New York in New England was not to annex New England to New York in the way that had been so long wished for. The greater would now swallow the less in fact as in name. The independence of the colony was sac-

New York annexed to New England.



Signature of Dongan.

rificed to the policy of the King. They might be reconciled to this in the eastern part of Long Island, where they were chiefly New Englanders, but elsewhere the feeling was one of humiliation and chagrin.

Andros, nevertheless, was received in New York with military pomp and civic honors. The seal of the province was formally broken in pieces and that of the Dominion of New England presented as its substitute. Whatever the popular feeling might be, official gentlemen had much to expect from the new Governor; and he on his part was not slow to reward his old favorites, the more readily that every office — whose duties were to be discharged in Boston, the proposed seat of government — bestowed upon a New Yorker, not only served a friend but mortified an enemy. He visited New Jersey; at Albany he called a council of the chiefs of the Five Nations, and exchanged with them high-sounding phrases on the inferiority of the French, — who had recently consented, under a general pacification, to abandon the fort built the year before on the site of La Salle's old Fort de Conty — on the superiority of the Iroquois, and their willingness to be considered, not the children, but the brothers, of the English. After a sort of vice-royal progress through his southern provinces, the Governor-general returned to Boston, taking with him the most important of the official records of New York. Francis Nicholson, a lieutenant in the army, remained as Lieutenant-governor.

We have sketched already the character of the administration of Andros, and the heavy hand that Boston laid upon him in return

when the opportunity came to her.[1] William of Orange landed in England only about a month after Andros returned to New England from New York. In another month James had fled to France; in February, 1689, William and Mary were proclaimed in London King and Queen of England. All winter, tidings of the progress of the revolution had crossed the Atlantic; in February they knew in New York that the Prince of Orange was at Torbay. The news was sent by Nicholson and his Council to Sir Edmund both by land and by water, and they ordered, at the same time, that the King's money should be placed in the fort, — a fact that shows that even at the outset they were apprehensive of some popular outbreak. A more timid or a wiser man than Andros would have taken prompt measures to anticipate an event which, he should have foreseen, would be sure to follow in the colonies any serious disaster to the King in England. But he sent no instructions to his New York Council till nearly three months later, when he was already a prisoner in the hands of the Boston Committee of Safety.

Revolution in England and deposition of Andros.

The government of New York was left in the hands of Nicholson, the Lieutenant-governor, Frederick Phillipse, Stephen van Cortlandt, and Nicholas Bayard, the three more active members of the Council.[2] These men were to work out their difficult problem with such wisdom as they had, — wisdom which, as it happened, would have been insufficient for an exigency of much less moment. The popular mind was governed by other though not less efficient influences, than those which moved the people of Boston. The Dutch inhabitants naturally sympathized with the Prince of Orange and hoped for his success. There were in New York more Romanists than in all New England; the Protestant population were alive to the fear of Popery, quickened by the apprehension that Dongan — not without power, though out of place — and Nicholson were both under Jesuit influence. Dongan was frankly and openly a Catholic; Nicholson, it was suspected, only pretended to be a Protestant.

The Revolution in New York.

But neither the people on one side, nor the Council on the other, took any action until the 26th of April, when news came from Boston of the revolution there on the 18th, and Colonel Nicholson called together his Council and read to them the formal declaration of "the

[1] See vol. ii., p. 387, *et seq.*

[2] Brodhead says (*History of the State of New York*) that Phillipse was remarkable only for being the dullest and the richest man in the town. Van Cortlandt had made himself ridiculous a few months before at a celebration of the birth of the Prince of Wales, when he "both sacrificed his hat, peruke, etc." (Letter from Leisler, *N. Y. Col. Doc.*), and it was remembered against him. Bayard, the most efficient of the three, was a wealthy and respectable merchant, but a hot-headed militia captain, quite unfit, as his own letters show, for important command in a time of emergency.

gentlemen merchants and inhabitants of Boston." [1] To him and his associates in the Government this was a "great surprizall." Being but four in number, as they said, they took the usual refuge of weak men in conditions of unexpected responsibility, and called together the mayor, the members of the common council, and all the officers of the militia. It was agreed to fortify the town against the French, with whom England was now at war, and, as the merchants were already sensitive about paying import duties to the old officers, it was agreed that all such duties should be expended on the new fortifications. For some time the little town assumed the aspects of a camp.

Action of Lieutenant-governor Nicholson and the Council

On the first of May the Council wrote an ingenious letter in duplicate to be sent to Boston, one copy to Sir Edmund Andros, to ask him to return the Records of the Province which he had with him, — the other to Governor Bradstreet and the other leaders of the popular movement, in which the request for the Records is changed into a request that Andros himself may be forwarded to them. But the Massachusetts Committee of Safety declined to release the Governor, and Colonel Nicholson and his three friends were again left to face their own difficulties.

The Council write to Boston.

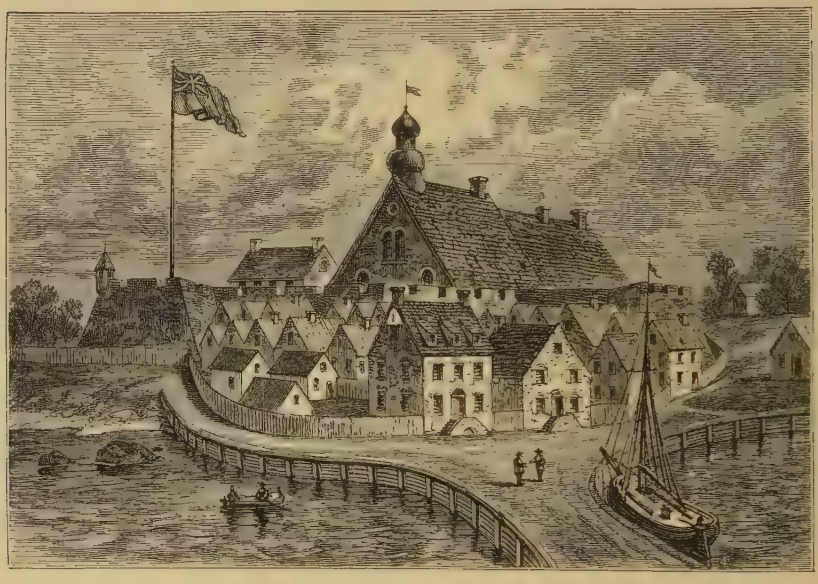
Meanwhile — to mention a straw which showed the wind — the chaplain at the fort prayed regularly for the infant Prince of Wales, and that the dethroned king might be "victorious over his enemies." No proclamation of William was made. The anxious Council wrote to the Secretary of State, whoever he might be, and the Board of Trade, whoever they might be, explaining how doubtful their position was, and how fortunate it was that New York was not more closely united with Boston. A few days after a verbal message arrived from Andros, asking that Hamilton and Smith, two of his councilmen, might be sent on to him. But both these gentlemen had troubles enough at home, and declined mixing in his affairs. This was on the 22d of May. On the 6th of June Nicholson had determined on what was certainly the course of prudence, — to leave his jurisdiction; on the 10th of June his administration ceased, though he did not sail till the end of the month. But the power, and the duties of government, had already passed into other hands.

The transfer of power had really taken place when this imbecile Council called together the officers of militia, and with their advice embodied the military force. At a time when some one must take command, it followed, almost of course, that those who in arms supported the little state took the place for which the Council showed itself wholly incompetent. Among the captains of the militia Jacob

[1] The *Bostoines*, as a despatch of the time calls them.

Leisler appeared as the most prompt and courageous man, willing to take responsibility. While the temporizing policy of the Council — waiting for more news — exasperated the great body of the people; while terrors of French invasion kept the little army on the alert, everybody asked why William was not proclaimed. A foolish speech of Nicholson's gave rise to a rumor that he had threatened to burn the town. When Leisler's turn came to guard the fort with his company, he gave notice that he should call all the train-bands on parade, and ask the inhabitants to unite to defend the Protestant religion. A rumor spread that the French fleet was

Captain Leisler takes command.



Leisler's House.[1]

below. Leisler's critics afterwards said that he started this rumor; — certainly he improved it. He gave the signal agreed upon, and the train-bands met. The captains of some companies ordered them to disperse, but they refused; and at Leisler's direction they all signed a declaration, by which they said they held and should hold the fort for his Royal Highness the Prince of Orange, on behalf of such person as he had appointed Governor. Six captains and four hundred men signed this document.

Within a very short time news arrived that William and Mary had for the present confirmed in office all Protestants holding commissions

[1] Leisler's house was on Whitehall Street, south of Pearl Street, and was the first brick house in New York. The picture — taken from the *Corporation Manual* — is from a drawing made in 1679. Leisler's house is marked L.

THE TRAINBANDS SIGNING LEISLER'S DECLARATION.

in the colonies. Had Nicholson possessed the confidence of the people at all, or, indeed, had he been a man of resource, he might even now have resumed authority under this order. But Leisler was in command. Almost all the counties, except New York, had thrown off all allegiance to Nicholson already. And thus, as we have seen, he notified the Council on the 6th that he should leave for England. They approved of his departure, and Leisler at the head of his train-bands was thus left the only commander of the city. Comparing his position with Bradstreet's in Massachusetts, it is impossible to say that Leisler was more a usurper than Bradstreet. In the case of the New York interregnum, the Governor who held under James was permitted to depart in peace; while in Boston he was put under close watch and ward. Had Leisler's assumption gone no further than this, he would probably have received, in the end, not even a momentary censure, but the constant favor of the new monarchs.

Nicholson leaves for England.

Leisler thus became leader of the Protestant movement, — which happened to be the Dutch movement, — which happened also to be the popular or plebeian movement in the little city, all of whose people, of every shade of politics and religion, did not number more than three thousand. It was at the same time the "country" movement, to adopt a convenient phrase, often used in English politics, and sometimes in the politics of America, to express the sentiments of the rural districts, where they differ from those of the merchants, or other men of cities. Leisler, however, was not himself a Hollander, or of Dutch origin. He was born at Frankfort-on-the-Main, and had come to New York thirty years before as a soldier. But for many years he had been a merchant, and, of late years, a prosperous merchant. He first appears in the records of recent dissensions as receiving a cargo of wines, on which the duties, amounting to a hundred pounds, he refused to pay to a revenue officer, who was still serving under King James's commission and claimed no other authority.

Connecticut proclaimed William and Mary on the 13th of June, and delegates from Connecticut, who had the printed English proclamation of the accession, delivered this to Leisler. On the 22d he made the formal proclamation. The fact that the Connecticut delegates recognized him as the actual Governor instead of going to the "rump" of a Council, excited the indignation of the Councillors. The King's proclamation, confirming all Protestants in office, was made public by them; but this was but a half triumph on their side, as it compelled them to dismiss Plowman, the Collector, who was a Catholic, and who had most aroused the indignation of the Protestant party. Leisler appointed Peter de la Noye Col-

William and Mary proclaimed.

lector in his place, turning out the three commissioners appointed by the other party. Bayard took alarm at the audacity of Leisler's proceedings, and on the 28th fled to Albany, leaving Phillipse and Van Cortlandt the only representatives of the Council. Van Cortlandt soon followed, and from this time, for a year and a half, Leisler was practically at the head of the government.

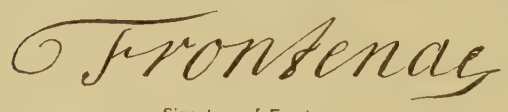
Flight of the Council.

In imitation of the proceedings in Massachusetts, and in London, he invited the counties and towns to meet in convention. The call was obeyed, and the delegates assembled on the 26th of June. The meeting consisted of twelve members, of whom two withdrew after the first session. The others signed a paper appointing Leisler to be Captain of the Fort, and constituting themselves a Committee of Safety. Under this authority Leisler assumed from this time to be the governor of the province.

Committee of Safety appointed, and Leisler recognized as commander.

This unskilled, self-taught merchant, into whose hands the conduct of affairs had fallen at a dangerous and critical moment, was beset with difficulties from without as well as within. King James, who had commissioned Nicholson and his council of three, was at this moment the guest and ally of Louis XIV. That king, on the 7th of June, in the very week in which Leisler took command of the fort, gave these instructions to Frontenac, Governor of Canada, with regard to the whole Province of New York: "If among the inhabitants of New York there are any Catholics whose fidelity can be assured, they may be left in their homes after they have sworn fidelity to King Louis. From the other inhabitants, artisans and people necessary for agriculture may be kept at work as prisoners. All officers, and all the principal inhabitants, will be kept in prison till they are redeemed by ransom. With regard to all others who are not French, they will be transported to New England, France, or other places. But all Frenchmen, especially those of the pretended reformed religion, will be sent to France." These were a part of the direct orders for an invasion of New York. And at this very moment the Jesuit body, at once servants and masters of this French king, were carrying on, on the frontier, those intrigues which in this and the following years resulted in the massacres of Pemaquid, of Schenectady, of Salmon Falls, and of Wells' River. Of these massacres the cruelties were due, in the first instance, not to savage ferocity, but to the counsels of men who took the name of Jesus for their own.[1] At such a time Leisler

French hostilities.



Signature of Frontenac.

Indian massacres on the frontiers.

[1] Compare, for the details, Parkman's *Life of Frontenac.*

found one of the few Roman Catholics in his province a governor of Albany on the frontier, and another the collector of the king's revenue in New York. He would not have been justified, either as the representative of King William, or as governing the province for its own best good, had he consented to serve, on equal terms, with these Catholic officers.

The city and county of Albany was the only part of the province which for a time refused to recognize his authority. Albany was probably strengthened in its independence by Colonel Bayard, and not unwilling to resent New York interference. She had called her own convention, and intrusted all public affairs to her own magistrates. She had declined to send delegates to Leisler's convention. This quasi independent attitude would probably have excited little attention in history, but that the news of the butcheries of Pemaquid and at Dover[1] arrived at this time in Albany. The frontier village now felt its weakness. She sent for aid to the city whose ruler she had defied, asking for help. Leisler would not recognize the Albany government, and they wrote to Connecticut and to Massachusetts asking for a garrison for the fort. They appointed Schuyler to its chief command, displacing Sharp, against whom as a Catholic there were "jealousies." Leisler sent up a company under Milborne, but he was refused admission to the fort. He returned, and the fort and outposts at Schenectady were garrisoned by Connecticut men.

Albany refuses to recognize Leisler as Governor.

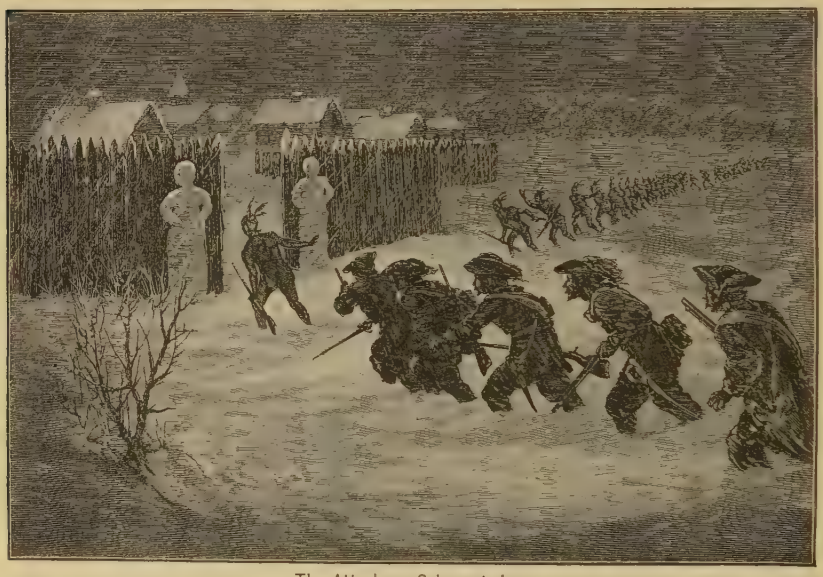
Had Nicholson dared to remain in New York he would have received a commission from King William broad enough and strong enough to relieve him from all difficulty. For, all through these confusions William showed no fondness for any revolutions but such as he made himself On the 30th of July, while Nicholson was yet on the ocean, an order issued at Whitehall to appoint him Lieutenant-governor, enclosing instructions from the King and Queen. The letter was addressed to him, and, in his absence, "to such as for the time being take care for preserving the peace and administering the laws." It is said that Nicholson arrived in London before the letter was started, and it has been conjectured that no alteration was made in the address because it was supposed that Phillipse, Cortlandt, and Bayard would open it. But Nicholson must have told the authorities that a convention had been summoned, and that Leisler was in actual command. It is probable either that the despatches were beyond correction, or that the English authorities were willing to avail themselves of the doubt hidden under the address. In point of fact at the moment they were writ-

Orders received from England.

[1] See vol. ii., pp. 444, *et seq.*

ten, Bayard and Cortlandt had both fled from New York, and there was no government there but that of Leisler. Nor did the Council, which was thus reduced to Phillipse alone, make any pretence of exercising authority.

The letter did not arrive till the 9th of December, when Bragge, who brought it, came by way of Boston. He delivered it to Leisler, who claimed it as "the person who administered the laws and preserved the peace." When Cortlandt, who had returned, and Phillipse claimed the despatches, the messenger prudently said he would not be hanged for any of them. With this addition to his authority Leisler continued his administration and again proclaimed William



The Attack on Schenectady.

and Mary, "Scotland being formerly omitted." Cortlandt and Phillipse sent a protest to the King against his claim, but made no pretence of assuming the duties of governor themselves.

The duties of the post to which Leisler found himself called might well have appalled him. Frontenac on the north, one of the ablest rulers over hunters, Jesuits, and savages, who ever served France, was taking advantage of the declaration of war to pounce upon the exposed frontier. In February, 1689–90, the blow came. He formed three war parties of picked men, who were to attack Albany, New Hampshire, and Maine. The first gathered at Montreal, made up of ninety-six Christian Iroquois, so called, and more than a hundred French *coureurs du bois*. They were led by three of the Le Moynes,

of the same blood as Iberville and Bienville who founded Louisiana, — of the distinguished family to whom France owed so many victories in the years of her American rule.

These leaders were destined to meet one cruel disappointment. After the party had crossed Lake Champlain on the ice, a council was called in which the Le Moynes named Albany as the point of attack. "How long," said the sullen Indians, "since the French have been so bold?" The Frenchmen answered that since their late misfortunes, honor required them to take Albany or die. War with the French. The Indians had no such notion of honor, and at the Hudson, where the tracks then and now diverge — one for Albany and one for Schenectady — they took the path to Schenectady. The French were obliged to acquiesce. A thaw had softened the snow and ice, and it was nine days more before they came near the fated village. About dark on the 8th of February, they reached the river Mohawk, a little above the village. Sunset has a peculiar marvel at that spot, which even savages have observed. The range of southern mountains on its western side is so curved that the red ball of the sun, seen through the mists of the river, seems to roll slowly down the ridge to its repose. But in this fatal twilight and bitter storm there was little thought of nature's beauty or of savage legend. The scout, sent forward, saw nobody. The cold was so bitter that they feared to dispense with fires, while their prey was so near that they dared not make them. Nor was delay needed. Some village festival was just finished and the whole town was asleep soon after nightfall. Talmadge of Connecticut, with eight or nine of his militia, was in the block-house, and only two snow images stood as sentinels at the gate of the palisades of the town, in fatuous derision of danger. In two bands the invaders entered, without opposition, having failed to close the Albany gate so as to shut in the fugitives. One band marched to the right, one to the left, till the sleeping village was surrounded. The signal was then given, they "screeched the war-whoop together," and fell to their horrid work. No resistance was made but at the block-house. In two hours of carnage sixty persons were killed, — men, women, and children, — and eighty or ninety captives were secured. A few escaped through the storm to Albany. Destruction of Schenectady. The village was fired, and at noon it was in ashes. Four hundred thousand livres' worth of property was destroyed, says the French report, with a curious precision.

The Albany commander, Schuyler, learned from prisoners whom he took in pursuit, that Frontenac meant to attack Albany in the spring. He sent messengers to Massachusetts, Connecticut, Maryland, and Virginia, urging them to relieve him, and even to "the civil and mili-

tary officers at New York." Connecticut gave him sound advice in suggesting that this was no time for quarrel with New York, and this advice prevailed. Leisler renewed and pressed the urgent demands made by the Albany government, upon the other provinces; Albany received the reënforcements, and sent delegates to the House of Assembly which he summoned to meet on the 24th of April. An expedition was concerted against the French, and to form plans for this Leisler invited the other colonies to send delegates to New York.

Seven delegates attended this first Colonial Congress, which was in session on the 1st of May. The names of all have become historical in the annals of this and the next century. They were Stoughton, Sewall, Gold, Pitkin, Walley, Leisler, and De la Noye. They agreed that New York should provide four hundred men, Massachusetts one hundred and sixty. Connecticut one hundred and thirty-five, and Plymouth sixty. Maryland had promised one hundred. It was agreed that Leisler should appoint the commander.

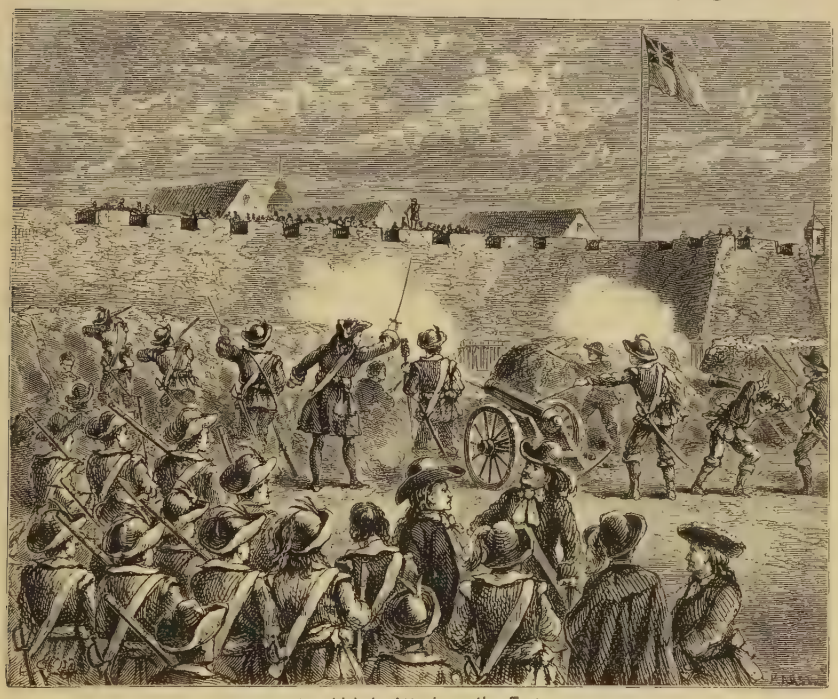
With the energy which merchants or other men of affairs often show when some accident throws them into the administration of government, and with the eager and terrified zeal of the burghers and sea-faring men of New York to back him, Leisler rebuilt the fortifications of that city, which had fallen into decay in the preceding peaceful years. Hearing of French cruisers at sea he sent out privateers, some of considerable force, to capture them; and he was able to offer some assistance also to the ill-fated New England expedition against Canada. The year 1690, for the whole of which he was the sole Governor of New York, was a year of spirited military and naval enterprise. And the occasional arrival of a prize showed that neither the dangers nor the rewards of the seas had been over-estimated.

His foreign was more successful than his domestic policy. At home there was no lack of complaint; and probably many of those who had found fault with the imbecile languor of King Log, found fault now with the activity of his successor. When the royal Governor arrived, who had been fifteen months in coming, he found a hotbed of sedition and bitter complaint ready to welcome him. Walley, the Plymouth delegate to the Congress, not unfriendly to Leisler, had characterized his temper well enough when he said, "He is a man that carries on some matters too arbitrary."

Still, had King William at this juncture appointed any competent person governor of New York, the troubles which followed, with the cruel tragedy which they involved, would have been prevented. But, with the recklessness which has not yet been outgrown in the administration of colonies, William considered the needs of the candidate for office rather than the need of the colony which was to be governed.

Soon after the letter was sent, under which Leisler continued his rule, but long before it arrived, William appointed Col. Henry Sloughter, a personal favorite of his own, to represent the crown in New York. Even now, had Sloughter with any promptness assumed his office, he would have arrived in New York as soon as the paper which served Leisler for a year as his commission. In fact, however, Sloughter, who was commissioned November 14, 1689, did not sail until December 1, 1690, — after a year of inexplicable delay, — and then went by way of Bermuda. Unfortunately again, Rich-

Sloughter appointed Governor of New York.



Ingoldsby's Attack on the Fort.

ard Ingoldsby, who sailed at the same time with Sloughter as a captain of a company of grenadiers, arrived in New York on the 29th January, 1691, a few weeks before his Governor. Finding Leisler in command of the fort, he ordered him to deliver it. He had no civil commission; he had no warrant from Sloughter to hold the fort; he had no commission whatever but that of major in the King's army. No officer of any rank, superior to Ingoldsby's, would have obeyed such a command, unless special orders were given him by a superior. Leisler offered to Ingoldsby every courtesy, and quarters for the troops, but declined giving up the fort until Sloughter or some one commissioned by him, should arrive. On

Arrival of Captain Ingoldsby.

this Ingoldsby proceeded to mount cannon against the fort, and actually fired upon it. The fort returned the fire. There was afterwards a collision of testimony as to which began this combat. But it is certain that almost all the injury and loss of life were caused by Ingoldsby's party, who maintained a fire against the fort for some hours. At the utmost but a few men, most of them soldiers, were killed.

He attacks Fort James.

In this state of half war, Leisler maintained the fort for some weeks, until on the 19th of March, Sloughter, the long looked-for Governor, arrived, for whom all along he said he had been waiting. Here, on the after trials, testimony differed again. Leisler's son said that his father, as soon as he had notice of Sloughter's arrival, although late at night, sent two gentlemen to congratulate him on his arrival, and offer the fort and government to him as their Majesty's Governor, but that they, without being heard, were committed to the common jail; that the next morning Captain Leisler sent a letter to the Governor desiring him to send some persons to receive the fort, which he did, but immediately caused said Leisler and others to be committed to prison.[1] Colonel Sloughter, in his official report to the King, says he sent Major Ingoldsby to demand the fort, to whom Leisler replied that he would own no Governor without orders from the King directed to him. Sloughter also says that Leisler sent a man out that night to identify him and make sure that he was Colonel Sloughter; that he then demanded the fort from Leisler a second time, and that he refused it; that only when preparations were made to storm it, did Leisler send out the two persons spoken of to surrender it.

Ingoldsby marched into the fort. Some of Leisler's men threw down their arms, and without further opposition he relinquished the command. Sloughter issued a commission at once for the trial of him and his Council for murder and treason. The trial immediately followed. It has become one of the celebrated cases in our history. Six of the prisoners pleaded in form. Leisler and Milborne, his son-in-law, refused to plead until the court would decide whether the King's letter of July 30, 1689, had not given Leisler formal authority. The court would not go into this question, but referred it to the Governor and Council. They replied that the King's letter and the papers with it gave no power or direction to the said Leisler. Leisler and Milborne still refused to plead, and after a trial of eight days, they and six others of Leisler's Council were found guilty and sentenced to death. Dudley, a Massachusetts man, whom the king had made judge, pre-

The fort surrendered to Sloughter.

Leisler and his Council brought to trial.

[1] Administration of Leisler. *N. Y. Hist. Soc. Collections*, 1868.

sided at the trial and pronounced sentence. The Governor, by the advice of the judges, reprieved all the prisoners until the king's pleasure was known.

This was on the 20th of April, 1691. The whole picture is a wretched web-work woven by men who were wild with the excitements of religious bigotry and the hot rivalries of race, in the narrow confines of a petty seaport, far from their chiefs, and jealous of their privileges. The historian who traces it feels all along that even thus far it might all have dropped into the oblivion to which the most of such wretched broils belong, but for the terrible blunder made a few weeks later.

Sloughter signing Leisler's Death-warrant.

Sloughter called, as he had been bidden, the first regular Assembly summoned by a royal governor. The province was more wild than ever in its dread of the papists, under the horrible lessons taught on the frontier. But the Assembly was chosen wholly in the interest of the party whom Leisler had ousted; and it had captured, as a modern phrase has it, Ingoldsby and Sloughter. All the men whom Leisler had deposed from authority were now ready to take their revenge. On the one hand petitions for Leisler's pardon were pressed on the Governor. Counter-petitions for his execution came in, some of them even from women. Bayard, of kin to Leisler by marriage, pressed Sloughter, who was his guest, to carry out the sentence. "Tradition says that when no other means could prevail with him, a sumptuous feast was prepared, to which Colonel Sloughter was

invited. When his reason was drowned in his cups the entreaties of the company prevailed on him to sign the death-warrant, and before he recovered his senses the prisoners were executed."[1] This was on the 16th of May, 1691, nearly two years after Leisler had assumed the government. On that day Leisler and Milborne were hanged, and their bodies were then beheaded, in the presence of a crowd of indignant people.

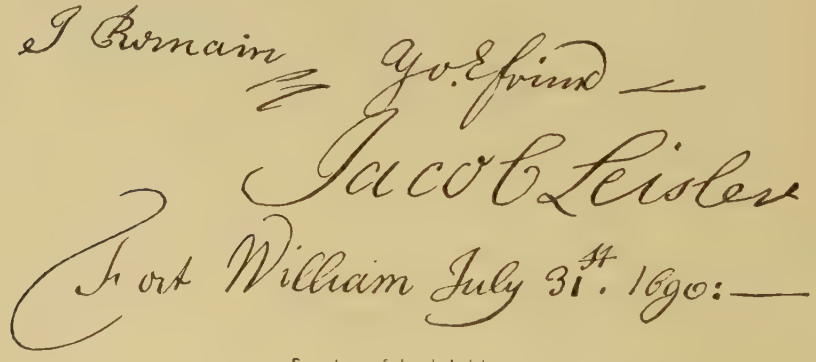
Sloughter signs Leisler's death warrant.

Sloughter himself died suddenly on the 23d of July. There were suspicions that he had been poisoned, but a medical examination gave no color to them. It is not difficult to account for the sudden death of such men. Within three years, on the application of Leisler's son at London, the whole question as to his father's guilt was argued before a committee of the House of Lords, the attainder pronounced on him was reversed by Parliament after full discussion, and such reparation as money could give was made to his family, for the charges which his private estate had met in his conduct of the administration. Bellomont, who succeeded him after some years as Governor of New York, made no scruple in saying that the evidence on the trial convinced him that Leisler was murdered judicially. That he would have been more prudent had he surrendered his command to Ingoldsby, the event has proved. That he should have yielded to Sloughter, at the moment he knew who Sloughter was, is certain. That he was unjustly charged with murder and treason was the decision of the English Parliament, and such will probably be the verdict of history.[2]

Leisler's attainder reversed by the House of Lords.

[1] Smith's *History of New York.*

[2] The student interested in Leisler's rule and in his fate must read not only the papers in the Colonial Documents, but the invaluable collection in the *New York Historical Society's Collections* for the year 1868.



Signature of Jacob Leisler.

CHAPTER II.

ROYAL GOVERNORS UNDER WILLIAM AND MARY.

Colonial Policy of William and Mary. — Governor Fletcher of New York. — His Visit to Connecticut. — Renewal of Hostilities with the French and Indians. — Schuyler's Expedition. — Administration of the Earl of Bellomont. — Prevalence of Privateering and Piracy. — Captain Kidd's Adventures. — Lord Cornbury, Governor of New York and New Jersey. — East and West Jersey united and Proprietary Government ended. — Controversy between Cornbury and the New Jersey Assembly. — Governors Lovelace, Ingoldsby, and Hunter. — Port Royal taken by the English. — Proposed Invasion of Canada. — Nova Scotia ceded by the French. — Administration of Governor Burnet.

Sloughter had been governor only four months at the time of his death. Except for the melancholy tragedy which marked his administration, it is remembered only for a visit to Albany and the Mohawk River, when he renewed the treaties of friendship with the Iroquois, and succeeded in detaching the Mohawks from the French. The Chief Justice, Dudley, would have been his temporary successor, as the senior member of the Council, had he not been absent in the West Indies. Captain Ingoldsby for a brief period discharged the duties of that office, but was relieved in August, 1692, by the arrival of Benjamin Fletcher from England with a commission from the King.

Signature of Fletcher.

Appointment of Fletcher as governor.

The Whig party, and William and Mary whom that party led to the throne of England, understood as well as any people in the world of that day, how to use those phrases which denounced tyranny and asserted the rights of Englishmen. But, as has been often remarked, this oligarchy — for it was nothing more — was quite as willing to use the results of the tyranny of the Stuarts, as if that tyranny had been their own. When Mather and Phips were in England, pleading for the restoration of the charter of Massachusetts, Somers

was as ready as any Tory lawyer would have been, to instruct them that the crown could take no steps backward. In his government of the new province of New York the new King did as his predecessor would have done. The Governor was instructed to send home all laws for approval; he was directed to introduce the Book of Common Prayer among Presbyterians, Huguenots, and Dutchmen, where perhaps James II. would have been glad to introduce a mass-book; he was to take a salary of £600 a year from the colony revenue, accepting no gift from the Assembly unless the King permitted; and he was to send to the King a list of prominent persons from whom the Governor's Council would be named. The Stuarts would hardly have found anything to change in this scheme for colonial administration.

Colonial administration under William and Mary.

King William.

William and Mary's first appointments, also, were such as reflected little credit on their advisers. It must be remembered that New York was more distant in time from England than any of her colonies are to-day; that the population of the city was hardly four thousand; that besides the city were "only Long Island and some other small islands, Zopus, Albany, and the limitts thereof," — to borrow from one of the Council's declarations of its weakness. If one considers how little care is given at this time by the most careful ministry to the selection of a colonial governor for ten thousand people on the other side of the world, it is easy to understand why the new-created Whig monarchy of William and Mary was as indifferent as it seemed to be in the choice of its representative in New York.

No more striking proof, for example, could be given of the carelessness with which colonial affairs were managed than the power bestowed upon Fletcher, who was not a man of more than ordinary ability, and of rather less than ordinary good character. His commission gave him the command of the militia of the New England colonies as well as his own. But Sir William Phips, when appointed Governor of Massachusetts, was also, by his commission, made commander-in-chief in Connecticut and Rhode Island. Yet both these colonies were under governments of their own in accordance with their

charters, and neither of them was likely to submit quietly to any assumption of authority within their borders by either Phips or Fletcher. It was thought necessary, for the safety of all the colonies against the hostility of the Indians, that there should be somewhere exclusive command over the whole body of provincial militia. The heedless appointment of two commanders-in-chief would have necessarily defeated that purpose, even had Connecticut and Rhode Island been disposed to submit to the orders of any other governor than their own. Phips and Fletcher quarrelled with each other, and both quarrelled with Treat of Connecticut. That colony sent General Fitz-John Winthrop to England to complain to the King of the violation of their rights under the charter. So strong was the feeling of her people, that twenty-two hundred of her three thousand freemen assembled to give popular sanction to Winthrop's mission. Rhode Island was no less determined to withstand Phips's attempt to displace her militia officers, and also sent an agent — Mr. Almy — to England with a protest against this assumption of power by the Massachusetts Governor.

Conflict of authority over the provincial militia.

Queen Mary.

But Connecticut was quite capable of defending her own rights without waiting for help from the King. Fletcher appeared in Hartford in October, 1693, and ordered the militia under arms. He assured the Assembly that he had no intention of exercising any undue authority over the colony, and in proof he offered the command of the troops to Governor Treat, as his lieutenant. The Assembly were equally determined that he should exercise no authority at all, whether he intended it or not; and Treat declined to be appointed second in command where he was already commander-in-chief.

Fletcher visits Connecticut.

The grim humor of the sturdy Puritans of Connecticut again showed itself as it had more than once before in recent years in resisting usurpation, or what they believed to be so. The militia were allowed to muster at Hartford, apparently to give to Fletcher's pretences a practical answer which could not be misunderstood. He ordered his commission and instructions to be read to the troops.

Captain Wadsworth was in command in front of the ranks, and, as some there remembered, he was not afraid of governors. When the reading began, he gave the order, "Beat the drums!" Their rattle completely drowned the voice of Captain Bayard, — Captain Nicholas Bayard, of New York. Governor Fletcher commanded silence. The reading recommenced, when Wadsworth shouted, "Drum! drum! I say." "Silence! silence!" cried the Governor. "Drum! drum!

The Reading of Fletcher's Commission.

I say," repeated the captain. Then, turning to Fletcher, he added, with a fine disregard of the present facts, but a keen perception of his duty to Connecticut, "If I am interrupted again, I will make the sun shine through you in a moment!" No further attempt was made to resume the reading, and such was the evident spirit of the crowd, that the Governor and his suite thought it prudent to quit Hartford with what dignity was still left them.

Fletcher and Phips both claimed Martha's Vineyard, and with equal heat promised each other to meet there in arms in the spring

of 1693; but when the spring came, each was otherwise engaged. Fletcher's principal occupation, according to Bellomont his successor, was rifling the revenue, and in particular, dealing with privateers and pirates, to whom he sold licenses, quite indifferent how they were used. Under his sway New York became, as Bellomont says, "a nest of pirates."

The Governor, however, did not altogether neglect his public duties. So long as Count Frontenac was governor of Canada, no English colony on the border had leisure to rest for an instant without alarm. He was every inch a soldier, and even in his old age, active and adventurous. The savage attacks made on the New England frontier have been described in another chapter.[1] The Mohawk villages, and Albany itself, were to renew the terrors of the capture of Schenectady.

Renewed French and Indian hostilities.

On Wednesday, the 8th of February, 1693, three years after the massacre of Schenectady, the settlers of that village were aroused by the report that an expedition of French and Christian Indians had arrived on the upper Mohawk. The news was sent at once to Albany, and the next day Schenectady was reinforced by a troop of horse, soon followed by Major Peter Schuyler, who took command. On his arrival he sent messengers to warn the nearest Mohawk fort; but these returned without being able to cross the river. On Friday a party of observation brought the news that two of the three Mohawk towns were already in the hands of the French. On Saturday an advance party of fifty was sent out to feel the enemy and build a fort of observation. They heard firing at the nearest Mohawk town. When the news that the enemy were so near came to Albany, the commander there collected a hundred men and sent them on Sunday to Schenectady. With these and the Schenectady detachment, in all about three hundred men, Major Schuyler marched on Monday afternoon, but too late to help the two Mohawk towns. These had been surprised by their Christian kinsmen on succeeding nights, and the inhabitants killed or captured, men, women, and children. It is said that the French tried to keep their Indians to a promise they had made of killing all their prisoners, but that, more humane than faithful, they refused.[2]

Schuyler's expedition.

After burning the towns the allies had turned to a jubilant, victorious return to Canada. Schuyler by a quick night march reached, early on Tuesday morning, the block-house built on Saturday; the enemy, it was said, were within eight miles, and a large party of friendly Indians were coming from the upper river. He sent out scouts towards the enemy and also a demand to Albany for more sup-

[1] See vol. ii., chap. xviii.

[2] Parkman's *Frontenac*.

plies to feed the reënforcements. These scouts, apparently without the knowledge of Schuyler, gave the enemy the surprising information that peace had been declared, and that Schuyler wanted only to parley. At this the Indians refused to go further, despite the prayers of the French, but built themselves a log fort where they prepared to wait for the overtures of peace. The French, unwilling and afraid to desert them, were constrained to stay as well.

On Wednesday Schuyler was joined by his reënforcement of about three hundred Indians, men and boys, and, in the afternoon, he cautiously marched ten miles on the track of the enemy, without meeting them. The next morning he marched ten miles further, when one of the Oneidas met him who had been sent by the French to gain over the Mohawks to their side. He told Schuyler of the encampment of the French. Sending back information of this to Schenectady, Schuyler again pushed on two miles, when the news was confirmed by an escaped prisoner. Advancing to a favorable position he built a fortified camp where he passed the night. On Friday morning his scouts brought him information that the enemy were but a mile distant. Breaking camp he marched forward till he came in sight of them. At this he gave orders to engage, risking his five hundred and fifty men against the rumored seven hundred protected by a log fort. But here his Indians failed him. They insisted on building a counter-fort, and he, like his French opponent, was compelled to assent.

Schuyler overtakes the enemy.

The French, not receiving the promised overtures of peace, sallied out three times against him, to be repulsed each time. It then began to snow, and both parties retired to their fortifications, and passed the night in great discomfort, the Albany troops suffering from hunger as well as from cold. The next morning a deserter brought in news that the enemy were packing up for flight, and scouts venturing up to the fort announced that they were gone. Schuyler wished to march immediately in pursuit, but his men refused to move till provisions should arrive. He therefore remained in camp all day, merely sending out a party of observation.

Retreat of the French.

On Sunday, at ten, the convoy arrived, and when the men had been served with their biscuits they were sent after the enemy. They marched quickly, and at four the news was sent from the front that they had come up with them. Now again, however, the Indians refused to move, their reason being that the French threatened to kill all the prisoners if they were attacked. After an hour's pleading they were persuaded, but too late; the enemy had crossed the Hudson on a "flake" of ice and were beyond pursuit.

Schuyler would have followed still, but the men were worn out and

hungry, and the Indians still mutinous. He therefore turned back, and reached Schenectady on Tuesday, a fortnight after the first alarm. Here he found Governor Fletcher, who had heard the news at New York on Sunday, the 12th, and had immediately collected one hundred and fifty men and set sail up the river. The voyage had taken three days, and he arrived too late.

Failure of Schuyler's pursuit.

After this raid Frontenac's party were not successful. Their provisions, left in dépôt on Lake Champlain, were spoiled, and the ice failed them. They broke into small parties, and in dreadful straits for food, returned to Canada only after severe hardships.

Schuyler and the Scouts.

Fletcher's laurels, such as they were, earned in this expedition, were all that belong to his administration. Its after history, till 1698, is merely the record of his intrigues for money, and his quarrels with assemblies. He was recalled that year to answer many charges of maladministration brought against him.

The Earl of Bellomont succeeded him. His appointment, with enlarged powers, had been talked of for two or three years. A party of some strength, comprising men of influence in England and the colonies, had urged a consolidated government of all the northern provinces, like that which had existed under Andros. But it was found difficult, if not impossible, to reconcile all their rival interests. Connecticut and Rhode Island, governing themselves under their recovered charters, were peculiarly hard to deal with. Jealous of their rights, which agents in London

The Earl of Bellomont Governor of New York, Massachusetts, and New Hampshire.

carefully watched over, they never willingly submitted to any law meant to be of general application; much less were they patient and obedient when conformity implied subordination. In matters of trade they consulted their own interests, without much regard to the interests of other colonies, or to royal regulations. They bought where they could buy cheapest, and sold where they could sell dearest, without asking leave of either Boston or New York, or consulting always the orders of the Board of Trade. When military aid was needed for defence against the Indians on other frontiers than their own, both colonies reserved the right of judging for themselves of their ability to meet such requisitions. It was in deference, probably, to their chartered rights and independent spirit, that Bellomont, who was appointed Governor of New York, Massachusetts, and New Hampshire, was only made Captain-general over the military forces of the two other New England provinces and of the Jerseys.

The new Governor found awaiting him in New York every kind of irregularity which had grown up under Fletcher's administration, — frauds upon government, systematic violations of the Navigation Laws, and the whole population of the city divided by a bitter feud between the Leisler and anti-Leisler factions. He came with a determination to break up piracy, reëstablish legitimate commerce, and enforce an honest collection of the revenue. To these objects he devoted himself with great energy and zeal during the three years of his administration.

Bellomont's policy.

Bellomont's sympathies were known, before he was appointed a provincial governor, to be with the Leisler party. As a member of a Parliamentary Committee he had heard all the testimony in regard to the execution of Leisler, and had said emphatically, that "he was murdered, and barbarously murdered." The new Governor used his influence at once over the New York Assembly to procure an act of indemnity for the family of that unfortunate victim of party hate; and within a few months of Bellomont's arrival the bodies of both Leisler and Milborne — which had been interred in private ground — were taken up and reburied, with public solemnities, in the Dutch Church, and their hatchments hung upon its walls.

His sympathy with the Leisler party.

The adherents of the murdered Governor were those who had earnestly believed in the wisdom of that revolution which had called William and Mary to the throne; it was their aim to maintain religious freedom, and to secure for the people the right, as far as possible, of popular government. Bellomont's decided course in favor of the popular party meant, perhaps, more to them than he intended. But he could have done nothing more certain to secure the applause of

THE RE-BURIAL OF LEISLER.

the larger portion of the people than this support of the Leisler party. It justified the popular abhorrence of a tyrannical and cruel act, and was hailed as the promise of a just and tranquil government.

The great object of Bellomont's administration, and to this he devoted himself with almost passionate zeal, was the suppression of that form of piracy which in the guise of privateering had almost supplanted honest commerce in nearly all the colonial seaports. The success of the English privateers in the long wars with France bred a race of men — the successors to the buccaneers — who cruised in all latitudes, and became quite indifferent whether the unfortunate ship which they captured was of one country or another. The ease with which commissions were granted for privateering increased the evil. The governor of a province like New York, when it had not ten thousand inhabitants, had no doubts as to his right to commission a rover who might never return to the harbor of New York, and might be a terror in all seas.

Piracy.

It was under such a system of naval lawlessness that New York became a "nest of pirates." The name of William Kidd or Kyd has become prominent among these because political rancor in England seized on his association with some of the great Whig leaders. But Kidd was only one of a class, — a man whose guilt was probably less than that of other men of his calling; but he is remembered where others are forgotten, because he confided too much in his great associates. His name first appears in the troubles of New York, in the midst of the excitement when Leisler held the fort against Ingoldsby. Then "this blaspheming privateer" as he is called, apparently with approval, brought his vessel up to the town, to assist Ingoldsby's party, and in their despatches he is commended for it. For this timely service he afterwards received a grant of a hundred and fifty pounds from the anti-Leisler Assembly.

Captain Kidd.

In 1695, Col. Robert Livingston of New York appeared before the Commissioners of Trade in London, to press against Governor Fletcher a charge for overawing the elections in New York. Among the witnesses against Fletcher called by Livingston was Captain Kidd, who was then in London. Livingston's confidence in him was such that he recommended him to Bellomont as a proper person to be commissioned against pirates; — the English government being already eager to break up the system of piracy, and Bellomont having been already suggested as Governor of New York.

Kidd commissioned against the pirates.

Bellomont acceded to the proposal and a joint-stock company, as we should now call it, was formed for the outfit of the *Adventure Galley* to be placed under Kidd's command. Somers, Halifax,

Shrewsbury, Romney, and Bellomont, were among the chief subscribers; and the King himself was to receive one tenth part of the profits of the adventure. The agreement provides that Kidd should sail in search of pirates who had left America with intent to cruise in the Red Sea and elsewhere. Bellomont and his friends were to provide a proper ship for Kidd's use, paying four fifths of the cost, while Kidd and Livingston paid one fifth. The crew was to be enlisted on condition of receiving for their service not more than one fourth of the prizes taken from pirates. If nothing were taken, Kidd and Livingston were to return the cost of the galley before March 21, 1697. Of the three fourths prize money after the crew were paid, Bellomont for the subscribers was to receive four fifths and Kidd and Livingston the remaining fifth. The King's tenth was to be paid by the stockholders. Kidd was bound in an obligation of twenty thousand pounds, and Livingston in a similar obligation of ten thousand, to fulfil their part of the agreement. The royal commission authorizing the adventure finally passed the great seal on the 26th day of January, 1695–96.

Beside giving leave to cruise against the French, the commission instructed Kidd to seize certain notorious pirates, Tew, Ireland, Wake, and Maze. There can be no doubt that his expedition was supposed to be fitted out against them.

He sails for New York.

Captain Kidd sailed for New York in April, 1696, with a crew of eighty men, taking on the voyage a French ship. In New York he advertised for volunteers, and enlarged his crew to about one hundred and fifty men of so bad repute that, after the issue of his adventures, people remembered it was said that Kidd would never be able to control so desperate a company.

He is next heard of at Madagascar, then a noted rendezvous for pirates, where they made themselves secure and lived in barbaric luxury. Kidd had cruised about for nine months without falling in with a single one of the sea-rovers whom he was commissioned to suppress. It was disobedience of orders to leave American waters for this distant latitude, but in Madagascar he hoped for such good fortune as would condone his disregard of instructions.

But not a single pirate-vessel was there in the ports of Madagascar. Then Kidd sailed for the western coast of Hindostan, almost in despair at his bad luck, aggravated now by scarcity of provisions. He soon fell in with the wreck of a French vessel with some coin on board, and with this he made purchases that relieved his immediate necessities. But still not a pirate was overtaken. Many richly laden Eastern ships were met with which the eager crew urged Kidd to take. He resisted until they fell in with a Mogul fleet under Dutch

and English convoy; one of the largest of the merchantmen he attacked, was roughly handled and repulsed. His position now was worse than ever; he had virtually fired upon the English and Dutch flags, and that offence must be atoned for by success at any hazard. He was now a pirate by force of circumstances, and his own inability to resist their pressure.

He turns pirate.

In August, 1698, when he was first heard from in New York, news came that he had taken an East Indiaman, called the *Quedagh Merchant*, and transferred his stores from the *Adventure* to that ship, burning his old vessel. Other piracies he also committed; many of his crew nevertheless deserted him for service more to their minds, Kidd still professing to act under the King's commission, and to reserve a large share of his plunder for the noble subscribers, through whose influence he hoped that his offences would be overlooked. But the East India Company had already given notices of his several piracies, particularly of the *Quedagh Merchant*, and orders had been issued for his arrest.

Orders issued for his arrest.

In May, 1699, he was heard from at Nevis. Soon after he was in Delaware Bay with forty men in a sloop; thence he "sailed into the Sound of New York and set Goods on Shore at several Places there, and afterward went to Rhode Island." From Block Island, where his sloop lay, he sent a message to the Earl of Bellomont, who was at Boston. He told him that he had left the *Quedagh Merchant* in a creek in Hispaniola, with goods of great value. On board his own sloop he had, he said, goods worth £10,000. As to the crimes alleged against him — of these, he said, he could prove his innocence. Bellomont showed this letter to the Massachusetts Council. With their approval, he wrote to Kidd "assuring him that if he would make his innocence appear, he might safely come to Boston."

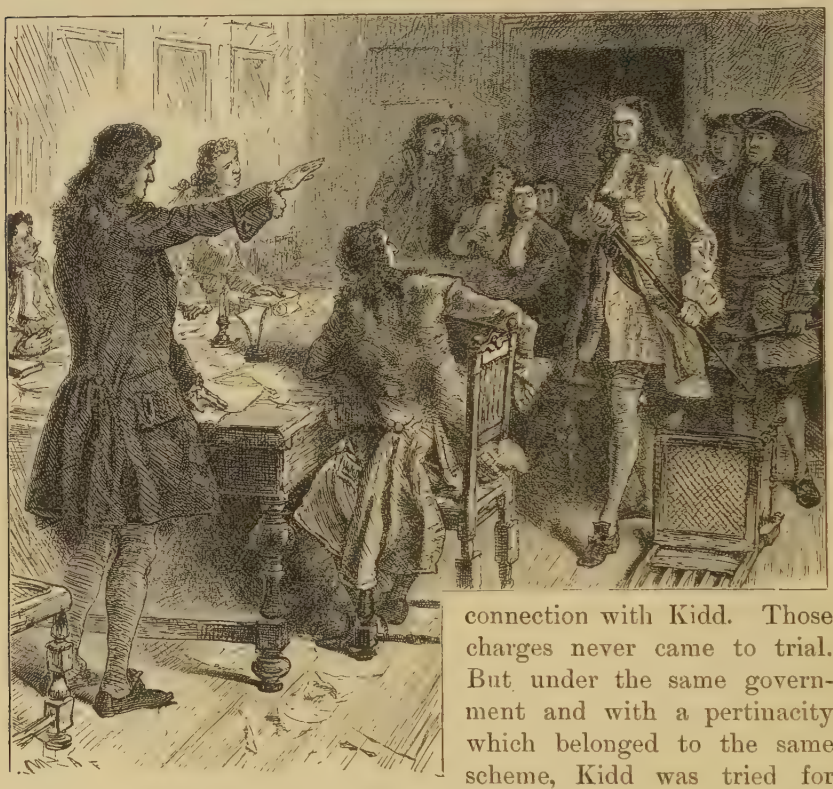
The audacity of Kidd's appearance in Boston is wholly accounted for by the existence of this safe conduct from Bellomont. Robert Livingston came to Boston also. He demanded from Bellomont the surrender of his bond for £10,000, and said that unless this were given up Kidd would never bring in the *Quedagh Merchant* and the wealth she contained. Bellomont says he construed this as a threat, and on the 6th of June, six days after Kidd's arrival, he arrested him at the Council Board. Kidd drew his sword, but was secured and sent to the Boston jail. While in jail he offered to Bellomont to go, as a prisoner, to the West Indies, and bring back £40,000 of treasure which would else be lost. But Bellomont refused the offer.

Kidd goes to Boston and is arrested.

The Admiralty received the news of Kidd's arrest in September, and on the 12th sent a vessel for him and his crew. She was driven

back by stress of weather, and Kidd did not finally arrive in England a prisoner until April, 1700. The delay was thought to be intentional by the critics of the Whigs. He was kept in prison a year. On the 15th of April, 1701, when the great Tory prosecution against Somers, the Whig Chancellor, was begun in the House of Commons, one of the charges against him was his

Kidd taken to England, tried, and hanged.



Arrest of Kidd.

connection with Kidd. Those charges never came to trial. But under the same government and with a pertinacity which belonged to the same scheme, Kidd was tried for murder, and another bill was found for piracy against him and several of his crew.

The report of his trial is one of the melancholy instances of the unjust administration in those days of English criminal law. The evidence brought against him justifies no sentence but one of manslaughter, resulting from the death of Moore, his gunner, from a blow given in a brawl, in which there could have been no previous intention to kill, so far as appeared from the testimony. But Kidd was found guilty of murder. The trial for piracy followed. Kidd claimed that the *Quedagh Merchant* was sailing under a French commission when he took her, and that her capture was, therefore, justified. But this commission, if it existed, was among Bellomont's

papers, and Kidd could not produce it. The government was determined to have him hanged, and he was hanged.

One of the most popular of seamen's ballads [1] has preserved his name, while those of Tew and Bradish and Bellamy are well-nigh forgotten. If a man is innocent unless he is proved at law to be guilty, Kidd must be regarded, in the light of the present legal ruling, as innocent when he was hanged. But his stay in the East was extended long after the period when he promised to return. The capture of the *Quedagh Merchant* in no sense fulfilled the object for which he was sent, and the stealth and concealment of her treasure cannot have been the acts of innocent men. On the other hand Bellomont's correspondence, now fully made public, is consistent all through. He unquestionably believed that the original purpose had been abandoned, and he did not dare, therefore, to sully his hands with the treasure which Kidd gained by that course.

Injustice of Kidd's sentence.

Had such a French commission existed as Kidd pretended, the seizure of the *Quedagh* was lawful, and four fifths of £40,000 of treasure belonged to Bellomont and his associates. It is hard to believe that, without a motive, the Governor sacrificed an innocent man, and gave up wealth which was large to him, merely in obedience to the pressure of political enemies. The true verdict is, probably, that Kidd deserved to be hanged, though never found guilty by a fair trial. It is to be observed that at the time no one pretended that Kidd was innocent. The utmost that the critics of the trial maintained was that Bellomont and his friends were also guilty.

Lord Bellomont died in March, 1701, having passed about one half his term of office in New England. To his administration of the affairs of that portion of his government we shall recur in subsequent pages. At the time of his death Nanfan, the Lieutenant-governor, was absent from New York; and the party known as the "White People" — the "Black People" and the "White People" had become the designations of the Leisler and anti-Leisler factions — seized the opportunity for an attempt to regain possession of power. The timely return of Nanfan, however, defeated this purpose, and the leaders were signally punished. Edward Livingston, who was one of them, was the collector of customs and receiver of quitrents. The Assembly demanded his accounts. Whether disposed or not to obey this order it was out of

Death of Lord Bellomont.

Contest between the Leisler and anti-Leisler parties in New York.

[1] Strangely enough, in the ballad, even in the early editions, his name is made "Robert Kidd." William Moore the gunner is rightly named, as the song is sung in the forecastle to this day: —

"I murdered William Moore,
As I sailed, as I sailed."

his power to do so, for his papers were in the hands of Lord Bellomont's widow, who had gone to England. The Assembly thereupon, whether justly or not, declared him a defaulter, and confiscated his property.

Against Bayard, who had had so much to do with Leisler's death, the feeling was even more bitter than against Livingston. An act, passed while Sloughter was Governor, making it treason "to disturb the peace, good, or quiet of the province by force of arms or otherwise," was largely Bayard's work. To this law he now made himself liable by sending to England complaints of Nanfan's conduct of affairs. He was brought to trial and found guilty. And he would certainly have been punished under the act of his own contriving, had not a new Governor, Lord Cornbury, arrived, whose character and associations led him into immediate affiliation with what in our time would be called the conservative party. Bayard and his friends were again in the ascendency, and Atwood, who had presided at Bayard's trial, rather with the zeal and asperity of a prosecuting attorney than the cool impartiality of a judge, thought it prudent to leave the province for his own safety.[1]

Queen Anne.

The new Governor, Lord Cornbury, was the cousin of Queen Anne — who came to the throne at the death of William in 1702 — and the grandson of Hyde, Lord Clarendon. He was simply a disreputable profligate, and so overwhelmed with debt that he could only escape a jail by quitting the kingdom. As he was to be provided for, his worthless character was not considered a disqualification for a colonial governorship. The summer of his arrival was marked by a dreadful mortality from yellow fever, introduced

Lord Cornbury Governor.

[1] A tradition is preserved that Bayard was respited from time to time by the payment of money to Lieutenant-governor Nanfan. But his children, tired at last of these costly appeals to their filial piety, expostulated with their father for not consenting to be hanged, as the cost of saving him would come to be, they feared, their pecuniary ruin. — *Du Simitiere, N. Y. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, 1868.

from the West Indies, and in ten weeks' time more than five hundred of the population were swept away. Among them were some of the most distinguished citizens, but the Governor escaped by retiring to Jamaica on Long Island.

Cornbury was by no means singular among colonial governors, in that he regarded his office as given him solely that he might enrich himself. He entered upon its duties, with that purpose, with enthusiasm and success. The Assembly was persuaded to appropriate £1,500 under a pretence of fortifying the Narrows at the entrance of New York harbor, in anticipation of a French invasion. The Narrows remained unfortified and the Governor was the richer by £1,500. The lesson was not lost on the Assembly, and they appointed a Treasurer of their own, who was to see that future appropriations were spent in accordance with their intentions. The Governor resented this reflection upon his conduct and interference with his will, and an appeal was made to the Crown. It was a substantial gain to the cause of popular rights that the royal authority sustained the action of the Assembly. The incident is one of many to point the truth of the reflection, that it was ultimately to the advantage of America, that the government in England sent profligate and worthless men to be colonial governors.[1] His character.

Though destitute of any sense of public or of private virtue, Cornbury was not the less zealous on behalf of the Church. It was a zeal, however, not for religion but for the established Church of England as a part of the State. A dissenter was to him intolerable as a political freethinker who was disloyal to the State, and with whom there was no need of keeping terms of either justice or mercy. When driven from New York to Jamaica by the prevalence of yellow fever, he obtained by the courtesy of Mr. Hubbard, the Presbyterian minister, possession of the parsonage, the best house in the town. When no longer needed for his own residence he delivered it to the few Episcopalians of the village, and the glebe attached was leased for the support of their church. He subsequently forbade that any clergyman or school teacher should preach or teach except by special license. By his persecution of two Presbyterian preachers, McKenzie and Hampton, he elevated them into martyrs, and aroused a resentment which appealed to the love of religious freedom throughout the colonies. Persecution of Dissenters

No royal governor ever made himself more obnoxious to the whole country. The ambitious and unscrupulous Dudley, who was at this time chief magistrate of Massachusetts, was using all the power which his office gave him, and all the influence he possessed in Eng-

[1] Bancroft's *History of the United States*.

land, to destroy the charter governments. He found a willing ally in Cornbury. Both professed to wish for a union of all the northern colonies under a single governor. Cornbury wrote home "that he was satisfied this vast continent which might be made very useful to England, if right measures were taken, would never be so till all the proprietary and charter governments were brought under the crown." The immediate purpose, however, of the two Governors was that Rhode Island should be annexed to Massachusetts and Connecticut to New York; and it was only by the utmost diligence of Sir Henry Ashurst, the agent in London of Connecticut, and of William Penn, who then represented Rhode Island, that the design was defeated.

Dudley and Cornbury unite against Connecticut and Rhode Island.

The Proprietors of East and West Jersey had united, in 1702, in a voluntary surrender to the Queen of their right of civil government. Cornbury was appointed by a separate commission Governor of that province as well as of New York, for the Jersey Proprietors did not intend, in consenting to receive a governor from the crown, to surrender their provincial independence. Each province retained its own Assembly and was governed by its own laws. But Cornbury resided in New York, making only occasional visits to Perth Amboy or Burlington. Even a governor conscientious in the discharge of his official duty, could hardly have failed, in thus neglecting the inferior province, to sacrifice its interests. Cornbury, who was not conscientious, and who looked upon official duty as only a means for the furtherance of personal ends, considered New Jersey merely as an outlying possession to be farmed for his benefit. Ingoldsby was his lieutenant-governor, and he and other favorites ruled New Jersey in their own and their master's interest, without the smallest regard to the rights and welfare of the people.

Surrender of Proprietary Government in the Jerseys.

In New Jersey, as in the other colonies, the popular party, if not the stronger, was the abler party. It was led by wise and bold men, chief among them Samuel Jenings, a Quaker preacher, — who had been Governor of West Jersey, — and Lewis Morris, — afterwards Governor, — a nephew of Richard Morris, of the Manor of Morrisania, near New York. Of Jenings, Cornbury said, he "had impudence enough to face the Devil."[1] He never hesitated to face Cornbury, whether in or out of the Assembly, of which he was for some time Speaker, with calm and fearless dignity.

If Cornbury was able to enforce submission to harsh and arbitrary rule, the steady resistance of such men as these did not permit the rights of the people to be lost sight of. It was easy to dissolve an

[1] Smith's *History of New Jersey.*

obstinate Assembly, and not impossible to create another more compliant to the Governor's will, by interfering with the freedom of elections, and excluding, on one pretext or another, members who could not be relied upon to do his bidding. But the large minority, who were really the popular representatives, could be neither corrupted nor silenced. The long and sharp controversies between Cornbury and the Assemblies are a significant evidence of the spirit of the people, and the insolent contempt with which their just and dignified remonstrances were met by a royal governor.[1]

Cornbury and the New Jersey Assembly.

Cornbury.[2]

In an address of the Assembly of 1707 it is said: "It were to be wished the affairs of New York would admit the Governor oftener to attend those of New Jersey, he had not then been unacquainted with our grievances; and we are inclined to believe they would not have grown to so great a number." These grievances are recounted, — among them the want of a due administration of justice, and the pardon or permitted escape of convicted murderers; the exorbitant fees of courts, and the exaction of illegal fees generally; the want of an office of the Secretary of the Province, and of a Court of Probate, in the Eastern Division, whereby one half the people were compelled to take long journeys on business of constant occurrence; the keeping of the provincial records, which contained all the evidence of titles to estates, by a person who was not even a resident of the colony, and had given no security for the faithful discharge of his trust; the assumption by the Governor of the right of granting land-warrants, which belonged to the Proprietors; the evasion of quit-rents, and the alleged payment of large sums of money to the Governor for a dissolution of the Assem-

The grievances of New Jersey.

[1] See papers relating to these controversies in full in Smith's *History*.

[2] Lord Cornbury was in the habit of appearing on public occasions, and even, it is said, in the streets of New York, dressed as a woman. He declared that it was proper he should be so clothed the more fittingly to represent his sovereign mistress. The picture in the text is from an original portrait in the Kensington Museum, London.

bly to that end; the granting of an exclusive privilege — history has repeated herself in our time in this form of New Jersey grievance — to cart goods across the province between Burlington and Amboy, then the only practicable route between New York and Philadelphia; and, add the remonstrants, "we cannot but be very uneasy when we find by these new methods of government, our liberties and properties so much shaken, that no man can say he is master of either, but holds them as tenant by courtesy and at will, and may be stript of them at pleasure," and therefore it is that they seek some relief from their manifold burdens. "For," they reflect, "Liberty is too valuable a thing to be easily parted with."

Such men might have been conciliated; they could not be frightened. "I don't know of any grievances," replied Cornbury, "this province labours under, except it be the having a certain number of people in it who will never be faithful to, nor live quietly under any government, nor suffer their neighbours to enjoy any peace, quiet, or happiness, if they can help it." This was ill-judged insolence. They were "apt to believe, upon the credit of your Excellency's assertion," replied the Assembly, that there are a number of people of this kind in the Province; but, they add, "such people are pests in all governments, have ever been so in this, and we know of none who can lay a fairer claim to these characters than many of your excellency's favorites."

In the Assembly were many who were members of the Society of Friends besides Jenings, the speaker. In reply to the respectful request that the Secretary of the Province should have more than one office, and that there should be more than one place where wills could be admitted to probate, the Governor said: "Of all the people in the world, the Quakers ought to be the last to complain of the hardships of travelling a few miles upon such an occasion, who never repine at the trouble and charges of travelling several hundred miles to a yearly meeting, where, it is evidently known, that nothing was ever done for the good of the country, but on the contrary continual contrivances are carried on for the undermining of the government both in church and state." "It is the General Assembly of the Province," rejoined that body, "that complains, and not the Quakers, with whose persons (considered as Quakers) or meetings we have nothing to do, nor are we concerned in what your excellency says against them." Perhaps Friends might think themselves called upon to vindicate their meetings from the irrelevant aspersions which his excellency so liberally bestowed upon them. But those of them who were members of the House, now "begged leave in behalf of themselves and their friends, to tell the Governor they must answer him in the words of

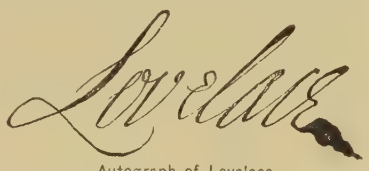
Nehemiah to Sanballat, contained in the 8th verse of the 6th chapter of Nehemiah, namely, 'There is no such thing done as thou sayest, but thou feignest them out of thine own heart.'"

But rebukes were unheeded, as grievances were unredressed. The Assembly determined, as they told the Governor, to appeal to the Queen for protection. Like complaints went up to the throne from all the colonies, and Cornbury was recalled in 1708. He did not, however, immediately leave New York, for so soon as it was known that he was no longer Governor he was arrested for debt. He remained in jail till, by the death of his father, he succeeded to the Earldom of Clarendon, when he was released by the privilege of rank.

Cornbury recalled and imprisoned in New York.

Lord Lovelace, who succeeded Cornbury as Governor of the same provinces, came attended by that good fortune which belongs to all new dynasties when following bad ones. People were sure that nothing could be so bad as that which they had just seen. He arrived on the 18th of December, 1708, and was received with enthusiasm. The Assembly, in its address to him, said: "Our wishes are that measures may be taken to encourage the few inhabitants left to stay in the provinces, and others to come." Unwilling to quarrel with a new Governor they voted to him £1,600 for that year, reserving the privilege of renewing or refusing the grant. Before Lord Lovelace could protest against the restriction he died, on the very day when the bill passed the house.[1]

Lovelace Governor.



Autograph of Lovelace.

His death.

In the interregnum, before the arrival of his successor, Governor Hunter, the administration was in the hands of that Colonel Richard Ingoldsby, who had held the government while Fletcher was waited for, and was more lately the lieutenant and the tool of Cornbury in the Jerseys. The long war between Queen Anne and King Louis was still in progress, and the colony was greatly excited by a new project for the invasion of Canada. In this juncture the first bills of credit, which New York ever issued, were put out, the treasury being wholly empty. But the failure of the English fleet, which was to attack Canada by the St. Lawrence, broke up the whole expedition, to the great mortification of all who engaged in it.

Ingoldsby Governor *ad interim*.

The conquest of the French province, however, was too important to the colonies to be abandoned. The Eastern Indians were easily incited at any moment, to fall upon the exposed frontiers of New

[1] May 5, 1709.

England. At the least rumor of war the little villages and scattered farms, from the Connecticut to the Penobscot, trembled at every unusual sound from the forest lest the war-whoop of the savage should break its silence. The friendship or the subjection of the Five Nations could never be relied upon so long as the French were behind them on the banks of the St. Lawrence. They were the allies of the English now, and the advantage was too great not to be made use of at once. Colonel Schuyler sailed for England, taking with him five distinguished chiefs of the Confederacy. With these living witnesses to the promised faithfulness of their nation he hoped to give irresistible weight to his arguments upon the necessity of the conquest of the French.

Indian chiefs in England.

Ho Nee Yeath Tan No Ron King of the Generechgarich

It was a hundred years since Weymouth's two New England savages had stalked about the streets of London; almost a hundred since Pocahontas and her companions were brought over from Virginia. These Iroquois chiefs from New York[1] were regarded with no less curiosity by the crowds that followed them than Weymouth's stolen savages; were received with no less ceremony and distinction at Court than had awaited the Virginian princess. They made a speech, — or a speech was put into their mouths, — wherein they avowed their devotion to the Queen of England, their hostility to their French.

[1] No. 50 of *The Spectator* — Friday, April 27, 1711 — is an essay suggested by the visit of those Indian chiefs to London, and the essay, in its turn, may possibly have suggested to Macaulay his famous New Zealander, who, in the distant future, from a broken arch of London Bridge, is to sketch the ruins of St. Paul's. "When the four Indian Kings," wrote Addison, "were in this country about a twelvemonth ago, I often mixed with the rabble and followed them a whole day together, being wonderfully struck with the sight of everything that is new or uncommon." Pretending then to have found at their lodgings, after their departure, a bundle of papers, he gives some extracts from the "abundance of very odd observations which I find this little fraternity of kings made during their stay in the isle of Great Britain." Colden in his letters on Smith's History of New York (see *N. Y. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, 1868), declares these Indians were not chiefs, though passed off as such by Schuyler and Nicholson, and so accepted in England. (See also *Mag. Am. Hist.*, vol. ii.)

The portraits are taken from copies in the Rooms of the Antiquarian Society, in Worcester, Mass., of large engravings, published in 1710.

Schuyler gained his end, and the results were more important, perhaps, than he had hoped for. It was not difficult to convince the ministry how great an influence further operations in America might have upon the conduct of the war in Europe. Ships and men were provided for another expedition, and, though the brilliant achievement which crowned it — the capture of Port Royal, related in another chapter — was mainly the act of New England men, Nicholson and Schuyler had good reason to be proud of their share in it.

Tee Yee Neen Ho Ga Pon Emperour of the Six Nations

Six months before the taking of Port Royal Ingoldsby had been superseded by Robert Hunter as Governor of New York. He and the Assembly agreed on one point, though disagreeing on almost all others, — that no effort was to be spared to carry on the war against the French in America. Perhaps they were emulous of the success of New England in the conquest of Nova Scotia; at any rate, a fresh expedition against Canada, ordered by the home government, received their hearty coöperation. New York supplied six hundred men, in addition to six hundred Iroquois, — brought into the field by the influence of Colonel Schuyler, — as her proportion of the colonial contingent; and another issue of £10,000 in paper money was resorted to for their support. The other colonies were not less energetic. Connecticut and New Jersey added sixteen hundred men to the army of four thousand which Nicholson mustered at Albany for an expedition against Montreal. Massachusetts had nine hundred men in readiness to embark on board the English fleet of sixteen men of war and forty transports which arrived in Boston in the summer of 1711 for an attack upon Quebec. Of this fleet Sir Hovenden Walker was the admiral, and the land force on board, when it sailed for the St. Lawrence in July, was under the command of General Hill, a brother of Mrs. Masham, the favorite of the Queen. Seven English regiments and the Massachusetts reënforcement numbered altogether nearly seven thousand men.

Robert Hunter, Governor of New York.

Preparations to invade Canada.

The incompetence of Admiral Walker and the ignorance of the pi

lots brought inevitable disaster. The fleet had sailed only ten leagues up the St. Lawrence when, by some fatal mismanagement, ten or eleven of the ships drifted upon the rocks, where they went to pieces, and a thousand men perished.[1]

Dispersion of Walker's fleet.

Nicholson, meanwhile, had marched from Albany with his army of four thousand men to attack Montreal. Taking the route of the expedition of the year before, and that under Winthrop in 1691, by way of Wood's Creek and Lake Champlain, he had only gone so far as the Lake, when he received the news of the disaster to the fleet. De Vaudreuil, the Governor of Canada, relieved from all fears of an attack upon Quebec, was now free to meet the invasion by land. Nicholson had no alternative but to fall back to Albany. Then the failure of this new attempt at the conquest of Canada — the most formidable that had yet been undertaken — was complete.

Retreat of Nicholson.

Sa Ga Yeath Qua Pieth Ton King of the Maquas

Complete, that is in its direct aim; indirectly, the gain was great to England. De Vaudreuil feared that France would soon cease to hold a rood of soil on the American continent if an army of ten thousand Englishmen should, at the same moment, summon Montreal and Quebec to surrender. Every Frenchman at his command he kept in Canada for a desperate resistance. Castin, the Governor of Nova Scotia, begged in vain for aid to recapture Port Royal. De Vaudreuil understood its importance; the French minister regretted its loss and was anxious for its recovery. But the delay, which the invasion of Canada at first made imperative, was soon past remedy. France was exhausted by the war; the Whig party — the party of peace — had attained to power in England; a few months later Marlborough was deposed and disgraced, and the war was at an end. By the treaty of Utrecht Nova Scotia was ceded to England; — the first substantial success in that long strug-

Cession of Nova Scotia to England.

[1] Charlevoix (*History of New France*) says that the bodies of three thousand men were found upon the beach, but this is unquestionably an error. Dunlap (*History of New York*) repeats it.

gle for supremacy on the American continent, and which was only to cease with the complete expulsion of the French which this acquisition of so large a territory foreshadowed.[1]

When Hunter retired in 1719 the improved condition of the people justified the congratulatory address he made to the Assembly. His relations were more amicable with that body when the necessities of war no longer strained the resources of the colony. But, notwithstanding his avowal of the hope that "as the very name of faction or party seems to be forgotten, may it ever be in oblivion," he left to his successor, Burnet, — the son of Bishop Burnet, — causes enough for dissension.

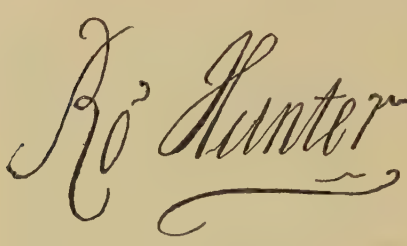
Eson Ohkean King of the River Nation

As the friend and correspondent of Hunter, Burnet had the benefit of his experience, and had become, when he assumed the government in 1720, familiar with the affairs of the colony. That he failed to make himself acceptable to the people was not from any want of devotion to its interests. He adopted the doctrine of the statesmen of the time that the presence of the French on the northern border was a perpetual and a dangerous menace to all the English colonies. Where war had failed, other measures, he hoped, might be more successful. The French, he reasoned, drew their chief support from trade with the Indians; and as their commerce with Europe was small, from the long and difficult voyage up the St. Lawrence, they were largely dependent upon the English at Albany for supplies for traffic with the native tribes. To starve out a troublesome neighbor, and to secure, at the same time, complete control of the Indians, Burnet conceived to be the wisest

Governor Burnet and his policy.

[1] One of the political scandals of the time was that the attempted invasion of Canada under Hill and Nicholson, which cost the lives of a thousand men and plunged the colonies into debt, was a job of St. John's, — Lord Bolingbroke, — the Secretary of State. In the bitter controversies of parties no story was deemed too monstrous for belief. Recent researches prove that St. John was grossly wronged by this charge, and that he was exceedingly anxious for the conquest of Canada, believing it would greatly strengthen his administration and perpetuate his power. See Palfrey's *History of New England*, vol. iv., p. 281, note.

policy. He proposed to prohibit, therefore, all commercial intercourse between his own province and the French of Canada. In this he had the support of the Assembly which he found and, for a time, continued in office.



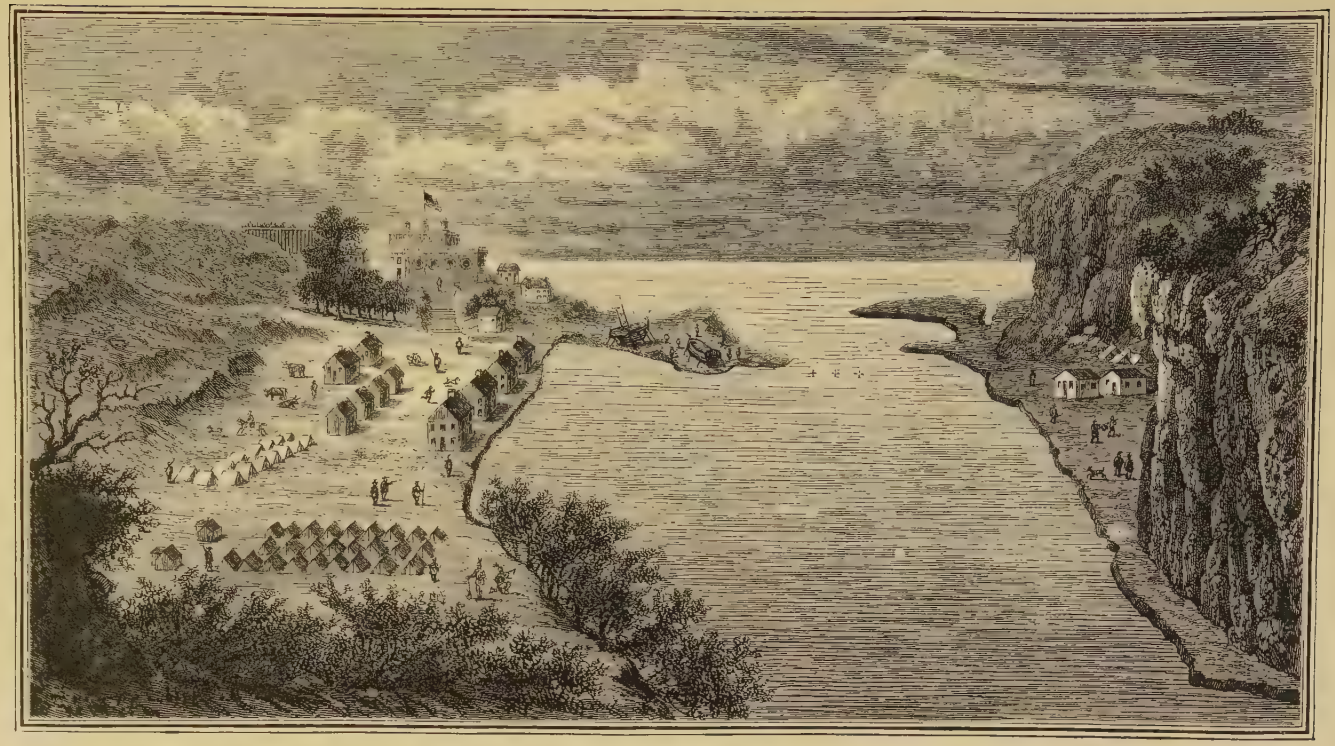
Signature of Hunter.

But selfish interests were stronger than law. The trade with Canada continued notwithstanding a prohibitory act. A strong party was soon arrayed against the policy of the Governor on this subject, led by men who would no doubt be ready enough to fight the French if occasion offered, but who were not to be deterred by law from a profitable trade with the worst enemies. The party in opposition was strengthened by a growing hostility to the Court of Chancery, established by Hunter without the consent of the Assembly, and declared to be injurious to the rights of the people. Personal unpopularity, with which politics had nothing to do, increased the number of the Governor's opponents. His impulsive temper led him into difficulties which a more prudent ruler would have avoided; he thus lost friends and gained enemies by becoming involved in a bitter controversy among the members of the French Church in New York, which led to its division.

His administration, however, was notable in that it did much to strengthen the English alliance with the Indians and to weaken that of the French. A fort was built and a trading-post established at Oswego; advantage was taken of the exasperation of the Indians at the encroachments of the French at Niagara. The Five Nations were induced to convey their country to the English King; the trade with other native tribes was enlarged and extended, and deputations of the Miamies from the Upper Mississippi, and of the Michilimackinacks from the Great Lakes, were attracted to Albany.

The Five Nations at this time had become the Six Nations by the addition of the Tuscaroras from the south.[1] They understood, quite as

[1] In 1689 the population of the Five Nations was estimated at 2,550 men; ten years afterward — in 1699 — it had fallen to 1,230. At the period of the Revolution it was computed that all the men, women, and children of the Six Nations numbered 9,050. These had decreased in 1845, according to Mr. Schoolcraft's estimate, to 6,942, of whom only about one half remained in New York. The politics of this powerful confederacy became of less and less importance as New York grew to be something more than a trading depot for beaver skins and elk skins. Remnants of this as well as of many other of the earlier Indian tribes still linger in the Atlantic States. On the western slope of the continent they still, in undiminished numbers, though under new names, remain as a factor in na-



OSWEGO.
[From an Old Print.]

well as either the French or the English, how important they were to both, and that their true policy was to play off their powerful neighbors against each other. To this policy they adhered with what may be called a savage cunning, but which was in fact wise statesmanship, till half a century later, when France was no longer a power in America, and all that was left to England was the comparatively little she had acquired from France.

Confederacy of the Six Nations.

The opposition aroused by Burnet's measures was strong enough to effect his removal. The royal assent was withheld to the act prohibiting trade with Canada. A new Assembly was chosen, a majority of which was hostile to the Governor, and he was transferred in 1727 to Massachusetts Bay.[1] He died in Boston two years afterward from fever brought on by falling into the water when thrown from his carriage on a causeway in Cambridge.

Death of Governor Burnet.

Governor Burnet said of himself, that his genius did not bud till late; — that his father, Bishop Burnet, despaired till he was twenty years of age, whether he would make any figure in life. To the reader, in an age which has wholly forgotten him, the bishop's doubt, through his son's boyhood, seems well founded. But, as compared with other royal governors, it can be well understood how many of the people of New York and of Massachusetts looked back on him with a certain respect. To write poor commentaries on the book of Revelation, as he did, is an occupation more worthy of the lieutenant of the King, than, like Fletcher, to sell licenses to pirates, or, like Cornbury, to steal appropriations made for fortifications. These commentaries, however, were not thought unworthy of condemnation — that highest evidence sometimes of worth. If we may believe Smith, the New Jersey historian, an act was proposed in the Assembly of that province with special reference to the Governor's book. Its title was "An Act against denying the divinity of our Saviour, Jesus Christ, the doctrine of the Blessed Trinity, the truth of the Holy Scriptures, and spreading Atheistical Books." But no other mark appears of any want of harmony between him and the people of that portion of his government. Under him, as under most of the Governors of the viceroyalty of New York and New Jersey, the smaller province was neglected for the larger, and thrived with neglect.

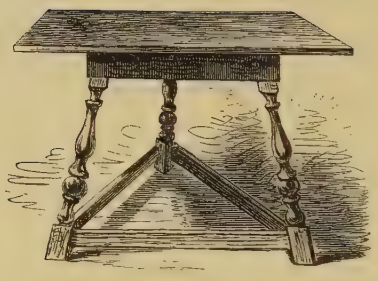
Burnet's administration in New Jersey.

tional politics, still fighting, with their backs to the Pacific, inch by inch for possession of their hunting-grounds.

[1] He was received at the Rhode Island boundary line by a delegation and escorted to Boston with unusual marks of welcome. It is said that he was annoyed by the long graces before meat, and asked when these lengthy ceremonies would come to an end. Colonel Tayler of Boston, one of his escort, replied: "Please your honour, the graces will increase in length until you come to Boston; after that they will shorten till you come to your government of New Hampshire; there you will find no grace at all."

Governor Montgomerie.

John Montgomerie, Burnet's successor, probably owed his appointment to the personal favor of George the Second, to whom he had been groom of the chamber. He is said to have refused to act as chancellor, as his commission bade him, until specially ordered to do so. He arrived on the 15th of April, 1728. His administration was short and uneventful, and he died on the first of July, 1731. After an interregnum of thirteen months in which Mr. Rip Van Dam, as senior member of the Council, acted as governor, Colonel Cosby, who arrived August 1, 1732, succeeded to the office.



Colonial Table.

The Old Capitol at Annapolis.

CHAPTER III.

VIRGINIA AND MARYLAND.

Virginia at the Close of Berkeley's Administration. — Philip Ludwell and Governor Jeffreys. — Administration of Lord Culpepper. — Wretched Condition of the Colony. — Over-production of Tobacco. — The "Plant-cutters." — Inflation of the Currency by the Governor. — Lord Effingham succeeds Culpepper. — A Change for the Better under Governor Nicholson. — William and Mary College. — Nicholson removed to Maryland. — Affairs in that Colony. — Lord Baltimore deprived of Political Power. — Maryland a Royal Province. — Church of England established by Nicholson. — Edmund Andros, Governor of Virginia. — Succeeded by Nicholson. — His Second Administration, and Causes of his Recall. — Governor Spotswood. — His Expedition over the Blue Ridge. — Settlement of the Shenandoah Valley. — Greater Religious Toleration. — Progress and Prosperity of Virginia. — Successive Governors, till the Arrival of Dinwiddie.

The suppression of Bacon's Rebellion did not necessarily bring tranquillity to Virginia. The leaders on both sides — Bacon and Berkeley — were dead, and a heavy retribution had fallen upon many who had vainly hoped that in an appeal to arms they would find a redress for all their grievances. There was rather sullen acquiescence than cheerful submission in the restoration of order; for many who were too prudent or too timid to give to

Condition of Virginia after Bacon's Rebellion.

Bacon their open support, no doubt regretted that nothing was gained by the Rebellion.

As in other colonies, the attitude of the Assembly indicated the popular temper. That attitude was one of watchful determination to maintain, within the law, the rights of the people, and resist, so far as it was prudent or possible, their infringement by royal governors. When Berkeley asked that the Assembly would bestow some mark of distinction upon Accomac County for the loyalty of its citizens at the most trying period of the Rebellion, the Speaker, Colonel Warner, answered, no doubt as truly for his colleagues as he did frankly for himself: "He knew not," he said, "what marks of distinction his honor could have sette on those of Accomack, unlesse to give them earmarks or burnt marks for robbing and ravaging honest people, who stay'd at home, and took care of the estates of those who ran away, when none intended to hurt 'em."[1] The Governor could hardly have failed to understand that beneath the sneer was concealed some sympathy for the rebels as well as a rebuke of himself.

It was this Assembly whose remonstrances against his cruel persecution of the late insurgents drove Berkeley at length to seek refuge in England. It was this Assembly also which refused to comply with the demand of the royal commissioners for its journals, notwithstanding the evident disposition of those officers to deal mercifully with the partisans of Bacon. The members conceived it to be incompatible with their honor and their rights, as the representatives of the people, to submit their proceedings to the representatives of the King, and they boldly protested against the act when the journals were forcibly seized by the commissioners.

Continued dissensions between the parties.

The royalists, not unnaturally, presumed upon the success of their cause, and were everywhere avaricious and overbearing. Accomac County claimed exemption from taxes for twenty years, in return for those services upon which Colonel Warner, the Speaker, put so small a value. Sir Herbert Jeffreys — one of the King's commissioners, and, after Berkeley's departure, Lieutenant-governor — found it no easy task to divide the line of truth and justice between the malcontents on both sides. One of the chief of these was that Philip Ludwell who by his daring and zeal had served the loyal cause so effectually, at a critical moment in Bacon's Rebellion, by the capture of Bland and his fleet in the Chesapeake.

The affair of Philip Ludwell.

In spite of the amnesty granted to the late rebels, he sued one of them — George Walklate — for alleged damages done to his property in some rebel raid. The Governor granted protection to Walklate, and refused the writ which Ludwell demanded. "The

[1] Burk's *History of Virginia.*

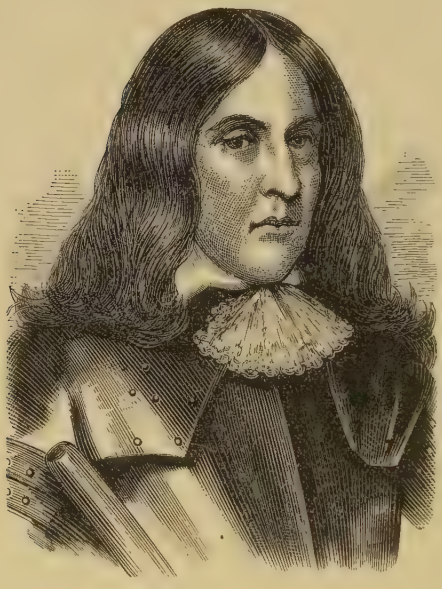
Governor was a worse rebel than Bacon" — was Ludwell's loud and angry complaint — "for he had broke the laws of the country, which Bacon never did . . . . that he was perjured . . . . that he was not worth a groat in England . . . . and that, if every pitiful little fellow, with a periwig, that came in Governor to this country, had liberty to make the laws, as this had done, his children, nor no man's else, could be safe in the title or estate left them."

If laws are silent in time of war, no less true is it that morals and manners are loosest when war is over. Ludwell, indeed, was brought before the Council to answer for this invective against the Governor; the offence was pronounced treasonable, and it was ordered that the proceedings be sent to the King and Privy Council, that due punishment might be awarded him. But the General Assembly decided, on his appeal to that body, that the defence as well as the accusations should go to England, which was all he could in justice ask. Perhaps the death of Jeffreys in 1678 may have put an end to the suit; perhaps the Lords in Council thought it wiser to lay it and leave it on their table, for Ludwell seems to have gone unpunished. On the other hand his defiance of a royal governor was welcomed apparently as the espousal of the cause of the people, and he is next heard of, a few years later, as the agent of the colony in England to seek a redress of grievances which had grown meanwhile more and more burdensome — grievances, however, which Jeffreys seems to have been sincerely disposed to remove, while they made an ardent patriot of Ludwell only when he found that by patriotism he could best subserve his private interests.

But the incident is of little moment except that it shows how serious were the differences that divided parties in Virginia, and how little even an appeal to arms had done to reconcile them. The administrations of Jeffreys and Sir Henry Chichely, — who soon succeeded Jeffreys as Lieutenant-governor — did little for the colony, except that they secured peace by a treaty with the Indians, brought about chiefly by the influence of New York with the Five Nations. Something more was hoped for from the coming of Lord Culpepper, who, since 1675, had held a commission as Governor for life over the province which, two years before, had been granted to him and the Earl of Arlington for thirty-one years. Culpepper had preferred to remain in England, but the King insisting, at length, that he should assume the duties of his office, he arrived in Virginia in 1680. He brought a proposal for general amnesty and oblivion for past political offences, but only for this one act of mercy from the Crown had the people reason to welcome his coming. "The Lord Culpepper," says a writer of that period, "had a singular dexterity in

Lord Culpepper and his administration.

making use of all advantages to his own interests;" [1] and being "one of the most cunning and covetous men in England," he induced the King to suggest that the salary of the Governor be doubled — hitherto £1,000, — and its perquisites increased to almost as much. This was no slight additional burden to an already over-taxed and impoverished colony. Still harder to accept was another proposed law, that the duties on tobacco and other merchandise, heretofore levied from year to year and the proceeds disbursed as the Colonial Assembly should judge for the public welfare, should now be made perpetual and under the exclusive control of the King. But these and other laws of less consequence, the drafts of which Culpepper brought from England, the Assembly was constrained to accept in consideration of the act of general pardon which came with them.



Governor Culpepper.

Culpepper returned to England in a few months, leaving behind him these, with the other fruitful causes of discontent of an older growth. The colonists were oppressed with the weight of fresh taxes while at the same time the price of their single staple product — tobacco — was constantly falling. The old remedies were resorted to, with the old results. Fresh attempts were made to regulate the production of tobacco by agreements with Maryland and Carolina to limit the planting, — agreements so easy to make and so sure to be disregarded. It was proposed to encourage the settlement of towns by enforcing the law which forbade that ships should pick up their cargoes by going from plantation to plantation along the banks of the rivers, but should load only at designated points, where, it was hoped, the towns would soon grow. No towns sprung up, for the industrial necessities for their existence were wanting; but many a planter was compelled to add a new item of expenditure to the cost of his tobacco, or, if the distance to the shipping-

Effects of the overproduction of tobacco.

[1] *An Account of the Present State and Government of Virginia.* Written, probably, within the last ten years of the seventeenth century, and first published from the original MSS. in vol. v. of *Coll. of Mass. Hist. Soc.*

point was too great, to leave it to rot at home. Discontent was again growing to desperation. The one fact that everybody could see was, that because there was too much tobacco its price was ruinously low, but that the planter must sell at that price or he and his people starve; the fact nobody would see was, that because the laborers were slaves, the crop most easily raised on great estates was tobacco, and the true remedy was a reform in the tenure of lands and the system of labor.

Another rebellion seemed imminent and would, no doubt, have broken out had another Bacon appeared to lead it. Petitions were sent to the King, praying that the overproduction of tobacco might be prohibited by royal proclamation; Chichely, the acting Governor in Culpepper's absence, was besought to apply, meanwhile, some remedy to the correction of that evil. He would have gladly found one, but he could devise nothing better than to convene the Assembly. The Assembly, fresh from the people, could talk of nothing but the people's wrongs — of misgovernment, of rights withheld, of poverty, of want for which they had no alleviation.

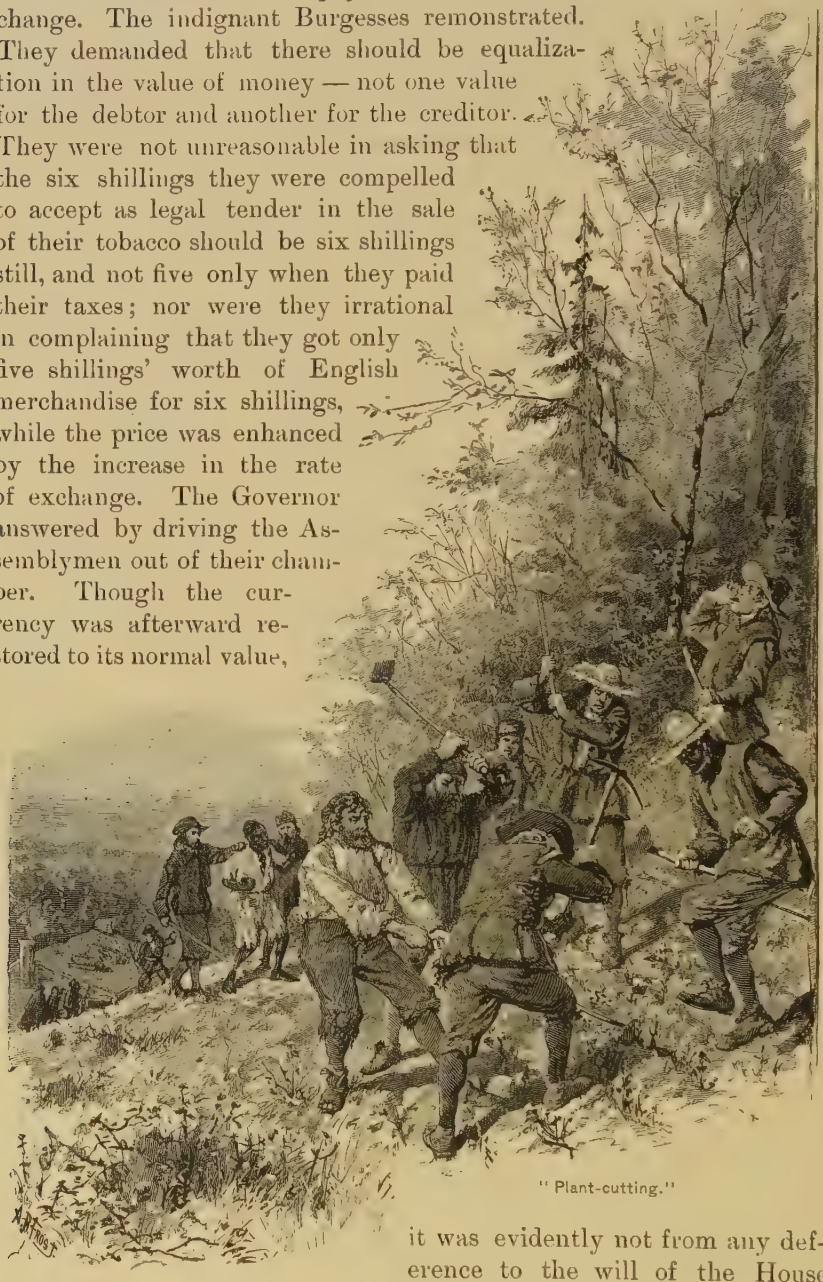
"Plant-cutting."

But, as in all times of popular distress and turbulence, there were men who thought themselves wise enough to discern and apply the remedy. The way, they said, to stop the over-production of tobacco was, to — stop it. Putting themselves at the head of the more violent of the population, they went from plantation to plantation, destroying the young plants when too late for a second growth that season. This earliest American "strike," like most of those of modern times, only brought fresh distress upon those it was meant to aid. The "plant-cutters," as they were called, were too few to damage essentially the staple production of three colonies, but they were enough to bring serious calamity upon themselves and upon all those whose plantations they laid waste.

Culpepper changes the value of the currency.

It was in the midst of these troubles that Culpepper returned from England, and his method of dealing with them was characteristic of the colonial rule of that period. His first measure of conciliation was to hang the leading "plant-cutters," whose grievance was the common one, however little sympathy the planters may have had with the violent conduct of those misguided men; and his first measure of relief was to inflate the currency by permission of the King, declaring silver coins — crowns, rix-dollars, and pieces of eight — of the current value of five shillings, should be legal tender for six shillings, the fractional coins to be rated in like proportion. But the burden of the change was to fall upon the people alone; the five shillings, which were to pass for six in transactions among themselves, were still to be reckoned at five shillings only in the payment

of the Governor's salary, in payment of the heavy tax on tobacco and all other taxes, and in payment of bills of exchange. The indignant Burgesses remonstrated. They demanded that there should be equalization in the value of money — not one value for the debtor and another for the creditor. They were not unreasonable in asking that the six shillings they were compelled to accept as legal tender in the sale of their tobacco should be six shillings still, and not five only when they paid their taxes; nor were they irrational in complaining that they got only five shillings' worth of English merchandise for six shillings, while the price was enhanced by the increase in the rate of exchange. The Governor answered by driving the Assemblymen out of their chamber. Though the currency was afterward restored to its normal value, it was evidently not from any deference to the will of the House of Burgesses or the rights and interests of the people.



"Plant-cutting."

The Governor also brought from England the severest condemnation of the Assembly for its spirited refusal to surrender its journals for examination to the King's commissioners. Beverley, the Clerk, who, like Ludwell, had distinguished himself for his services on the royal side in the late Rebellion, was imprisoned now for the zeal with which he defended the independence of the Assembly. The next, more direct, attack upon the individual citizen, was to take away the privilege of appeal from the decisions of the General Court — that is, the Governor and Council — to the General Assembly, except in cases involving only a small sum of money.

Other arbitrary measures.

Culpepper ceased to be Governor when he ceased to be Proprietary — in 1684 — on the surrender of the patent, which had become vested in him alone, in consideration of a sum in hand and a pension of £600 a year for twenty and a half years.[1] Virginia was so far the gainer, that it became once more a royal province, with a promise that its revenues should be used, in part at least, for its own benefit. The last act of Charles II. relating to the affairs of the colony was the appointment of Lord Howard of Effingham as Culpepper's successor.

But the change of rulers was not a change of policy; it was only to turn loose upon the flock another wolf whose hunger was still to be appeased. Culpepper was mercenary, despotic, cruel, indifferent to the welfare of the colony as he was ignorant of its true interests. Effingham, if not Culpepper's rival in these qualities, was at least his pupil, and bettered his instruction. Those of the ignorant "plant-cutters" whom one had spared, the other hanged. New duties were levied; new fees exacted; new perquisites contrived; new pretences invented for fresh oppression. The struggle between Governor and Assembly was continued, and the measures resorted to by Effingham were more arbitrary than those of any of his predecessors. James had among all his colonial servants no one more swift to catch the spirit of his rule than this Virginia viceroy. Ostensibly by royal authority he repealed laws, or revived those that had been repealed by the Assembly; the members of that body he bought by bribes when that was possible; when that was impossible he coerced them by threats or imprisonment; and when all other measures failed to bend them to his will, he would prorogue or dissolve that branch of the government. Of the Council, always obedient and subservient, he made a Court of Chancery, that he might add to his power as Governor that of a High

Lord Effingham, Governor.

The oppression of the colony continued.

1 The colony, however, was not altogether rid of Culpepper. In 1671, Charles II. had granted to the Earl of St. Albans, Lord Berkeley, and others, a patent for the Northern Neck, — the region between the Rappahannock and the Potomac, — which Culpepper afterwards purchased, and the right was confirmed to him by letters-patent from James II. in 1685.

Chancellor. More than once, in the course of four years, he was called upon to suppress incipient rebellion; once a slave insurrection threatened the lives of the white masters. The number of the white servants of the colony was increased by the exportation from England to Virginia of many of those prisoners taken with Monmouth at Sedgemoor, but whose lives were spared when Jeffreys made his Bloody Circuit; and these added new strength to the more discontented and turbulent of the population, although the General Assembly prudently neglected to obey the orders of the King to pass a law denying them all power of redemption from servitude for at least ten years.

Ludwell carries the protest of the colonists to England.

Philip Ludwell was sent to England to represent to the King and Council the condition of the province under Effingham's rule. He arrived, fortunately, about the time of the landing of the Prince of Orange, and was enabled to obtain from William and Mary the hearing which James II. would no doubt have refused. Ludwell was so far successful that Effingham — who was also in England — never resumed the duties of his office, though he was permitted to retain both the title and the salary for several years longer.

Nicholson made deputy-governor under Effingham.

The accession of the new sovereigns excited small enthusiasm in Virginia, when it was known that Effingham still held his commission and that he was to rule by deputy. Colonel Francis Nicholson was appointed Lieutenant-governor. He, indeed, would have much preferred to return to New York as its chief magistrate, and all the influence he could command was used to procure him that position. It would, however, have been hardly prudent, hardly even decent, to impose him upon a colony where he had so recently, either from want of moral courage or from feebleness of judgment, made a popular revolution almost inevitable. But the political amenities, then as now held to be of so much more moment than considerations of mere fitness for office, made him Lieutenant-governor of Virginia.

He showed himself, however, anxious to discharge the duties of his post creditably to himself and for the good of the colony. Perhaps he thought he should best commend himself to the new sovereigns by making his administration as wide a contrast as possible to those which had preceded it; perhaps his late experience in New York had really taught him wisdom, and he had learned to respect the rights of his fellow-citizens. It was, at any rate, a new thing to see a governor in Virginia who thought it worth his while to visit every part of his province that he might observe with his own eyes the condition of the people; who invited them to meet him in familiar intercourse; who gave festivals and established athletic sports to improve and

modify their social relations; who proposed a public post-office, and made a great public road through the most populous portion of the province; who encouraged other industries than that of tobacco-planting, especially the growing of flax, the manufacture of leather, and an unrestricted trade with the Indians in furs, in skins, and other commodities; and who coöperated heartily with the Legislature in the enactment of laws for the purity and peace of society, making drunkenness a misdemeanor with a pecuniary penalty or punishment in the stocks, and enjoining in other respects — such as "swearing, cursing, profaning God's holy name, Sabbath profaning, attending meetings outside the parish, or travelling on that day" — a rigid rule of life more in accordance with the Puritanical government of New England than that of the Established Church in Virginia.

Improved condition of affairs.

The two Assemblies which passed these laws were called by Nicholson, notwithstanding Effingham's injunction that he should not permit the popular representatives to come together. So satisfied was that body with his rule, that at its first session it gave him £300, in addition to his salary; and so anxious was the Lieutenant-governor for the public welfare, or so diligent to gain the public approbation, that he gave one half this sum to aid in the establishment of William and Mary College. The real founder of that college — the second in the colonies, Harvard being the first — was the Rev. James Blair, the Commissary of the Bishop of London, and the head, therefore, of the Established Church in Virginia. But his success was undoubtedly due, in large measure, to the influence used by Nicholson in its favor.

The charter for this seminary — originally intended mainly for the education of young men meaning to be clergymen, and for the instruction of Indian children — was granted in February, 1692, by William and Mary, and by them the college was liberally endowed. Sir Christopher Wren was the architect of the first college building; Blair was the first president, having under him six professors, for the training of a hundred pupils or more; and the college was entitled to one representative in the House of Burgesses. The opposition to the scheme was persistent, often contemptuous and bitter. Seymour, the Attorney-general of England, expressed a common feeling, though with more frankness than courtesy, when ordered to draw up the charter for the college. He declared that it was useless, and protested against the royal endowment as extravagant. Mr. Blair maintained its necessity, especially as it was intended to relieve the religious destitution of the colony in training young men for the ministry. He begged the Attorney-general to re-

Foundation of William and Mary College.

member that the people of Virginia, quite as much as the people of other parts of the world, had souls to be saved. "Souls!" — was the answer — "Damn your souls! Make tobacco!"

Retirement of Nicholson.

Nicholson remained in Virginia only about two years; but why he should have retired from office is not quite clear. Nor is it, indeed, of much importance, except that the reason given by Beverley, and accepted by later historians, rather suggests doubts on other subjects than explains this. It is asserted that the Governor became suddenly unpopular for opposing settlement in towns — "cohabitation," as the term of the time was — which, at

William and Mary College.

first, he had favored. But he could hardly have rendered himself obnoxious for opposing that which nothing could have hindered the people of Virginia from doing if they saw fit, and which they had obstinately refused to do for years. If there really were any difference of opinion between him and them on this subject, there must be some other explanation for the slow and painful growth of the colony than the want of towns, the isolation of planters upon grants of immense tracts of land, and the system of labor and cultivation which grew up with such settlements.

It is more probable that Nicholson returned to England with the hope, perhaps with the promise, of promotion. Before he left Virginia a revolution in Maryland had deposed the government of Lord

Baltimore, and that colony had also become a royal province. Sir Lionel Copley was appointed Governor in 1690. Nicholson may have hoped to supersede him; he was, at any rate, appointed in his place on the death of Copley in 1692.

Affairs in Maryland.

Charles Calvert, the Lord Baltimore who by this revolution was deprived of all political power in his American inheritance, was the son of the second Lord Baltimore, who died in 1675. The fortunes of that family had changed with the changing dynasties of England from the death of Cromwell to the accession of William and Mary. The prosperity of the state is not always — perhaps not often — measured by the struggles of political parties, and Maryland was not an exception to this obvious truth. Sometimes the Catholics, sometimes the Puritans, through these eventful years, gained the ascendency. Fendall, whom Cecil, Lord Baltimore, had made a Governor, turned against his master and put a Puritan Assembly into power; Philip Calvert, Cecil's brother, reëstablished the authority of the Proprietary, and made the way smooth and pleasant for his nephew; and through all these bitter contentions and vicissitudes, however important they might be to individual fortunes and the political ambition of a few men, the progress of the colony was steady and its prosperity undisturbed. In the ten years from 1660 to 1670 the population increased from twelve to twenty thousand. Under the mild rule of the Baltimores, and the spirit of tolerance which, notwithstanding their religious differences, had become the habitual temper of the people of Maryland, the province was a place of refuge for the persecuted of whatever faith. Had the first proprietors of that beautiful, salubrious, and fertile region been so fortunate or so wise as to make it an asylum of political and social, as well as religious liberty, it might have become in time the central seat of the power and the commerce of a great empire.

But the inevitable changes came at last. While on a visit to England, — Thomas Notely acting in his absence as Lieutenant-governor, — Baltimore met and successfully rebutted all complaints brought against him by the opposing party in the colony. But more serious trouble awaited him on his return in 1681; for the restless Fendall, with the aid of one Coode, a disreputable clergyman of the Church of England, was almost successful in arousing the Protestants to armed resistance to the Catholic government. Both the leaders were arrested in 1681, tried, and Fendall, at least, convicted of treason, though neither was punished.

Catholics and Protestants again in conflict.

The remaining years of Baltimore's administration of the affairs of his province were, nevertheless, years of great anxiety and continual contention. In Maryland the Protestant party was diligent and

watchful for an opportunity to seize the government; in England their friends were not less active on their behalf, and all the more that this struggle between religious parties in Maryland could be used to strengthen the anti-Catholic party at home. Even the King, who cared little for the religious faith of any of his subjects, was quite willing to listen to the suggestion that his own revenue from the colony was diminished under Baltimore's rule.

Baltimore's proprietorship in danger.

Threatened on all sides, Baltimore again returned to England, leaving his infant son, Benedict Leonard Calvert, nominally Governor, but committing the province to the care of a Council of Nine, of which William Joseph was president. Charles II. died before the Proprietary reached England, and he probably looked for more favor from the Catholic successor to the throne. But James did not mean to make Maryland an exception in the policy he proposed to adopt for the government of the American colonies. The *quo warranto* which Charles had threatened, moved thereto by Baltimore's enemies, James soon ordered to be issued in accordance with his own general purpose. Whatever his sympathy might be with Baltimore as a Catholic governor in a struggle with Protestant opponents, he had small consideration for him as a colonial proprietary.

Through the few years of James's reign Baltimore was held in that worst of all conditions, a condition of uncertainty; for neither could he get the *quo warranto* against him withdrawn, nor were the proceedings under the writ brought to a conclusion. To him any change was a chance, however desperate, and when William and Mary landed in England he was prompt in offering them his recognition and allegiance. Orders were sent to his deputies in Maryland to proclaim the accession of the new sovereigns; but either these orders were delayed in the passage, or the Council unwisely neglected to obey. Perhaps the result would have been the same in any event; but the delay gave the Protestant party an advantage which they eagerly seized. Rumors were industriously spread, or sprang up naturally and spontaneously, that the Catholics would remain loyal to James and defy the revolution. It may have been only to guard against a popular outbreak, and to be in a position to safely wait events, that Baltimore's adherents made preparations to arm and defend the forts. It was the best thing to do, if they did anything, having committed the first mistake of neglecting to proclaim the accession of the new King and Queen. But it made little difference in the end. The preparations for defence on this side were made the pretext of attack on the other, and had this pretext been wanting, another would have been found. The losing cause in England could not be the winning one in Maryland.

The Protestants, once more under the lead of John Coode, concentrated their strength in an Association to maintain the Protestant religion and the rights of William and Mary as King and Queen over all English dominions. Coode, an Episcopal clergyman, though a man of doubtful character, possessed, nevertheless, the energy which makes revolutions successful. Baltimore's adherents were driven out of the capital; Fort Mattapany, the Government House where they took refuge, was besieged and soon compelled to surrender; and the Proprietary's government was in a few weeks utterly overthrown. In August (1689) a popular Assembly was convened at St. Mary's. A report of late events was prepared and sent to England for the approval of the King, and meanwhile, till a response could be received, the Assembly took upon itself the direction of the affairs of the colony.

A new revolution in Maryland.

Charles, Second Lord Baltimore.

The royal approbation came in due time, to be followed soon after by a royal governor. This was Sir Lionel Copley, who, dying within a year, was succeeded by Nicholson. Lord Baltimore had been compelled at last to answer to the *quo warranto* before the Privy Council, and except that he was permitted to retain the revenue from the lands of Maryland, was deprived of all his proprietary rights.

Baltimore deprived of his proprietorship.

Since his return to England, Sir Edmund Andros, after his discharge from arrest and virtual exculpation for his conduct as Governor of New England, had busied himself in the affairs of Virginia. If it was with the hope of being rewarded with a commission as Governor of that colony, he gained his end. He was appointed in Effingham's place and assumed the duties of his office about the time of Nicholson's return to England. If the King thought him not unworthy of being made again the Governor of an American Colony, the Virginians may have reflected that it was not for them to question his fitness. At any rate, they welcomed him heartily for his recent services, and many of them, no doubt, thought none the worse of him because the Boston Puritans had deposed and imprisoned

Andros Governor of Virginia.

him as the friend of James, and an enemy of the revolution that seated Mary and William upon the throne. His loyalty, however, could not now be questioned. If not a better, he was a wiser man with William's commission in his pocket than when he imprisoned Winslow for promulgating in Boston the news of the landing of the Prince of Orange in England.

It may have been partly because he served a new master that Andros now remembered that a colonial governorship had its duties as well as its privileges. That he was less arrogant and overbearing may have been the result, in some measure, of his past painful experience; and then a more congenial atmosphere than that of Puritan New England had, no doubt, a softening influence upon his temper. Like Nicholson, he came a new man with new things.

Character of his administration.

He brought with him the charter of William and Mary College, in which he professed the strongest interest. Nicholson had already done something to establish post routes and offices. Andros completed the work in aiding Thomas Neale, who held from the crown a patent for establishing a postal service to connect all the colonies. It is Andros to whom Virginia should be grateful that he caused to be collected and preserved all the records of the colony not already destroyed. Nor was he unmindful of the material needs of the people. He encouraged, not without some success, domestic manufactures; that less tobacco might be raised, he introduced the cultivation of cotton, and it was not his fault, but the fault of the climate, that the attempt was a failure.

For the first year or two Andros was a popular Governor, and deserved to be, though popular applause was clearly not his motive of action, however much he may have come to believe that the welfare of the people was worth consideration. He disregarded much grumbling when he sent out vessels to suppress the contraband trade along the coast, and he codified English statutes and promulgated them as the law of Virginia, without paying the slightest heed to appeals to charters, to precedents, to common justice, or to common sense.

Condition of the colony at this time.

His position, however, was unquestionably one of great difficulties. The best intentions and the most vigorous rule, even if directed by a wiser man than Andros had ever shown himself to be, could not, in four or five years, correct the evils which, with the misgovernment of three quarters of a century, had sunk deeply into the social and political structure. "It is astonishing," says a writer of that period, "to hear what contrary characters are given of the country of Virginia, even by those who have often seen it, and know it very well; some of them representing it as the best, others as the worst country in the world. Perhaps they are both in

the right. For the most general true character of Virginia is this: that as to the natural advantages of a country it is one of the best; but as to the improved ones, one of the worst of all the English plantations in America." "As it came out of the hand of God," the writer holds, no region ever had more prospect of becoming a great state. "But . . . . if we inquire for well-built towns, for convenient forts and markets, for plenty of ships and seamen, for well-improved trades and manufactures, for well-educated children, for an industrious and thriving people, or for an happy government in church and state, ... it is certainly for all these things, one of the poorest, miserablest and worst countries in all America that is inhabited by Christians." [1]

This acute observer was quite able to discern some of the causes of the want of prosperity in the colony, — that, for example, the granting of lands in large tracts was a hindrance to the settlement of the country, and that the cultivation of a single staple was an unwise employment of industry. But it was no more revealed to him than to anybody else of that period, — hardly even yet, indeed, is it understood as an axiom of political economy by the Southerner of average intelligence — that beneath these ostensible causes lay the fatal mistake of a reliance upon slave-labor, an evil that no political devices however wise, and no government however well administered, could ever remedy.[2]

There was, nevertheless, marked improvement in the condition and character of the people. A growing jealousy of arbitrary rule by a royal Governor soon made itself visible. It was only a few years since Berkeley had thanked God that there was neither a free school nor a printing-press in the colony; and Culpepper and Effingham had for-

[1] "An Account of the Present State and Government of Virginia." *Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, vol. v.

[2] Slavery was the curse of every colony where it gained a permanent foothold; and this came to be as evident to sagacious men, by the middle of the eighteenth century, as it is held, in the nineteenth, to be a self-evident fact. Said the Rev. Jonathan Boucher, — in 1763, — Rector of St. Anne's Church in Annapolis and at one time tutor of Mrs. George Washington's son by her first husband: "Were an impartial and comprehensive observer of the state of society in these middle colonies asked, Whence it happens that Virginia and Maryland, which were the first planted, and which are superior to many colonies, and inferior to none in point of every natural advantage, are still so exceedingly behind most of the other British American provinces in all those improvements which bring credit and consequence to a country? He would answer: They are so because they are cultivated by slaves." Five and twenty years later, when the American provinces had ceased to belong to Great Britain, William Pinkney, chief among the distinguished men of Maryland, exclaimed: "Eternal infamy awaits the abandoned miscreants, whose selfish souls could ever prompt them to rob unhappy Afric of her sons, and freight them hither by thousands to poison the fair Eden of liberty with the rank weed of individual bondage!" — Cited in Neill's *Terra Mariæ*.

bidden that any printing should be done except for the publication of laws by express permission, in certain cases. The establishment of a college was the fulfilment of those fears which Berkeley hoped would not be accomplished for another hundred years. It was an evidence of increasing intelligence, as well as a promise of future culture, that a seminary of learning should be so soon asked for, even with a limited purpose. It was inevitable that the more it flourished the more certain it was to come into collision with men like Andros, whose idea of government was at bottom the same as that of Berkeley and his immediate successors. The Governor was certain to claim an authority over the affairs of the college which a president like Blair was sure to resist. One contended for his prerogative; the other for the true interests of the institution over which he presided. Though the question at first was one of ecclesiastical precedence between a royal Governor and a commissary of the Bishop of London, it widened into a controversy which gave new strength to the cause of popular government, and finally cost Andros his office. To punish and overcome the firmness of Blair as president of William and Mary College, the Governor arbitrarily removed him as a member of the Council. The political issue thus created went by appeal to England. Andros was defeated and recalled, and Nicholson transferred from Maryland to take his place.

The Governor and the college. — A conflict of authority.

Andros recalled, and Nicholson again appointed.

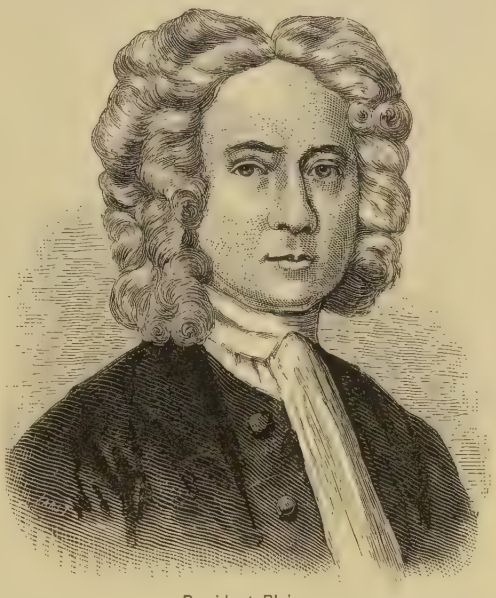
Nicholson had earned this promotion by his diligence and zeal during the four years of his administration of the affairs of the smaller colony. The substitution of the Church of England for the Catholic Church appears to have been his chief business, but that may have seemed to be no easy task. It was not a field ready for the reaper, over which fruitful seed had been cast with lavish hands. Only five years before Baltimore was compelled to surrender all his rights as Proprietary — save only his pecuniary rights — a petition to the King set forth that Maryland was "without a Church or any settled ministry."[1] A church of the regular Establishment, of course, is meant, for Presbyterians and Quakers had liberty of conscience and of worship, under Catholic rule, and of forming religious organizations after their kind. That there were no "churches," was because of the fewness or lukewarmness of churchmen. To bring the new royal province within the pale of the Established Church of England; to do away with the assumed evil of toleration; to establish religion by Litany and Prayer-book; — this was the policy of the King, and the first duty of the Governor.

One of the earliest acts of the Assembly, after the arrival of Cop-

[1] *The English Colonization of America.* By Edward D. Neill.

ley, was a law for the establishment of the Protestant religion, and for dividing the ten counties of Maryland into twenty-five parishes. The Friends and the Catholics were, however, sufficiently numerous to disregard the act for a while with impunity. Plainly, the want of churchmen was a serious difficulty in the way of building up the Church. When Nicholson came, however, he brought with him six clergymen; in two years their number was increased to fifteen; public worship was forbidden to the Catholics; five or six church edifices were built in various places; and all that law and intolerance could do was done to force the Established Church of England upon an unwilling or an indifferent people. The more rigid of the Puritans, to whom any recognition of Episcopacy was a necessity very bitter and hard to bear, had, at least, the consolation of seeing their old enemies, the Catholics, suffer, — perhaps aiding in their persecution when it could be done consistently with their own professions of non-conformity.

His government of Maryland reviewed.



President Blair.

This enforcement of a state religion upon the colony brought with it some advantages. Nicholson caused a law to be passed for the establishment of a school in each county of the province. This, it was declared, was to secure a perpetual provision of clergymen for the churches; but the design, no doubt, was broader, or would almost inevitably become so. King William's School, as that opened at Annapolis — which in 1694 was made the capital — was named, received from Nicholson material aid and countenance, and may have served as a model for others. There, "arithmetic, navigation, and all useful learning" were to be taught, as well as theology. This, at least, was an improvement on the times of the Baltimores, when there was no provision for schools of any kind. Such a measure could not be without marked influence in the progress of society. It was not long before every one of the thirty parishes had a small parochial library,

averaging about fifty volumes each, exclusive of that of Annapolis, which contained about eleven hundred volumes. Twenty-five hundred well-chosen books, accessible to every person in the community, would be an important fact in any American province in the beginning of the eighteenth century.

His second Virginia administration.

But of Nicholson's long career in America, the five or six years of his second term of office in Virginia are the least creditable. Something of the reputation attending that administration must be attributed to the evident prejudice of his contemporary, Beverley, the historian of Virginia, whose assertions have been

General View of Annapolis.

accepted for the most part by later writers. Much, nevertheless, of all alleged against him must be true. He was self-willed, and opposition may have often led him to be overbearing and violent. That his sense of duty as a royal Governor should have sometimes clashed with the true interests of the colony and the determination of its leading men to maintain them, does not, however, necessarily imply that Nicholson was a bad or an unscrupulous man. Virginia had become second in importance of all the colonies; her House of Burgesses represented a population of 40,000; these representatives did not readily yield their own convictions, and there could be a perfectly honest difference of opinion between them and the Governor, which might, nevertheless, lead to bitter contention.

It was the policy of the King, and the interest of all the colonies,

that there should be unity of action for defence against the French and Indians. The Virginians felt that they had little to fear now from the tribes upon their own borders, and declined to contribute anything for the building of forts for the protection of the Northern provinces. Nicholson disagreed with the Burgesses on this point, and visited New York to consult with the Northern Governors, declaring that he would pay the Virginia quota from his own means rather than the colony should be disgraced by refusal. The Burgesses were obstinate, and the Governor made arrangements to fulfil his promise. Beverley intimates that, if the contribution was made at all, it was done at the cost of the King's revenue. Then the breach between the House and the Governor was widened when he openly avowed that the colonies ought to be united in a single confederation, under a single governor, with a standing army. More than one royal governor had warmly urged this policy in earlier years; nowhere could it arouse more indignation than in Virginia, where the House of Burgesses was rapidly growing in power and influence, as the representative of a people growing more and more tenacious of their rights.

Quarrels with the church vestries.

Nicholson's devotion to the Church involved him in a controversy which did much to add to his unpopularity, and finally cost him his place. Though he had not, as in Maryland, to establish the State Church, he proposed to increase its strength. The clergyman in Virginia was entirely dependent upon the vestry of his parish, who controlled his stipend, and bestowed or withheld it by an annual vote. Whether wisely exercised or not, it was then and there a wise limitation of the tenure of the clerical office.

Character of clergymen of the English Church.

The ordinary clergyman of the Established Church, at that period, even in England, was not a very reputable character. Intellectually he was but little, if at all, superior to those over whom he was set to teach; if he were free from the contamination of worldly vices, it was more from want of means than want of inclination; socially he was rather beneath the farmers who tilled the land of the great proprietors, and hardly above the servants who served at their tables; his wages were wages of service and not a return for productive industry, though over the household servant who jostled him as he approached their master he had this one advantage — that his wages, though small, were permanent and not dependent upon the caprice of anybody.

But in Virginia he neither had nor deserved this advantage. Low as the clergy were as a class in England, the clergy of the colony were generally the mere refuse of the order. Bankrupt in purse they could not be, for that would imply that somebody had once trusted

them; but most of them were bankrupt in everything else that could have made them respectable at home, and they sought in Virginia an asylum for freedom to serve the devil with as much zeal as ever moved Puritan to fly to the wilderness for freedom to worship God. It was well that these wolves, to whose care the flocks were intrusted, could always be held in some restraint by the will of the vestry.

When Nicholson proposed that this power should be taken away from the vestries, the disgust was almost universal. The clergymen, on their part, gave a lively and characteristic evidence of their sense of the favor to be bestowed, and their fitness to be trusted uncontrolled with parochial duties. Most of them met together at a public banquet and got uproariously drunk and broke each other's heads in honor of an ecclesiastical reform. There were a very few decent men among them, however, who were unselfish enough to oppose a measure which could only do harm, and at the head of these was the Bishop's Commissary, the President of the College, Mr. Blair, and a Rev. Mr. Fouace.

Complaints were sent to England against the Governor. An error of judgment, grave as his conduct was on this subject, might, perhaps, have been overlooked. But other charges of neglect of official duty, misuse of official power, and of private misconduct, were brought against him. A scandal in relation to a Miss Burwell, whom he wished to marry, was made great use of, and probably not without good reason. This lady and her friends had rejected the suit of the Governor; he nevertheless persisted in it, threatening the lives of her father and brothers, involved himself in a quarrel with the clergyman of the parish — Mr. Fouace — and with Mr. Blair, and pursued with bitter enmity for years all who opposed him. The matter became of sufficient importance in the colony to be the subject of a long memorial to the government at home; and as it was the subject of many bitter private animosities, so it undoubtedly had much to do with intensifying the acrimony on public questions.

A new capital.

Nicholson gave to Virginia, as he had given to Maryland, a new capital. Jamestown had never recovered from its almost complete destruction by Bacon and his adherents after the flight of Berkeley; the malaria of the surrounding lowlands had always made it unwholesome, and to abandon it was a wise measure. The Governor chose Middle Plantation, where the college was built, for the new seat of government. The town was laid out in the form of a W, — an arrangement which convenience, however, soon overruled, — and was named Williamsburg in honor of the King. The second year of its settlement was commemorated by the first Commencement — 1700 — of William and Mary College — an event of so

much interest that planters in their coaches with their wives and daughters, surrounded by negro servants on horseback, came from all parts of the colony; visitors came by sea from other colonies to do honor to the occasion; and here and there, mingled in the crowd, giving color and picturesqueness to the novel spectacle, was many an Indian in the bravery of his brightest paint and most brilliant and graceful feathers. It was a pleasant picture of colonial prosperity and progress in this oldest of the American colonies; but a reflective spectator could hardly have failed to remember that it was nearly sixty years since the first Commencement-day at Harvard College in Massachusetts was celebrated, or fail to remark in that fact the essential difference in the character of the peoples of the two leading colonies.

First Commencement of William and Mary College.

Ruins of President's House, William and Mary College.

Virginia was about to begin a happy — perhaps the happiest — period in her colonial history. On the recall of Nicholson in 1705, the governorship of the colony was given as a sinecure to the Earl of Orkney. The appointment of governors and a portion of the salary were his; but beyond the enjoyment of these perquisites he interfered no further in the affairs of the province, and his deputies were called, and really were, the governors. For five years it so happened that the colony was left to manage its own affairs under the Council, — of which the presiding member was Edward Jenings, — for Edward Nott, Orkney's first nominee, died a few months after his arrival in Virginia, and the second, Robert Hunter, never arrived at all, being taken by a French cruiser on his outward passage. With the exception of a few months, therefore, there were five years of tranquillity and self-government, which prepared the way for a wiser and more prosperous administration than Virginia had ever known under any of her royal governors.

Colonel Spotswood appointed Governor.

The new Governor was Colonel Alexander Spotswood, who arrived in June, 1710. It was accepted as a happy augury of his rule that he was ordered to extend to Virginia the privilege of the writ of Habeas Corpus, which had hitherto been withheld. The great satisfaction with which this was received by the people, and possibly the evident necessity of such a protection to their rights, may have turned the attention of the Governor to the condition of the laws. It is, at any rate, remarkable that he, a young man, bred to arms from his boyhood, should have at once introduced much-needed reforms in the constitution of the courts, in the general administration of justice, in the character of the revenue laws, and in the collection of taxes.

Governor Spotswood.

In all these measures he had the hearty coöperation of the Assembly and the commendation of the people. Both were wanting when he overstepped the boundary line between royal prerogative and popular rights. Five years of popular government had greatly strengthened the House of Burgesses, and that body was always ready to withstand, firmly and unhesitatingly, any encroachment of the Governor upon their privileges. In the second year of his administration the House refused to provide the means he asked for, to aid in repelling an apprehended invasion of the French from Canada; compelled him to ask the government in England for assistance in the preparations which he thought necessary and they thought useless, for defence against the Indians; and declined to concur with his proposals for the discharge of the public debt, except by a tariff upon British merchandise and discriminating taxes against British ships and in favor of Virginian vessels. Notwithstanding these and other less important differences between him and the people and their representatives, his popularity for years was undiminished. He proved his sincere interest in the welfare of the colony by his exertions on behalf of the college; by assisting to raise a large fund for its support, and by restoring the building, which was burnt several years before his arrival and left in ruins; by establish-

Differences between the Governor and the Assembly.

ing a school for the education of Indian children; by insisting upon a rigid economy in all the offices under his control, and by giving a hearty support to every measure conducive to the general prosperity.

Spotswood's ardent curiosity about this new country in which he had come to live, led him into long expeditions that he might learn more of its extent and character. One of these was to explore the way to the country beyond the Blue Ridge Mountains of the great Appalachian chain. He started in August, 1716, from Germantown, on the Rappahannock, with a company of gentlemen well-mounted and armed, led by Indian guides, surrounded by a troop of white hunters, rangers, and servants leading horses laden with provisions and all other things necessary for such an expedition. These extraordinary preparations were a safe-guard against any of the perils or hardships of the adventure. But none were encountered. No savages dared, even if they were disposed, to attack a party so well appointed. The spoils of the chase were enough for their support. The march by day was a hunt; for the first time the solemn forest resounded, and the mountain peaks echoed and re-echoed with the clang of trumpets and the sound of guns. There was no want of song and laughter and merry-making around the camp-fires at night as they cooked their suppers of game, and drank of "white and red wine, usquebaugh, brandy-shrub, two kinds of rum, champagne, canary, cherry punch, and cider," which were among the stores they took to beguile the weariness of the way. No enemy, whether man or beast, ventured to approach with hostile intent this hilarious invasion of the wilderness.

Expedition over the Blue Ridge.

The most elevated summit they reached was named Mount George, where they drank health to George the First and the royal family. The next in height was called either Mount Spotswood or Mount Alexander, in honor of the Governor. They crossed the dividing ridge of the mountains where the waters parted, one stream running westward, the other to the east; they descended the western slope, marched seven miles into the valley beyond, and crossed a fordable stream which they named the Euphrates. On its farther bank, with such ceremony as their resources permitted, — the firing of salutes, the blowing of trumpets, the free use of that extraordinary list of liquors with which the expedition was provided, — possession was taken of the country in the name of George the King, and a bottle was buried containing a written attestation to that possession. It was, probably, the number of empty bottles that suggested this certain method of concealing the fact from any future explorers.

The expedition occupied six weeks, and the distance travelled was more than two hundred miles. About the middle of September the

party returned to Williamsburg and rode triumphantly into the town, preceded by its own trumpeters, and welcomed by the towns-folk. To commemorate the event, Spotswood instituted a Tramontane Order, to encourage future expeditions, presenting to each of his companions a small golden horseshoe, to be worn as a badge, choosing that emblem, it is said, because of the number of horseshoes — little used in the soft loam and sand of the lowlands of Eastern Virginia — required for that mountainous journey.

The adventure was altogether picturesque and spirited, but that was all. No migration immediately followed in its trail. The Tramontane Order could not exist long on a single past achievement; and the golden horseshoe, which no one was entitled to wear who had not drunk the King's health on the top of Mount George, soon came to be only a pretty memento, well enough to have won, but not worth the winning anew. Sixteen years more passed before the axe of the settler was heard in the Shenandoah Valley, and then, first, not where Spotswood and his jolly companions had entered it, but near its northern extremity. In 1732, one Joist Hite took up forty thousand acres of land near the present town of Winchester, and entered upon possession with a colony from Pennsylvania. Others soon followed to the same region, some pushing farther west over the mountains till they descended into the valley of the Monongahela. John Lewis, an Irishman with a Scotch wife, and their children, founded Staunton, the oldest town in the Shenandoah Valley; and one Burden, an agent of Lord Halifax, following him, obtained a grant of five hundred thousand acres of land, on condition that he should settle upon them a hundred families. These and more he brought out from the north of Ireland, Scotland, and the border counties of England. In the course of ten years, from 1730 to 1740, Friends, Scotch-Irish Presbyterians, and Germans from Pennsylvania, as well as emigrants to Virginia direct from Germany and Ireland, scattered themselves through this rich and beautiful valley from its northern to its southern extremity.

Settlement of the Shenandoah Valley.

In 1744 the Six Nations consented, in consideration of the sum of four hundred pounds, to relinquish their title to all that country lying between the western boundary of Virginia and the Ohio River. Twenty-two years before, Spotswood had secured a treaty with those tribes whereby they bound themselves to abandon all the region east of the Blue Ridge and south of the Potomac. Both treaties prepared the way for this steady and irresistible progress of colonization westward, to be pushed a few years later into the valley of the Ohio.

Treaties with the Indians.

In the year of this treaty — 1722 — Spotswood ceased to be Gover-

SPOTSWOOD'S EXPEDITION OVER THE BLUE RIDGE.

nor; but he lived for eighteen years longer as a private citizen of Virginia, and must have seen with gratification the enlargement of the area of the province, which was the object of his expedition across the mountains. It was a continuation of that prosperity to which his long administration had given so strong an impulse. The welfare of Virginia was sincerely his aim, and his efforts were often successful, notwithstanding the serious conflict of purpose and opinion between a royal Governor and a provincial Assembly, so sure to manifest itself in the course of a dozen years. The Burgesses were slow and cautious, often obstinate, sometimes stolid, but always honest. The Governor, conscious of his own integrity, and slow to see that there could be any legitimate conflict between royal prerogative and popular right, was very often imperious and contemptuous. The people had made a mistake, he said to the House of Burgesses on one occasion, in the choice "of a set of representatives whom heaven has not generally endowed with the ordinary qualifications requisite to legislators," and who put at the head of standing committees men who could neither "spell English nor write common sense." The statement of fact no doubt was true; but neither that nor the terms used to convey it were pleasant to hear, or likely to have a conciliatory influence. Patriotism would not be less stern and uncompromising in men treated with such hearty contempt, and they often made the Governor understand that bad English and a poor style were not at all incompatible with a clear comprehension of their rights and a vigorous defence of them. They took the ground — specially with relation to postal laws, but as a general principle — that Parliament could not enforce a tax in the colony without the assent of the Assembly; and the essential thing was, not that they were not able always to carry out this doctrine against the Governor, but that they should assert and maintain it as a fundamental rule of conduct. Taxation without representation was a phrase to remember for near three quarters of a century, though it might be forgotten that when first loudly asserted in Virginia it was provoked, perhaps, by a colonial governor declaring that the House of Burgesses was a house of blockheads.

Of all the conflicts, however, in which Spotswood was involved, none was more earnest and bitter than the old one in regard to church patronage. The Governor, like his predecessors, claimed that the presentation to pastoral livings was a privilege of his office, and that any interference by the vestries was mere usurpation. There was just as little disposition now as in the time of Andros and Nicholson to relinquish the control of the individual churches over their clergymen. As in former years, the Reverend Mr. Blair came forward to lend the weight of his character and ability to the cause

of the vestries; and, as in former years, the victory was with them. With the aid of this controversy the enemies of Spotswood prevailed against him, and he was removed in 1722.

Spotswood removed.

As an influential private citizen he was, perhaps, of more service to the colony than he had ever been as its governor. On his domain of forty thousand acres he found beds of iron ore, established a furnace and foundry, and gave to Virginia a new and important industry.[1] This identity with the interests of the colony, from his long residence in it, brought him at length to juster and more liberal views of the rights of the colonists. In ceasing to be Governor, however, he did not retire altogether from public life. From 1730 to 1739, he was Deputy Postmaster-general of the colonies, and through him Benjamin Franklin was appointed postmaster of the Province of Pennsylvania. When Virginia was called upon to furnish troops in 1740 to aid in the expedition against Carthagena, Spotswood was called upon to take command, and he died — at the age of sixty-four years — while attending to the active duties of the embarkation at Annapolis. Lawrence Washington — a half-brother of George Washington — was a captain in this expedition, and he afterward named his family-seat in Virginia Mount Vernon, in honor of the admiral under whom he served.

Lawrence Washington.

From the beginning of the century to about the end of Spotswood's administration, the population of Virginia doubled. It doubled again within the next five and twenty years, a period through which Hugh Drysdale — first after Spotswood — and William Gooch, from 1728 to 1749, were governors. This increase was inevitable in the addition of a third to the settled area of the province by the occupation of the region beyond the Blue Ridge. Of still more moment was it that the emigrants attracted to that

Progress of the colony.

1 He did not, however, as has been stated, introduce the manufacturing of iron into the colonies. Two brothers, named Leonard, were the first manufacturers in the town of Raynham, in Massachusetts, in 1652. *Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, vol. iii.

lovely valley, differed in many respects from those who first settled upon the bottom lands of lower Virginia, and from their descendants who still lived there. There were fewer among them who came to America with the hope of acquiring fortunes; more who came that they might find permanent and peaceful homes; fewer who sought for large tracts of land for plantations; more who were content with enough to give them prosperous farms; fewer who depended upon the labor of slaves and servants; more who tilled the earth with their own hands, and were willing to eat their bread in the sweat of their own faces; fewer who prided themselves on gentle blood; more who were satisfied to remember that they came of the stock of English yeomen, and that neither they, nor their fathers, nor their mothers, were among those raked out of the prisons of England, and the gutters and stews of London, to be sent to grow tobacco in Virginia; fewer who from habit trusted for spiritual guidance to the rollicking parsons of the Established Church as the respectable religion of the time; more who had broken away from a formal worship which seemed to them to be without sincerity or vitality, and who cherished, instead, profound religious convictions, acquired by long and earnest reflection, and made the rule of life.

The dissent which began at this period to assume a bolder tone in the older part of the province, must have been strengthened by the influence of the Quakerism and Presbyterianism of these later emigrants. But as the prosperity of the colony increased, some portion of the new element was absorbed by Eastern Virginia as its population slowly crept up the eastern slope of the Blue Ridge from the alluvial region between that and the sea. Greater freedom of thought and a larger religious toleration went step by step with the material progress of the colony. Governor Gooch was much more troubled in the later years of his administration with the frequency of itinerant preaching, and the gathering of dissenting churches, than with the old question of the power of vestries in the Established Church. What was the purpose of a pulpit, and what manner of man should occupy it, came to be questions of more moment than how a man should be put into a pulpit which the state had built. Whitefield was as warmly welcomed on his first visit to Virginia as among the Puritans of the northern colonies, not because he was in orders, but because of his power as a field-preacher. The New Lights were a terror to the soul of Governor Gooch; but commissary Blair invited the founder of the Methodist Church in America to preach at Williamsburg.

At Williamsburg, that which Berkeley had so deprecated, and Culpepper and Effingham would not tolerate, had already come to pass. A printing-press was set up in 1736, and William Parks published a

weekly newspaper. The growing wants of a growing people found their own remedy. Towns which legislation had tried so long in vain to create, sprung up where they were needed. Increasing commerce wanted new ports; increasing production new centres of traffic. Norfolk was incorporated near the entrance to Chesapeake Bay; Fredericksburg and Falmouth at the head of tide-water on the Rappahannock; at the Falls of the James, partly upon land that once belonged to Nathaniel Bacon, William Byrd, an eminent and wealthy citizen, laid out a town to be called Richmond, and on the Appomattox another to be called Petersburg. New counties were made, — among them Albemarle, so called from the Earl of Albemarle, who was appointed the titular Governor on the death of Orkney in 1737, — and in these, the convenient neighborhood of two or three log-houses, as at Winchester and Staunton, speedily grew to county-seats and market towns.

New towns and counties.

Gooch relinquished his office in 1749 and returned to England. Three successive presidents of the Council, John Robinson, Thomas Lee, and Lewis Burwell, discharged the duties of Governor till the arrival of Robert Dinwiddie in 1752. Under his administration Virginia, in extending her rule still farther westward, was led into new and momentous relations to the general welfare of the American colonies.

Accession of Governor Dinwiddie.

For the first twenty years of this century there had been little change in the neighboring province of Maryland, except that it was restored once more to the Baltimore family. Charles, Lord Baltimore, died in 1714; his son, Benedict Leonard Calvert, had surrendered his Catholic faith, had accepted a pension from Queen Anne, and had educated his children as Protestants. He died not long after his father, and to his son, Charles, then a child, were restored those political rights as Proprietary which had been taken from his grandfather at the accession of William and Mary. John Hart, the last royal Governor, was continued in office as Baltimore's lieutenant for twelve years. Except for two years, the Proprietary governed his colony by deputies, till, at his death, Frederick, his son, succeeded him in 1751. This, the sixth and last Lord Baltimore, left the province, by will, to his natural son, Henry Harford, in 1771.

The rule of the Protestant Baltimores was as gentle and as just as that of their Catholic predecessors had been, and it is sometimes remarked that the prosperity of the colony seemed suspended under the royal governors. But, in truth, as no marked difference in the character of the government of Catholic and Protestant Baltimores is visible, so no lasting influence can be traced in the administration of proprietary and royal governors. Maryland, like Virginia,

like the other colonies at a certain period, emerged from the time of struggle and dependence to enter upon another of ease and strength; and Maryland, more, perhaps, than any other colony, was left free to grow and achieve prosperity, while the rule of royal governors was too brief to permit of any serious innovation upon that popular independence which the Proprietaries had submitted to, and had, in some measure, permitted and encouraged.

There was, indeed, here as elsewhere, the same contention between Governor and Assembly, but it belonged to both royal and proprietary government. This, however, though it might delay, was not a serious bar to the progress of the colony. If very often the colony would have been happier without any governor, so, no doubt, it could sometimes have well spared an Assembly. That, for example, which in 1733 provided by a single act for the issue of ninety thousand pounds of paper money, inflicted upon the colony an injury not easily recovered from. It was more than a pound to every inhabitant of the province, and it was distributed among them partly by expenditures upon public buildings, and partly by loans. The bills, ere long, sunk to one half their nominal value, and, to provide a fund for their ultimate redemption, the colonists were compelled to submit to a heavy export tax upon their great staple, tobacco. But Maryland was not singular in the committal of this financial blunder. There was not a colony that did not believe, and act upon its belief, that a pound and a paper promise to pay a pound were of equal value; not a colony that did not find the belief a fallacy when the time came to pay the pound.

Frederick, last Lord Baltimore.

But for all this Maryland flourished. By the middle of the century her people numbered about a hundred and thirty thousand; her average annual export of tobacco was thirty thousand hogsheads, and she

sent abroad also largely of wheat, and flour, and Indian corn. A number of furnaces and forges were in successful operation, notwithstanding the effort of the British Government to cripple this industry by offering a bounty on the importation of English iron — a measure met by the Maryland Legislature by granting a hundred acres of land to any one establishing a furnace or a forge. There were manufactories also of woollen and of linen, and tanners, shoemakers, and smiths were encouraged by an export duty on the raw material of their trades. One third of the people, however, were slaves, and their unskilled labor was inevitably forced into the over-production of a single staple. Baltimore was laid out in 1729, on lands belonging to Charles Carroll, and Frederick was founded sixteen years later. Other towns were projected, but were of slow growth where they grew at all; for, as in lower Virginia, large plantations and slavery enforced a rural population and a restricted industry.

CHAPTER IV.

THE CAROLINAS.

GOVERNOR MOORE'S MILITARY EXPEDITIONS AND THEIR RESULTS. — TROUBLES UNDER THE ADMINISTRATION OF SIR NATHANIEL JOHNSON. — REPULSE OF A FRENCH AND SPANISH INVASION. — DISSENSION IN NORTH CAROLINA. — CONTEST BETWEEN CARY, GLOVER, AND HYDE FOR THE GOVERNORSHIP. — INTERFERENCE OF GOVERNOR SPOTSWOOD. — INDIAN OUTBREAK IN NORTH CAROLINA. — THE YEMASSEE WAR IN THE SOUTHERN PROVINCE. — INDIFFERENCE OF THE PROPRIETORS. — THE BUCCANEERS OF THE CAROLINA COAST. — THEIR SUPPRESSION, AND DEATH OF THE PIRATE-ADMIRAL, BLACK BEARD. — REVOLUTION IN SOUTH CAROLINA. — DEPOSITION OF GOVERNOR ROBERT JOHNSON. — SIR FRANCIS NICHOLSON PROVISIONAL GOVERNOR. — PURCHASE OF THE CAROLINAS BY THE CROWN. — ROBERT JOHNSON REAPPOINTED AS ROYAL GOVERNOR. — CONDITION OF THE PROVINCE.

THE unfortunate expedition of Governor Moore of South Carolina against St. Augustine, related in another chapter,[1] had consequences of more moment than belonged to it as a merely military disaster. It fastened a public debt of £6,000 upon a colony of only about five thousand people, created by the first issue of paper currency, in that province, in the usual form of bills of credit; and this was followed, in due time, by the inevitable depreciation and consequent distress which, sooner or later, always attended that desperate expedient in every one of the colonies. The creation of this debt was a question of grave difference of opinion among the people, and this divided them into two parties, whose hostility grew more bitter from year to year, as new occasions and new opportunities arose to widen the breach and strengthen either one side or the other.

Effects of Moore's St. Augustine expedition.

An administration that entailed such results as the issue of ambition or imbecility, might well be called an unmitigated evil, had not Moore, after his return from Florida, undertaken that other and more fortunate enterprise, by which a new southern frontier was gained at the expense of the Spaniards, and more territory secured for future colonization. But even this service did little to reconcile the opposition. Moore was accused, and probably with justice, of serving his own private ends on this expedition, by

Campaign against the southern Indians.

[1] See vol. ii., p. 559.

holding his Indian prisoners as slaves on his plantation, and in exporting them for sale to the West Indies. It was not forgotten that he had, not long before, dissolved an Assembly for withstanding his attempt to get the whole trade with the Indians into his own hands, that he might, it was said, the more easily kidnap or buy the savages for that foreign slave-market. Perhaps he was not so bad as he was painted; but so little harmony was there, at any time, between him and the representatives of the people, that Charleston was for several days given over to riot when the question of raising funds to meet the expense of the unsuccessful expedition against St. Augustine came before the Assembly.

Sir Nathaniel Johnson as governor.

This confusion was still worse confounded when Sir Nathaniel Johnson was appointed to office in Moore's place, at the accession of Queen Anne. Of this man Johnson, John Archdale, the former Quaker Governor and a Proprietor, said, that he "by a Chimical Wit, Zeal and Art, transmuted or turn'd this Civil Difference into a Religious Controversy."[1] It was a religious controversy, however, only so far as religious differences could be used to compass a political end.

The official party, the friends and servants of the Lords Proprietors, were of the Established Church; their opponents, who were largely country people, were dissenters. Dissent, however, was with many of them more a matter of tradition than conviction. The generation then native of the soil, and living upon isolated plantations, had grown up in ignorance, destitute of schools and of churches, but inheriting a feeling that no church at all was better than the Church of England. Many, it is said, went farther than this, and had lost all religious faith. Ostensibly to punish these unbelievers, Johnson's first Assembly passed an act depriving of their civil rights all who blasphemed the Trinity, or questioned the Divine authority of the Bible, and condemning them to three years' imprisonment.

Acts of the Assembly against dissenters.

It is hardly credible that there could be many in the province obnoxious to this law. Infidelity is not often an intellectual conviction or assertion with the merely ignorant; they cling rather to a religious belief of some sort, though their faith may be little better than an unreasoning superstition. If, however, the act of the Assembly was meant as a blow at the opposition party, it evidently failed of its purpose, and was therefore speedily followed up by another, which was more effectual. This law required that any citizen chosen as a member of the Assembly should conform to the religion of the Church of England, and should partake of the sacrament of the Lord's Supper in accordance with the rules of that

[1] Archdale's *New Description*, etc. Republished in Carroll's *Hist. Coll. of S. C.*, vol. ii

church. The act was passed by a single vote; the election to the Assembly of many of the majority was disputed as carried by corrupt and arbitrary measures; yet, by this law, every dissenter in the colony was virtually disfranchised, and the popular party — which embraced all the dissenters, and far outnumbered their opponents — was left completely at the mercy of the minority who represented the Lords Proprietors, and who governed the colony, not for the good of the people, but for their own profit.

The disfranchised party sent an agent — John Ashe — to England to represent their grievances to the Proprietors. He escaped with some difficulty, when his errand became known, from Carolina; and he might as well have remained there, so far as any redress awaited him in London. Archdale, in his place at the Board of Proprietors, maintained the rights of the colonists with the same zeal and integrity that he had shown when their governor. But the majority was against him, and Lord Granville, the "Palatine," cut short the debate by exclaiming: "Sir, you are of one opinion, I am of another; our lives may not be long enough to end the controversy. I am for the bills, and this is the party I will head and support."

Action of the Proprietors.

Granville was a bigoted churchman, and cared much more for the religious than the political aspect of the question. A proposal to build a parish church in each county of the province, and to compel the people to worship therein, would with him condone a multitude of political sins, even if, in his estimation, the political purposes concealed beneath the religious pretense were sins at all. The Governor received the assurance that the Lords Proprietors approved of the "unwearied and steady zeal" with which he had prosecuted a "great and pious work" for "the honor and worship of Almighty God." With this success the zeal of Johnson and his party was redoubled. Churches were to be built and pastors provided, and lest this last duty should be neglected, the ecclesiastical government of the colonial church, which rightfully belonged to the Bishop of London, was vested in a commission of twenty laymen to be appointed by the Governor. The quarrel, in this aspect of it, was essentially the same as that which, about the same period, agitated Virginia, and ousted three governors successively from their seats.

The dissenters, who were about two thirds of the population, had been contending chiefly, thus far, for the right of keeping in the Assembly; they were now forced to contend also for the right of keeping out of the parish church, if it so pleased them. A new agent — Joseph Boone — was sent to England, but this time to look for redress in higher quarters than from the Proprietors.

Successful protests of the dissenters.

The appeal was made directly to the House of Lords. That body condemned in terms positive and emphatic the act relating to religious worship, and that which excluded dissenters from the Assembly; and they referred the petition of the complainants to the Queen, with a prayer that their wrongs might be righted, and that those persons

Granville and Archdale.

should be punished who were guilty of so flagrant and oppressive a misuse of power. Anne responded by declaring the objectionable laws to be null and void, and forthwith ordered the law officers of the Crown to take immediate steps for the revocation of the charter.

The issue of a writ of *quo warranto* and the proceedings under it were never, as we have so often seen in the case of other provinces,

measures rapidly disposed of. Lord Granville died a few months after the Queen's decision, and Lord Craven, a man of less arbitrary temper and of better judgment, stepped into his place as Palatine. A few months afterward, toward the close of the year 1708, Colonel Edward Tynte was appointed Governor in Johnson's place. He came with instructions from Craven so conciliatory and considerate that differences were reconciled and animosities subdued for several years. It was only for a few years, however. The seeds of dissension sown in Johnson's administration had taken too deep a root to be easily eradicated. They bore fruit an hundred fold, as we shall see presently, and Carolina ceased to be a proprietary colony.

An interval of quiet.

Before Johnson's removal, however, one opportunity occurred to him of showing that, at least as a soldier, he was worthy of being entrusted with the command of a province. Intelligence reached him that an attack was to be made upon Charleston by the French and Spanish, partly as a war measure against the power of England on the American continent, partly in support of the old Spanish claim to Carolina. His preparations to meet the threatened invasion were prompt and vigorous. Fort Johnson — still standing, and under the same name — was built on James Island in Charleston harbor; redoubts were thrown up on that exposed front of the city since known as the Battery; and a corps of observation was placed on Sullivan's Island to give the earliest possible notice, by signal fires, of the approach of an enemy.

Invasion of South Carolina.

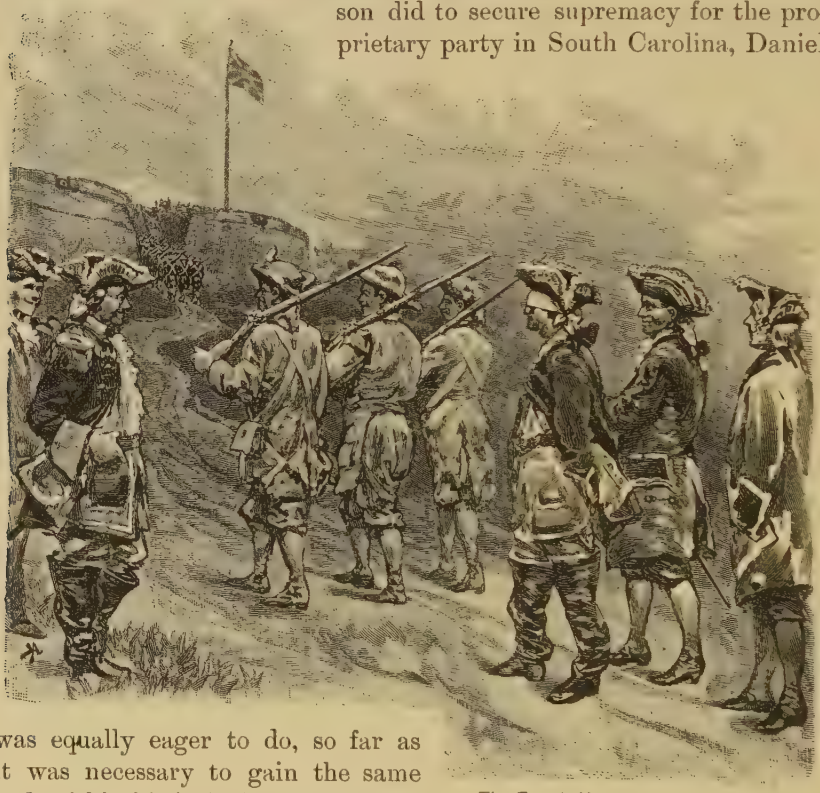
The invading fleet consisted of a frigate and four smaller vessels, under the command of a Captain Le Feboure, a Frenchman. He sailed from Havana in August, 1706, touching at St. Augustine to take on board some Spanish recruits, and in due time appeared in Charleston harbor. The Governor had ordered all the militia of the province under arms, reinforced by all the friendly Indians within reach; guns and ammunition were hurried on board six merchant vessels in the harbor, and these put under the command of William Rhett as admiral. Everything was done that could be done by a prudent and brave commander. When Le Feboure sent a flag to demand a surrender, the summons was received with defiance; the messenger was taken blindfolded from fortification to fortification, to be shown a well-appointed force in each. The men were quietly marched from one point to another, in advance of the unsuspicious Frenchman, who supposed that he was brought face to face with a new company whenever his eyes were uncovered. Every attempt of Le Feboure to make good a landing was repulsed. Rhett's little fleet of merchantmen were handled like men-of-war, and the end was that the

Its repulse.

French retired in a few days, completely baffled and disheartened, and a ship with ninety men on board, sent to reinforce Le Feboure, which arrived soon after he left, remained as a prize in the hands of the Carolinians.

In 1704, Henderson Walker, who as President of the Council was acting Governor of North Carolina, died, and Johnson was directed by Lord Granville to appoint some one to take that office. He named Colonel Robert Daniel, who, it may be remembered, was engaged with Moore in his unlucky expedition against St. Augustine. Daniel, like Johnson, was a churchman; whatever Johnson did to secure supremacy for the proprietary party in South Carolina, Daniel

North Carolina affairs.



The French Messenger at Charleston.

was equally eager to do, so far as it was necessary to gain the same end, within his jurisdiction. When, therefore, John Ashe passed through North Carolina on his way to Virginia, to find a passage to England, he was received with open arms by the Quakers and other dissenters of the province, who felt that the cause which he represented was theirs also. They accordingly empowered one Edmund Porter, a Friend, to join Ashe in his mission to England, to represent to the Lords Proprietors how grievously they were wronged by this new Governor whom Johnson had appointed to rule over them.

For some reason, not now apparent, Porter was more successful than his colleague, and the Board of Proprietors directed Johnson to remove Daniel and make a new appointment. He selected Thomas Cary, who soon became as obnoxious as Daniel had been, and especially so to Friends, whom he would not admit to seats in the Assembly, or to any other office, without exacting an oath, to take which was forbidden both by their consciences and the discipline of their society. Porter was once more dispatched to England, to ask redress, and was once more listened to with favor. Archdale's influence with the other Proprietors was sufficient not only for the removal of Cary, but to take from Johnson all the power that had been left in his hands as Governor-general of the two provinces, and to give to the Council of North Carolina — a body nominated by the Lords Proprietors — the right to elect a chief magistrate for that colony.

Thomas Cary, Governor of the northern colony.

The Council — to which several new members had been appointed, some of whom probably, through Archdale's influence, were Friends — assembled when Porter returned, and elected William Glover Governor. But Glover was also a churchman, and no more disposed than his predecessor to admit Friends to office without the legal formality of the oath. The Council thereupon reassembled, deposed Glover, and elected Cary. The natural conclusion is, that a compromise had been made between Cary and the Friends, inasmuch as Cary, when in office before, had insisted upon the oath, while now Friends were permitted to affirm instead of swearing.

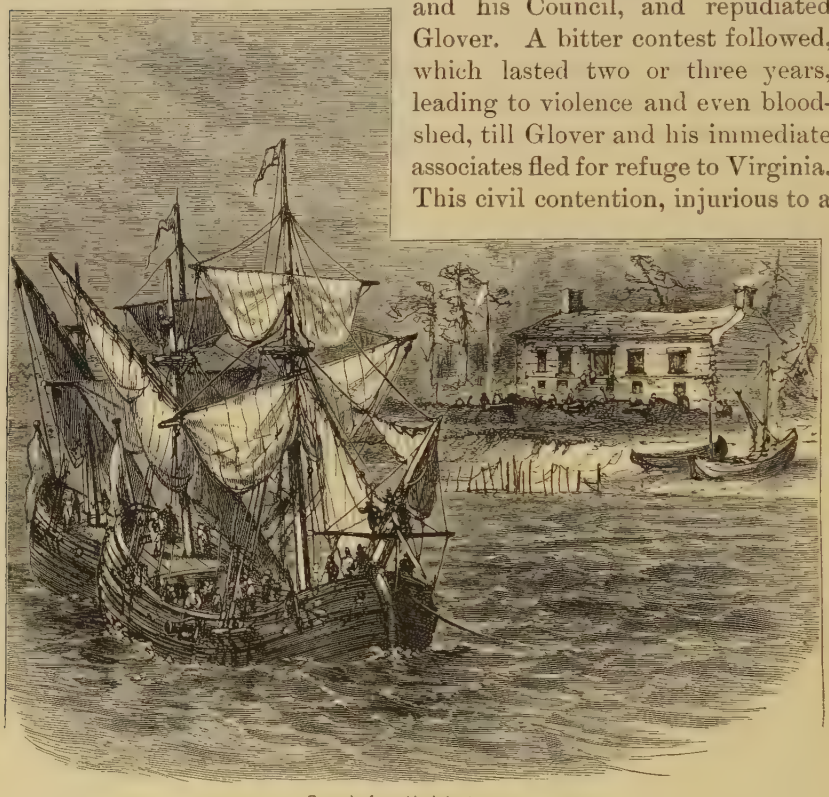
Removal and restoration of Cary by the Council.

But the important question was, who was the rightful Governor? On one side it was asserted that Glover's election had been illegal because the Council had come together before the time appointed for their meeting; on the other, it was declared that Cary had no right to the office, because some of the old delegates, who had been superseded by new appointments, had been admitted to the meeting which elected him and deposed Glover. There is no conclusive evidence now attainable from which a positive judgment can be pronounced on this question; but it is a case where testimony as to previous character has great weight. So far as that may influence the verdict, the Cary party were in the right. Whatever may have been his motives, those of the Friends were pure; for they at least were contending for religious toleration, freedom of conscience, and their civil rights; and there is nothing in the history of that sect, either in North Carolina or anywhere else, to justify the supposition that they would condescend to any dishonest measures to attain an end, however just and desirable. That the end does not justify the means

Disputes caused by these changes.

is a fundamental principle of their faith, and one to which as a society they have been generally true. The result, nevertheless, was disastrous. Both Glover and Cary assumed to be the legitimate Governor; the Council was divided between them, and both assumed, with their adherents, to represent the Proprietors; and both issued writs for the election of representatives to a new Assembly.

Here, however, Cary proved to be the stronger; the people were on his side; the Assembly, when it came together, recognized him and his Council, and repudiated Glover. A bitter contest followed, which lasted two or three years, leading to violence and even bloodshed, till Glover and his immediate associates fled for refuge to Virginia. This civil contention, injurious to a



Cary before Hyde's House.

colony still struggling for existence, was the prelude, perhaps in some degree the cause, of still further disaster.

It was not till 1710 that the Lords Proprietors in England gave any sign of consciousness of the strife with which this portion of their dominion was torn. Then they appointed Edward Hyde as Governor, and sent orders to Tynte at Charleston, as titular Governor-general, to issue a commission to him. When Hyde arrived Tynte was dead; the only proof, therefore, of his appointment that the new Governor could exhibit was that contained, it was said, in

Hyde's appointment.

some private and unofficial letters from individual Proprietors. Cary at first hesitated, and then refused, to accept this as sufficient evidence. How far he was justified in this course it is impossible to judge now, as we know nothing of the character and the number of the alleged letters. That Hyde had no official commission, and Cary, therefore, acted within the law, is acknowledged. He seemed to apprehend violence, and fortified his house against a possible attack; then, growing more confident, as he found that his own party did not fall away from him, he armed two vessels, filled them with soldiers, sailed into Chowan Sound, and attempted to land at a place where Hyde and his Council were assembled, apparently with the purpose of seizing Hyde. Baffled in this, he retired to Pamlico and proposed to make a stand at the house of one Roach. This Roach was a trader recently arrived from England, and the agent of a commercial house in which John Danson was a partner. The fact has its significance, for Danson was a son-in-law of Archdale's, to whom Archdale had two years before conveyed all his right and title as a Proprietor of Carolina.[1] From Roach Cary received material aid in arms and ammunition, as well as a welcome to his house. The trader understood, probably, the wishes and the interests of his employers, and in aiding Cary in Carolina represented truly the Quaker, or non-conformist, element in the Board of Proprietors in England.

Cary opposes him.

In this crisis of affairs Hyde repeatedly appealed to Spotswood of Virginia for help. It was finally granted, for Spotswood was a royal Governor, and to him all who arrayed themselves, for whatever cause, against constituted authority were only a "mutinous rabble." His Council agreed with him in the necessity of suppressing an "insurrection" which might prove of evil influence among the discontented of their own colony; even the House of Burgesses assented to his interference, while they showed that they were not without sympathy for the popular party by refusing to grant all the men and money that he thought the occasion demanded. But for this, perhaps, he would not have condescended to negotiation.

Negotiation, however, was first tried; naturally nothing but delay came of it. Both parties had gone too far to yield to anything but force. The Governor of Virginia then called out the militia of the border counties to march into Carolina, and bring that force to bear upon Cary; but the militia did not respond to this summons. The people of those counties were almost all Friends, and if they could at any time be induced to take up arms, it certainly was not now, when they were to be used against their own brethren. Spotswood asked that a sufficient force from some naval

Spotswood interferes in the dispute.

[1] Hawks's *History of North Carolina*, vol. ii.

vessels, which just then happened to be in Virginia, might be put under his orders; but their commanders refused, on the plea that such a service was beyond the line of their duty. There was one other resource left to the Governor: he ordered out the marines on board the guard-ships of Virginia, and sent them to Carolina. Their number must have been small, but they proved to be sufficient. At their appearance, Cary and the few followers by whom he was surrounded dispersed without a blow. When it came to a question of serious armed resistance or submission, he knew that he had no alternative but to submit.

Why? Not because the party which had sustained him were cowards, but because they were Friends. In numbers they far exceeded their opponents; Cary and his immediate associates, it is plain, were ready enough to lead them to the utmost extremity of armed revolt; the successful issue of such a revolt was by no means hopeless. But

Cary's submission.

Cary knew that he and his half dozen followers could not carry on a civil war alone; he knew that to their ambitious personal aims — if they had any — the great body of the people who had thus far sustained him were utterly indifferent; he knew that that support was given for the cause of religious freedom as the Quakers understood it; but not even for that cause would these people take up arms in violation of their profoundest religious convictions There seems to be no other rational explanation of this sudden collapse of a promising rebellion. It entered upon a new stage with the appearance of troops who represented a government determined to suppress it by force of arms. In that last resort the Friends had no response to make; the weapons with which they fought the good fight were not carnal weapons.

What this may have had to do with subsequent events it is impossible, from the meagre records of the time, to tell. Cary and two or three others were arrested and sent to England as prisoners by Spotswood, but they were never brought to trial. A universal pardon was proclaimed for all except the half dozen leaders, but even these seem to have escaped punishment. In 1714 we hear of Cary residing in, or visiting, North Carolina,[1] unmolested. This forbearance may have been due, in some measure, to the indifference of the Proprietors to the affairs of a colony which it was more profitable to let alone than to care for. But it is also probable that the conciliatory spirit of Friends, prompting them rather to suffer than to do evil, was not without influence. All, at any rate, that they could have gained by violent resistance was soon accorded them. In 1713 Charles Eden

[1] "Colonel Cary is gone for the West Indies but intends in again this Fall." Letter from Governor Pollock to Governor Spotswood. Cited by Hawks from Pollock MSS.

was appointed Governor by the Proprietors, and from his time, though the Church of England was established by law, religious freedom was also acknowledged as the right of every man, and the affirmation of a Quaker was accepted in place of an oath.

Success of the Quakers.

Among the accusations made against Cary was one which, if true, should have brought him to condign punishment, but which, as he was not punished at all, was probably known to be an invention of partisan animosity. Hyde was hardly in quiet and undisputed possession of his office when he was called upon to meet a new and more terrible calamity. An Indian war suddenly broke out and swept over the colony. Cary, it was said, had sent emissaries among the Tuscaroras and incited them to hostilities to create a diversion in his favor. It is far more likely that the savages, observing the anarchy resulting from the dissensions among the colonists, hoped that an opportunity had come for their annihilation.

Cary and his adherents had dispersed early in July, 1711; the appointed day of the massacre planned by the Indians was not till September. To suppose that Cary could have had anything to do with it, is to assume that he could resort to measures simply diabolical to satiate his vengeance upon political enemies.

War with the Tuscaroras in North Carolina.

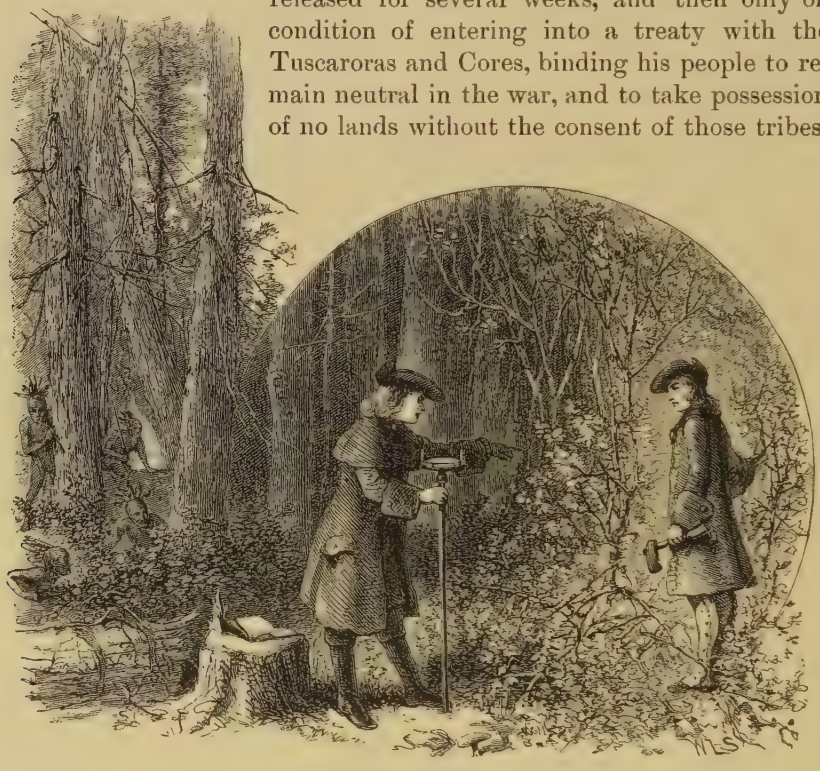
The Tuscaroras had induced all the smaller tribes to unite with them in a general conspiracy against the English; the half-tamed savages who lived in the neighborhood of the whites, and those who were servants in their houses, agreed to join in the work of slaughter at the hour appointed. And they kept their word. From every dwelling where these trusted servants had their homes came the signal war-whoop, at break of day, to the bands who the night before had concealed themselves in the vicinity of every settlement of whites along the Roanoke, the Neuse, and the Pamlico. Hundreds were slain within an hour, and those who escaped fled from their burning houses to seek a shelter in the woods. None of the sudden outbreaks of savage hate which from time to time had burst upon the several colonies was ever more furious or more fatal than this. For three days it swept unchecked over the province from its southern to its northern extremity, and then only ceased for the want of more victims when not a man, woman, or child was to be found outside of the shelter of a house garrisoned for a siege.

Massacres along the Roanoke.

Among those who suffered most were a company of Swiss and Germans whom persecution had driven from the Palatinate to England, and thence to find new homes in Carolina. The leader of these people was the Baron De Graffenried, a Swiss gentleman from the Canton

of Berne, and in his honor the town in and near which they settled was called New Berne. A few days before the outbreak, De Graffenried and John Lawson, the Surveyor-general of the colony and its earliest historian, had gone up the Neuse to learn how far it was navigable, and to select and survey lands for new settlements. They were taken prisoners by the Indians, and Lawson was soon put to death with horrible tortures. Had their captivity been known, it would have been a warning to the colonists of the hostile purposes of the savages; but the baron was not released for several weeks, and then only on condition of entering into a treaty with the Tuscaroras and Cores, binding his people to remain neutral in the war, and to take possession of no lands without the consent of those tribes.

The Swiss and German settlement at New Berne. Fate of Lawson and De Graffenried.



Lawson and De Graffenried.

He was faithful to this agreement, and was enabled thereby to save the remnant of the Palatines whom the massacre had spared; he was better able, moreover, to serve the colony at large by the information he gained, while the war continued, from friendly Indians, than if he had taken up arms.

Meanwhile Governor Hyde appealed to Virginia and South Carolina for aid. The generous and impulsive Spotswood was restrained by the cautious Burgesses, and was compelled to content himself with

interceding with the Indians. But more immediate help came from Governor Craven of South Carolina. Colonel Barnwell, at the head of a small body of militia and several hundred of the Yemassees, made a toilsome march through the wilderness from Charleston to the Neuse, and there joined the small force Governor Hyde had gathered to await their coming. The Tuscaroras had built a fort about twenty miles from Newbern, and had retired there in great numbers. Here they gave Barnwell battle in the open field, but lost three hundred killed, and a hundred taken prisoners; the rest were driven back to their fortifications, with many wounded.

Aid from South Carolina.

But this did not happen till within a day or two of the end of January. For more than a third of a year the North Carolinians had been shut up in their garrison houses. Their crops were lost; their farms and villages, through the southern portion of the province, were destroyed; in almost every family there was the sound of lamentation for dead relatives or friends; the living were reduced to poverty, even to absolute suffering for the want of food; it was a long winter of sorrow, of terrible fear, of continual privations, that this victory of Barnwell's broke in upon, and without that relief the colony would have soon ceased to exist.

The siege of the Tuscarora fort was not a long one. Barnwell was wounded; he found it difficult to feed his men; his Indian allies were restless and impatient, as Indians always are of any work requiring steady and quiet persistence. He raised the siege, made a treaty, and returned to South Carolina. The North Carolinians bitterly complained that he had abandoned them; for the Tuscaroras broke the treaty, renewed hostilities, and sought an alliance with the Senecas, of the Five Nations, to carry on the war. The summer was spent by both parties in preparations for a renewal of the struggle.

In the autumn Hyde died, and Colonel Pollock, a man of more energy, was chosen Governor. A general Indian war was dreaded in all the southern colonies; the Virginia House of Burgesses gave a more hearty support to Spotswood's measures of defence, and South Carolina sent a larger force, under the command of Colonel James Moore, to the relief of the northern province. Pollock, meanwhile, sowed division among the Tuscaroras, and seduced Tom Blunt, an influential chief, from his allegiance. Moore overtook the remainder of the tribe, with others who had entered into alliance with them, in a fortified camp near the present village of Snow Hill, on an affluent of the Neuse, in March, 1713. His attack was so vigorous that the war was then and there virtually ended. A large number of the enemy were slain, and eight hundred were taken prisoners, most of whom the southern Indians carried back

Pollock Governor. The Indian war ended in the north.

to South Carolina as slaves. A remnant of the Tuscaroras fled northward, and the Five Nations from that time became the Six Nations by the absorption of the tribe. The submission of all the Indians remaining in North Carolina was absolute. They had staked everything on this final contest. But if affairs with them were desperate, they were hardly less so with the English. An estimate of the resources of the colony, made a few days after the battle, showed that there were but thirty-two barrels of meat and eight hundred bushels of corn in the whole province.

The "Bloody Stick."

The force led to the suppression of this Indian war in North Carolina, first by Barnwell and then by Moore, was composed almost entirely of Yemassees. Could these Indians have looked forward for only two years, and acted on that foresight, it is quite possible that not a white man would have been left south of the Virginia boundary. An alliance between the Tuscaroras and the Yemassees would have been too formidable to be met with any hope of successful resistance. But when the destruction and dispersion of the Tuscaroras made such an alliance impossible, then the Yemassees undertook to do alone that which they had just prevented the northern tribe from doing, — that which by their combined strength could have been so easily accomplished.

For, in the spring of 1715 the southern Indians sent the "bloody stick," as a signal for war, from Cape Fear to the St. John's River,

carrying dismay through South Carolina from the frontier to the coast. In a single instance only was there any warning of the calamity. Sanute, a Yemassee chief, had become warmly attached to a Scotch settler on the frontier, named Fraser, and to his wife, a beautiful woman whom the Indian regarded with great reverence. To both he had sworn eternal fidelity, confirming his oath by the ceremony usual, among his people, of washing their faces with water scented with certain herbs, and vowing with his hands upon his breast that whatever came to his knowledge should be told to them. True to his vow, he came secretly to Mrs. Fraser, announced to her that the "bloody stick" had been sent from tribe to tribe, and that they must flee for their lives. It may have been a part of the agreement that any secret communicated by the Indian to his friends should not be revealed to others; at any rate, though the Frasers accepted the warning for themselves, and fled to the coast, they gave no hint of the coming danger to the scattered settlers, whose houses they passed in their flight.

Insurrection of the Yemassees.

Sanute and Mrs. Fraser.

For a few days even Charleston trembled for its safety, as the few who escaped the sudden outbreak fled to the town from the outlying

plantations. The massacre, however, soon ceased, for the want of defenceless victims. The Indians were now compelled to meet an organized force led by Governor Craven, who defeated them in a general fight near Port Royal. The victory was so complete that the savages were driven through the wilderness across the Florida border, and the province relieved altogether from a people far more to be feared than trusted, notwithstanding their past services. They left behind them the ashes of hundreds of homes, and the bodies of more than four hundred of the victims of their barbarity and hate. The outbreak was supposed to be instigated by the Spaniards; but whether this was true or false, the savages were received with welcome and applause in Florida, and encouraged in future raids. These, however, were sufficiently guarded against by two or three military outposts along the southern frontiers.

Final defeat of the Indians.

Two years only had passed away since the existence of North Carolina seemed merely a question of hours. Both colonies, had their enemies united, might have been destroyed between sunrise and sunset. Now, rather through savage fatuity than the prowess of the whites, these remained in quiet possession of that broad domain, while the powerful tribes who claimed it as theirs were scattered north and south, separated from each other by almost half the length of the continent. The beautiful forests, the lovely islands, the noble mountains, of their old homes, above all the graves of their fathers, were to be to them henceforth only a tradition. In all the colonial history of North America there is no more remarkable instance of how events, not brought about by the English, but of which, nevertheless, they knew how to take advantage, served to dispossess the Indians of their country and give it into the hands of a new people.

In all these years the Proprietors in England had left the colonies, for the most part, to prosper or to perish, as events, which they made little or no effort to control, should determine. Or rather, if an earlier historian[1] is right, the Proprietors did far worse by the colonists than to neglect them; for their affairs were left to the management of a secretary, so far as they were managed at all, and this man was moved in all that he did by Nicholas Trott, of South Carolina. Trott was Chief Justice for years, Judge at the same time of the Vice-admiralty Court, President of the Council, sometimes acting Governor, — always in office, always using the proprietary secretary for his own purposes and those of his party. But so far as the Proprietors acted at all, of their own volition, in the affairs of the colonies, it was to neglect them where their inter-

Course of the Proprietors during this period

[1] Hewit's *History of the Rise and Progress of the Colony of South Carolina.*

ference would have been a help, — to interfere when neglect was of all things to be most desired. They were left to defend themselves as best they could against their savage enemies; to reconcile the strife of factions; to stagger under the load of debt which war created, a burden added to by the attempt to relieve it by the issue of bills of credit. But any scheme for adding to the revenue of the Proprietors by an increase of taxes was certain of their approbation; any oppressive measure contrived by their officers they were sure to sustain. To acts of the Assembly of South Carolina to regulate trade with the Indians, and to secure a free and general election of representatives — both of imperative necessity for the public welfare — the Proprietors refused their assent. When the lands vacated by the Yemassees were taken possession of by the colony, and opened to the use of settlers, they were seized by the Proprietors for their own use, and hundreds of new emigrants ruined by demands, for rent and purchase-money, impossible to meet. Craven's successor, Robert Johnson, a son of the former Governor, Sir Nathaniel Johnson, received instructions that took from the Assembly almost all voice in the government of the colony, the Proprietors declaring that all legislation should be submitted to them, and that they should reject and repeal all laws as they saw fit. A royal order in Council was about the same time received, requiring the repeal of an act levying ten per cent. on all British goods imported, from which came almost the only revenue for the support of the colony, except direct taxation.

The public debt was augmented soon after Johnson's accession, by a necessary public service, and this added burden fell, as usual, upon the colonists. The pirates who had always, more or less, lurked along the Carolina coast, had become so bold that they could be tolerated no longer. The island of Providence, one of the Bahamas, had long been a convenient rendezvous for these buccaneers, but driven thence by an expedition under Captain Woodes Rogers, who took possession of the island in the name of the King, they had found convenient hiding-places in the sounds and inlets of the Carolinas, particularly about Cape Fear. They were the ruin of all legitimate commerce, and the terror of all honest sailors. So well armed and manned were their vessels that they did not hesitate to capture merchantmen within sight of the town of Charleston, and extort a ransom from the government for any prisoners of note that fell into their hands. The admiral of these rovers, one Teach or Thache, — but universally known by the more romantic name of Black Beard, — hoisted his flag upon a ship of forty guns, and the squadron under his command consisted of six vessels. Three of his

Piracy on the Carolina coasts.

captains, Vane, Worley, and Steed Bonnet, were as well known, and almost as much dreaded, as himself.

The harbor of Charleston was kept under constant blockade by one or more of these vessels, in turn, from the convenient station in the mouth of Cape Fear River. Hardly a merchantman bound in or out, could escape them, and so serious was the injury to the commerce of the port that Johnson determined to put an end to it at all hazards. He sent out a ship under command of William Rhett, and Steed Bonnet awaited him outside the bar at the mouth of the harbor, till he saw that the enemy was stronger than he dared encounter. Then he sailed for the station at Cape Fear. Thither Rhett followed, attacked and took the pirate with a crew of thirty men. Returning with these to Charleston, they were speedily tried, and twenty-nine of the thirty as speedily hanged.

Capture and execution of Steed Bonnet

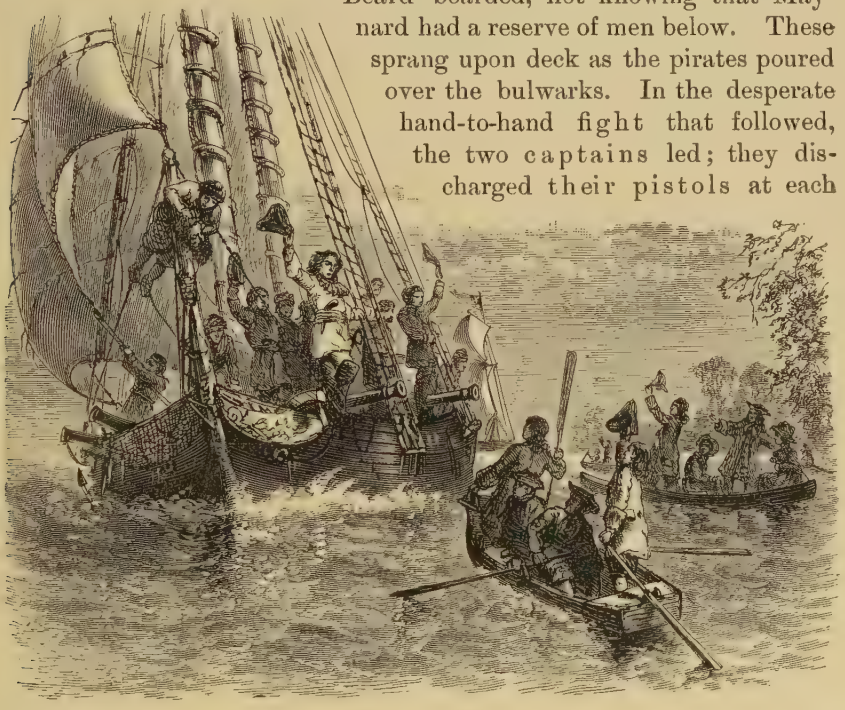
Worley, another of the pirate captains, soon afterward appeared in defiance at the mouth of the harbor, and the Governor, taking command of his ship in person, went out to meet him. Worley's sloop carried six guns and was ready for battle. The engagement was desperate; no quarter was asked or given; every man on board the pirate, save the captain and one of the crew, was killed, and these two refused to surrender, though they could fight no longer. Johnson sailed back to town, in sight of which the battle was fought, and lest his two wounded prisoners should cheat justice by dying of their wounds, they were hanged immediately.

And of Worley.

The loss of two vessels, of two of his bravest captains, and of so many men, so crippled and alarmed Black Beard that he went with twenty of his comrades before Governor Eden, of North Carolina, and took advantage of a royal proclamation made some time before, promising pardon to all pirates who would surrender. He remained for a while on shore, living a riotous life upon his ill-gotten gains, finding among his neighbors on Pamlico River a young woman who consented to be his thirteenth wife. This rural leisure and domestic bliss — though probably his wives were numbered with the ports where he refitted — he soon relinquished, and took to the sea again. For a while he kept within the law, by bringing in vessels, found, he said, deserted at sea, for condemnation in the court of admiralty. There were grave suspicions that in this sort of salvage the Governor, the secretary of the colony, and the admiralty judge had a share of the profits. But even this pretence of an honest employment of his time by Black Beard was soon abandoned, and he returned to his old ways.

Either because Governor Eden wanted the strength or wanted the will, to undertake the suppression and punishment of these bold buc-

caneers, Governor Spotswood was asked to send a naval force to the relief of the North Carolinians. The Virginia Governor offered a large reward for the pirate captain's head, and two armed sloops, under the command of Lieutenant Maynard of the royal navy, were ordered to Pamlico River. It was intended to take the pirate by surprise, but Black Beard was informed of their coming, and was prepared to fight if he could not escape. On board his vessel were twenty-five desperate men. When Maynard overtook them, the pirates opened the battle with a broadside, swearing that they would neither give nor take quarter. Maynard's vessel, unfortunately, ran aground, and, unable to manœuvre, was so exposed to the fire of the enemy that twenty men were shot down at a single broadside. Then Black Beard boarded, not knowing that Maynard had a reserve of men below. These sprang upon deck as the pirates poured over the bulwarks. In the desperate hand-to-hand fight that followed, the two captains led; they discharged their pistols at each



Maynard's Return.

other's heads without harm; then each rushed upon the other with his dirk and fought with skill, courage, and desperation till Teach fell. The boarding-party had numbered seventeen; nine, besides the pirate captain, lay dead upon the bloody deck; the other seven were mortally wounded. Then Maynard, in his turn, boarded the pirate vessel, made prisoners of the rest of the crew, and was just in time to seize a negro who stood with a firebrand at the magazine, with orders from the captain to blow up the ship in case she should be taken.

So the victory was complete, and the law erelong gave the pirates who survived the fight to the gallows. There is hardly a more conspicuous figure of that time in all the colonies than that of the brave young lieutenant, as he sailed through Pamlico Sound and into Chesapeake Bay, with the ghastly head of the dreaded pirate Black Beard dangling at the end of his bowsprit.

South Carolina's share in the extermination of this formidable band of buccaneers cost her ten thousand pounds,— a serious increase of her public debt — a serious addition to the tangle of difficulty and discord to be cut by the sword of revolution. The conduct of Trott, the Chief Justice, had become so intolerable that the Governor and Council united with the bar and the Assembly in demanding his removal, and one of the Council, Francis Yonge, was sent to England to represent the condition of the colony to the Proprietors.

A new mission to England.

The mission was a failure. If no redress could be obtained on the representations of an officer of the government, it was plain that the popular party had nothing to hope from any further remonstrance. In the dispatches which Yonge brought back, the Governor was rebuked for being too lenient to the colonists; he was ordered peremptorily to enforce the prerogatives of the Proprietors; to dissolve the Assembly, to repeal their objectionable laws, to insist upon the payment of taxes, to increase the number of councillors, to forbid any increase of the popular representation in the Assembly, — in short, to enforce with more severity than ever the rule which the colonists believed would prove their speedy ruin.

The point was reached at which almost any public exigency would be sure to bring about a collision between the government and the people. It came with the apprehension of a Spanish invasion which the Governor learned was in preparation at Havana. He called the Assembly together, represented to them the exposed condition of the province, and asked for means of defence. The Assembly declared that the tax upon imports was sufficient to meet the emergency. The Governor replied that the Proprietors had repealed the law. The repeal, the Assembly said, would be disregarded, and whoever refused to pay the duties would be compelled to obey the law. Thereupon Chief Justice Trott pronounced judgment in advance, by declaring that in any such suits brought in his courts he should decide in favor of the defendants. The crisis had come in which one party or the other must yield absolutely.

Governor Johnson, however, that there might be some preparation to repel the expected invasion, ordered out the militia regiments of the province for review, and appointed a day for general inspection. The members of the Assembly, on their part, quietly held meetings

in different places in the country, formed an association, and prepared for revolution. At the appointed time the militia regiments mustered; the revolutionary leaders seized the opportunity, produced the articles of association to the soldiers, and they were eagerly signed by almost every man in the colony capable of bearing arms. Happily there was no Spanish invasion, but the Lords Proprietors, nevertheless, then and there lost a province.

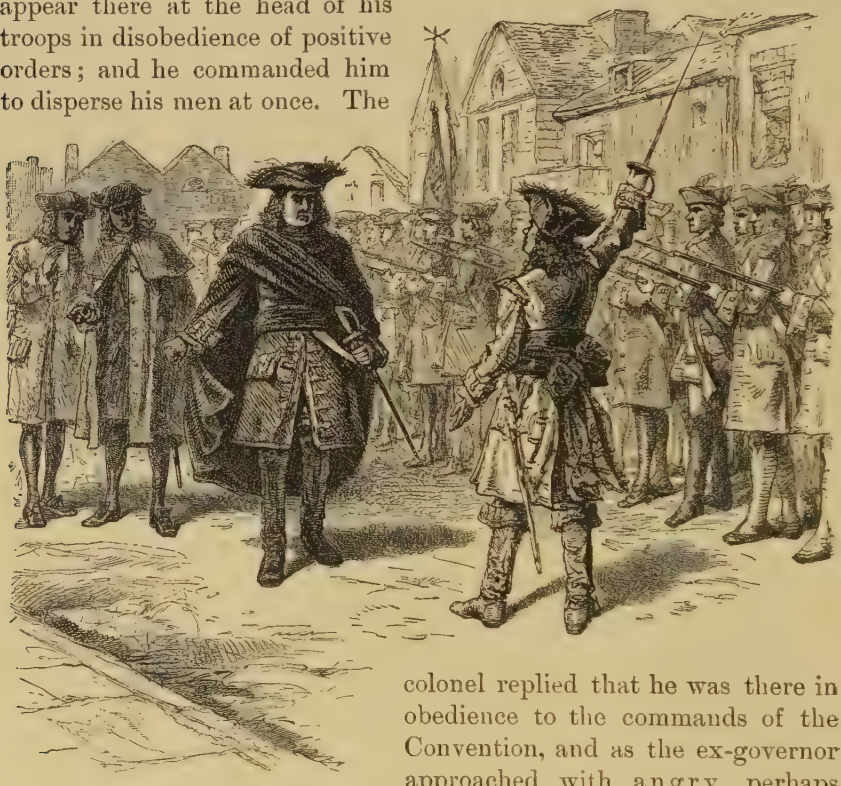
For Johnson himself there was the utmost respect. The revolt was not against him, but against his masters. The members of the Assembly, resolving themselves into a convention of the people, issued a declaration of reasons for what they had done, declined to recognize the proprietary government under the Governor and his illegal Council, but besought Mr. Johnson to remain in office as royal Governor until the will of the King could be known. He refused, addressing to the Convention a long and able message, setting forth the rights of the Proprietors, his own duty under their commission, and the illegality of the proceedings of the Convention. "We beg leave to tell you," replied the Convention, "that the paper your honor read and delivered to us we take no notice of, nor shall we give any further answer to it, but in Great Britain." But they assured him "that it is the greatest satisfaction imaginable to us to find throughout the whole country that universal affection, deference, and respect the inhabitants bear to your honor's person, and with what passionate desire they wish for a continuance of your gentle and good administration," and therefore they again earnestly desired and entreated him to remain as Governor "in his majesty's name, till his pleasure shall be known." True to his sense of duty the Governor was unmoved.

Contest between Governor Johnson and the Convention.

But however great their respect for his private character, the Convention now owed it to the people to be firm in their disregard of the Governor's authority. He issued a proclamation dissolving the House; the representatives would not permit it to be read, and ordered it to be torn from the hands of the marshal. A new Governor, Colonel James Moore, was elected, and the day on which Johnson had previously ordered the militia to assemble in Charleston was selected by the Convention as a fitting time for the inauguration of Moore. Johnson had subsequently directed the commander of the military, Colonel Parris, to countermand his order, but this, Parris, who was on the popular side, had neglected to do. On the appointed day Johnson, coming into Charleston from his plantation, found the town alive with preparations for the celebration of a joyful event. The colors were flying from the flagstaffs of the fort; every bit of bunting at their command decked the vessels in the harbor; the peo-

ple had culled out a holiday, and put on their best attire, and in the great square in the middle of the town were drawn up in imposing array the citizen-soldiers of the whole province.

Astonished, indignant, but not in the least intimidated, the ex-governor faced this unexpected situation. Seeking out the leading men, he expostulated quietly but earnestly with some who, he believed, were honestly pursuing a mistaken course; others he accused of basely abandoning their duty, and forgetting their oaths. These he threatened with punishment. Of Colonel Parris he demanded how he dared appear there at the head of his troops in disobedience of positive orders; and he commanded him to disperse his men at once. The colonel replied that he was there in obedience to the commands of the Convention, and as the ex-governor approached with angry, perhaps with some threatening gesture, the troops were ordered to present their guns, and he was warned that he came nearer at the peril of his life.



The Muster at Charleston.

Charleston at that early and rude period of her history was used to riots as the easiest way to carry an election or suppress a party, and either there must have been at this juncture unusual self-restraint exercised by the people, or the affection they bore their late Governor was his efficient protection. For, he stood alone, looking into the faces of the soldiery; not one of

Moore proclaimed Governor.

the officers of the proprietary government — toward whom, perhaps, there would have been less forbearance — came to his side; in the multitude around him there was not one personal enemy, but among them all he saw not one who was a friend to his cause. Persuaded, at length, that further contention, under such circumstances, was useless, he consented to retire, and was led away courteously and kindly by one of the gentlemen of the opposition. The interest of that gala day — an interest all the greater that it was unexpected — faded away as he turned his back upon the soldiers into the muzzles of whose guns he had looked without flinching. It was the Governor deposed, not the Governor proclaimed, who had become the central figure of that celebration. It so often happens that it is more effective to be dramatic than to be right.

This was in December, 1719. Thenceforward South Carolina was in fact a royal province, though Johnson for a year or more longer endeavored by one device and another to maintain his authority. His last desperate effort was made in the winter of 1721, when two men of war were ordered to Charleston to repulse another apprehended Spanish invasion. Relying on the aid of these ships, whose captains brought their guns to bear upon the town, Johnson took the field at the head of a hundred men. Two shots over their heads dispersed them, and it was plain at last, even to him, that the cause of the Proprietaries was hopeless.

Meanwhile both parties sent representatives to England. A revolution so serious and so complete could not be ignored there. The Proprietors were charged with having forfeited their charter by misgovernment, and the Attorney-general was once more instructed to take the proper steps to test the question. A provisional Governor of the province was appointed, and soon after Johnson's final attempt to reinstate the proprietary government, Sir Francis Nicholson arrived as the representative of the King.

Appointment of Nicholson as provisional Governor.

It was Nicholson's good fortune to be sent to Carolina, as he had previously been sent to Virginia and Maryland, at the moment when the colony was about to emerge from the long and bitter struggle with hardship, poverty, ignorance, and misgovernment, and was in a condition to enter upon a new era of success and prosperity. It was his own good sense and sound judgment that enabled him to see the necessities of the people, and to understand what measures were requisite to take advantage of new conditions. The presence of a royal governor ended all immediate strife between the contending parties, and with the consciousness of royal protection came a period of tranquillity, content, and hope throughout the colony. War had

ceased between England and Spain, and Nicholson's first care was to avail himself of the peace to deliver the colony from the fear of Indian hostilities. He sought and secured peaceful relations with both the Spaniards and the Yemassee tribe in Florida. With the powerful nations of the Cherokees and the Creeks on the western and southwestern borders of the province he concluded treaties of peace and of commerce, guarantying to them the possession of their own hunting-grounds, and receiving a promise in return that the English settlements should be unmolested, — agreements kept like all Indian treaties, so long as the reasons for keeping were stronger than the reasons for breaking them.

Nicholson, if not a devout man in his private life, was too wise a statesman to underrate the value of religious influences. No other American colony was so destitute of churches as South Carolina, and nowhere else was there so marked an absence of any sense of religious feeling and responsibility. When heretofore it had showed itself at all, it took on, as we have seen, a political aspect, and was made to play an important part in the strife between the Proprietary party and its opponents. The robe of the saint was stolen only to serve the devil in. But the new Governor, through the four years of his administration, labored with great zeal to relieve a destitution which — if he deprecated it for no other reason — he felt to be an obstacle to the welfare and growth of the state. He laid down the boundaries of parishes; encouraged and aided the people to build church edifices; and interceded with the Society in England for the Propagation of the Gospel, to provide them with pastors. The church he labored for was, of course, the Established Church ; there was hardly religious feeling enough in the province, at that period, to seriously suggest any question of conformity or dissent.

Whether it was that the people were irreligious because they were ignorant, certainly ignorance and irreligion went hand in hand among them. Nicholson was equally earnest in his efforts to overcome both. There was not a single public school in the province at the time of his arrival. He aroused the people to some sense of the importance of education, and aided them to secure it for their children with his private means as well as with the weight of his official influence and authority.

It is strong evidence of the excellence of his administration that, for the four years it lasted, the Proprietors seem to have submitted without a murmur to their loss of authority. But both they and their party in Carolina showed signs of life again when Nicholson returned to England, leaving his office in the hands of Arthur Middleton, the President of the Council. The writ against the charter had

not been issued ; in the colony the strife of parties, which had begun to show itself before Nicholson left, had become threatening. The Proprietors assumed the right of appointing a Governor, and named Colonel Samuel Horsey for that office ; if other officers were appointed by the Crown, they claimed that the nominations should be submitted to them for their approval. But the contest was too unequal to be long sustained on their part, and they offered to surrender their proprietary interest for a pecuniary consideration. The prayer was granted, and in 1729 both the northern and southern colonies were purchased by the Crown — including territory and arrearages of quit rents — for twenty-two thousand five hundred pounds sterling. To this agreement, however, Lord Carteret was not a party. A one-eighth interest in the property was retained by him, which about twenty years later was set apart from the rest by giving him all the territory from 34° 35′ to the boundary line of Virginia, and from the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean.

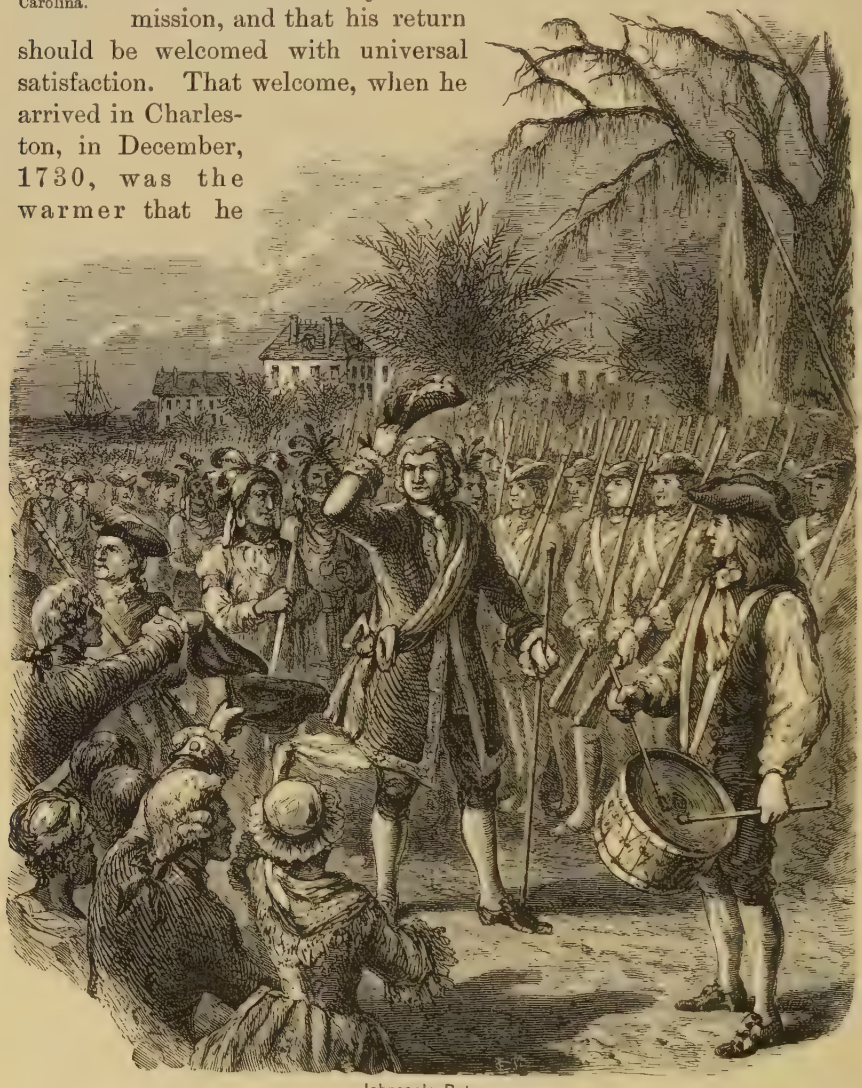
Purchase of the province by the Crown.

From the date of the purchase of the colony by the Crown, North and South Carolina became in law, as they had long been in fact, two separate provinces. Thenceforward there was no pretence of the authority of a governor-generalship to be exercised over the northern colony by the governor of the southern, — an authority which, for many years, had been merely nominal, or only exerted at times by special order of the Proprietors for some special purpose. The last proprietary Governor of North Carolina was Sir Richard Everhard, who had displaced George Burrington. Burrington, in his turn, as the first royal Governor, displaced Everhard. The years of the official tenure of these men were marked by little else than their personal quarrels. Burrington was evidently a ruffian of a low order, and was indicted by the grand jury for an assault upon Everhard while he was Governor. The indictment gives many of the terms of obloquy and defiance which Burrington publicly hurled at his opponent: that "he was no more fit to be governor than a hog"; that he was a "calve's head;" that "I (the said George himself meaning) will scalp your damned thick skull (the said Sir Richard's head meaning)"; and other equally "scandalous, opprobrious, and malicious words," which even then seem to have been considered as hardly compatible with the dignity of an ex-governor. He was nevertheless reappointed when the province passed to the Crown, for his family, it is supposed, was in favor at Court. As royal Governor his conduct was so outrageous that he thought it prudent to leave the province, and he was murdered not long after, in a drunken brawl in London. Gabriel Johnston, who was appointed in 1734 as Governor of North Carolina, remained in office for the next twenty years.

North Carolina governors.

It was a singular testimony to the estimation in which Robert Johnson was held, both in England and in South Carolina, that the Governor whom revolution had deposed should be sent back with a royal commission, and that his return should be welcomed with universal satisfaction. That welcome, when he arrived in Charleston, in December, 1730, was the warmer that he

Johnson re-appointed Governor of South Carolina.



Johnson's Return.

brought with him six Cherokee chiefs returning from England. So important was the friendship of that powerful nation held to be by the government, that almost its first act after the purchase of the colony was to send an embassy, under Sir Alexander Cumming, to

these Indians. Six of their chiefs he had taken back with him to England, a sight of the Tower of London and the King on his throne being thought then as certain to soothe the savage breast, and induce the warrior to turn his tomahawk into a reaping-hook, as it is now believed these pleasant consequences come from a sight of the Capitol at Washington and of a President in the White House. These fallacious hopes were not, indeed, of long duration. Beyond the Cherokee and Choctaw countries were the French on the Gulf and the Mississippi; and whether in trade or in war, the Indians knew too well how important their position was between the rival powers. There were, however, more immediate dangers requiring the presence of a governor in South Carolina. Johnson's report, a few months after entering upon the duties of his office, was that no taxes had been collected, and not a court of justice had been held in the province for four years, — not, in other words, since Nicholson's departure.[1] To restore harmony and order where discord and anarchy reigned was the work to which he addressed himself, with a large measure of success, for the four remaining years of his life.

But it was no easy task. In no other colony was there so mixed a population, including English, French, Scotch, Irish, and Spanish, unused for years to much restraint from either law or gospel, and too ignorant to be safely left to be a law to themselves. There were from six to seven thousand of these white people, and in addition to them about twenty-two thousand African slaves. This heterogeneous population lived, for the most part, upon isolated plantations of large tracts of land; here the labor of the slaves was chiefly devoted to the production of a single staple, rice, though to this the cultivation of indigo was soon added. The laboring whites were indented servants, and, with labor degraded and cheapened by slavery, their condition was quite hopeless. To their servitude there came in time an end, but the degradation of their class has been perpetuated in the "poor whites," who are even yet a distinctive feature in the society of South Carolina and Georgia. The colony, moreover, was overwhelmed with debt, and the repeated issue of bills of credit had borne its legitimate fruit in the depreciation of the value of currency. That value was necessarily brought to the test of exchange on England, and it required about this period seven hundred and fifty pounds of South Carolina currency to buy a bill on London for one hundred pounds.[2] It had been the policy of the Proprietors to escape the burden of a great public debt by limiting the issue of these bills of credit; the people, on the other hand, both to provide a

Condition of the province.

[1] Papers in State Paper Office, London. *Coll. of Hist. Soc. of S. C.*, vol. i.

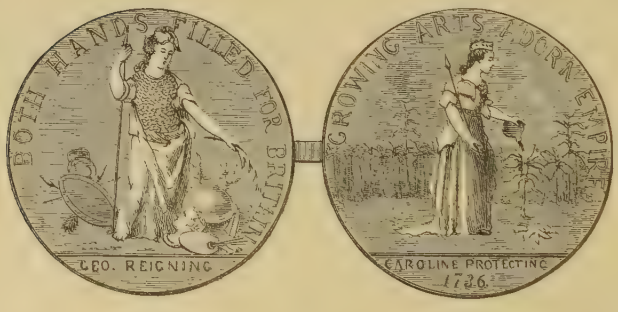
[2] The condition of the currrency in the several colonies in 1748, as measured by the rate

revenue for the support of government and to check the increase of slaves, had insisted that a heavy duty should be levied upon their importation. Unhappily, in the struggle of parties both measures were nullified, either of which would have been a blessing to the commonwealth.

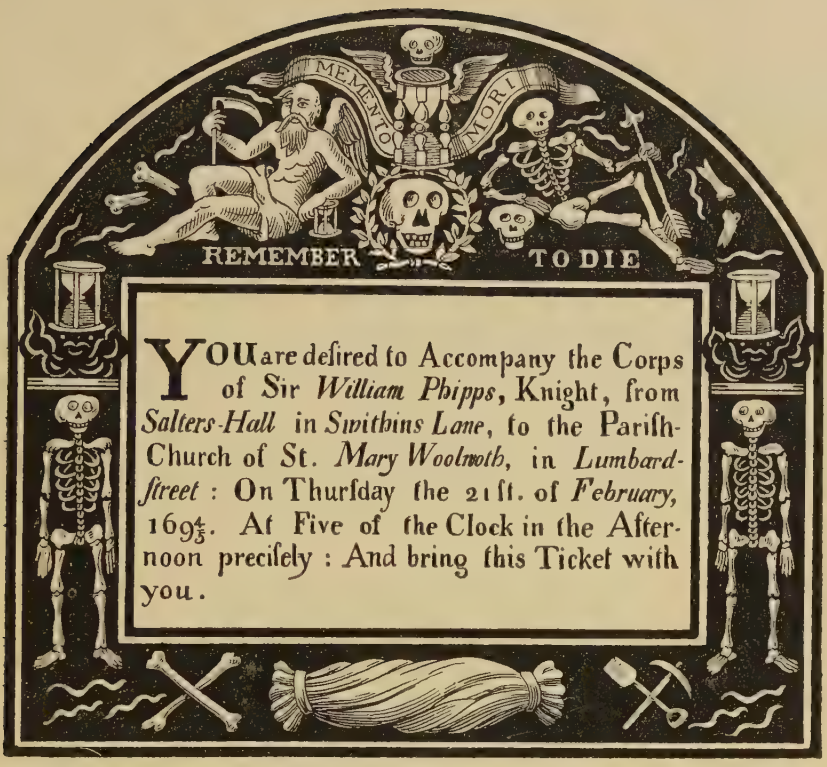
The establishment of the royal government under Johnson, however, gave a new impulse to the energies of the colonists, and fresh interest was aroused in England in the domain south of Carolina, the only region along the Atlantic coast now unoccupied by Europeans. The Governor was ordered to lay out eleven new townships on the banks of several rivers, to be divided into small farms as an inducement to the emigration of poor but industrious persons. The project was defeated, at least in the southern part of the province, by the prëoccupation of the lands in large tracts by planters, who found an abundant supply of labor in the increasing importation of slaves. But this southward movement of the Carolinians was soon checked by a project to plant a new colony on the further side of the Savannah River.

of exchange on London, is tabulated in Douglass's *Summary, Historical and Political, etc., of the British Settlements in North America,* as follows: —

For £100	New England currency	. . . . .	. . .	1100.
" "	New York	"	. . .	190.
" "	East Jersey	"	. . .	190.
" "	West Jersey	"	. . .	180.
" "	Pennsylvania	"	. . .	180.
" "	Maryland	"	. . .	200.
" "	Virginia	"	. . .	120 @ 125.
" "	North Carolina	"	. . .	1000.
" "	South Carolina	"	. . .	750.



Medal Struck in 1736 to commemorate the Separation of North and South Carolina.


MEMENTO
MORI
REMEMBER
TO DIE
YOU are desired to Accompany the Corps of Sir William Phipps, Knight, from Salters-Hall in Swithins Lane, to the Parish-Church of St. Mary Woolnoth, in Lumbard-street: On Thursday the 21st. of February, 169⅔. At Five of the Clock in the Afternoon precisely: And bring this Ticket with you.

Fac-simile of the Invitation to Phips's Funeral.

CHAPTER V.

THE ROYAL GOVERNORS IN NEW ENGLAND.

Massachusetts a Royal Province. — The Troubles of Rhode Island. — Arbitrary Interference of Lord Bellomont. — Administration of Dudley. — Indian Hostilities. — Attacks on Deerfield and other Places. — War in Maine. — Capture of Port Royal. — Massachusetts early in the Eighteenth Century. — Inoculation for Small-Pox. — Governor Shute in Massachusetts and New Hampshire. — The Royal Prerogative in Forests. — Financial Policy of the Colonies. — Benjamin Franklin and the "New England Courant." — Settlements in New Hampshire and Maine.

The charter which was brought back by Sir Williams Phips converted Massachusetts into a royal province. The first Parliament which assembled in the reign of William, manifested a willingness to pass a bill restoring to the colony its original charter, but this intention was defeated by the Court. The partial discontent which met Phips in the colony when he returned as

Massachusetts a Royal Province.

Governor under the new charter was considerably increased by the hostility of persons who had been connected with the witchcraft trials. When he died at London, it became necessary to select another royal Governor. The appointment was neglected, however, in the more imperative necessities of the new reign; for three years the unpopular Stoughton acted as Governor, and party feeling became much embittered. A fresh distraction came in the renewed attacks of the Indians upon frontier towns, stimulated by the French, with whom England was at war.

New Indian hostilities. — Hannah Dustin of Haverhill.

New Hampshire and the Province of Maine suffered this time more severely than Massachusetts. An attack upon Haverhill was memorable for the subsequent exploit of Hannah Dustin, who, with an infant only a few days old, a boy named Samuel Leonardson, and another woman, was carried off to an Indian camp on an island in the Merrimack, near Concord, N. H. The

Hannah Dustin's escape.

infant, as usual, was killed against the trunk of a tree. The sight of this prepared the mother's heart for her bloody reprisal. One day when the boy was at work chopping for the Indians, he casually asked one of the savages how and where he struck a man with a hatchet. The Indian, pleased to show that bit of sylvan skill, told him. That night the three captives with hatchets slew the ten sleeping guards, and Hannah, remembering her infant, scalped them. Then they dropped down the river in a canoe to Haverhill.

Joseph Dudley, the Puritan courtier of the King, had been sent with Andros to England, where the King released him. To appease somewhat his hunger for official station, he was appointed Chief Justice of New York. Tiring of this contracted sphere, he returned to England and was made Lieutenant-governor of the Isle of Wight. In the mean time Lord Bellomont had been appointed Governor of New York, Massachusetts, and New Hampshire. There was nothing in the brief period of the Earl's administration of fourteen months to mar the cordiality with which he was welcomed in Boston, in 1699. His High-Church principles were overlooked in the deference he paid to the Congregationalism of New England; but the General Court abated nothing, notwithstanding the esteem in which he was held, of their jealous care for their chartered rights. They refused to vote him a fixed salary, while they made the liberal appropriation of nearly ten thousand dollars in little more than a year for his use.

Lord Bellomont, Governor.

Rhode Island, however, was less fortunate during his administration than those colonies of which he was the actual Governor. He was only the commander-in-chief of her militia; but he evidently did not forget that she also would have been under his rule had the discussion upon making him Governor-general of all the northern colonies, which so long delayed his coming, been decided the other way. The unfortunate condition of Rhode Island gave him the opportunity for the exercise of an authority over that colony which his military commission did not warrant; his zeal for the suppression of privateering and piracy and the enforcement of the Navigation Laws, supplied a motive.

Affairs in Rhode Island.

Circumstances, quite as much as choice, had made Rhode Island a maritime community. Her undisputed possessions were nearly limited to the island within the waters of Narragansett Bay, for on the mainland she was met by rival claimants on all sides. The harbor of Newport was more open to the sea than either that of New York or Boston. And it was never closed. When the tortuous channel and shallow flats of Boston harbor were covered with miles of solid ice, and the bay of New York was a firm roadway from Fort George to Staten Island, the mighty current of the Gulf Stream, sweeping in upon the Narragansett coast, tempered the cold currents from the north with the warm waters of a southern climate. This advantage of situation, when commerce was chiefly carried on in small coast-wise vessels, made Newport always an easy port of refuge, while from its central position it was a convenient point of trade. Lawful privateers in time of war could find nowhere else a place where they could so easily refit, where they could so easily run in

Her maritime advantages.

with their prizes or land their plunder; and when peace turned privateers into pirates, courts of admiralty were not always mindful of nice inquiries as to manifests and bills of lading, even if the legal existence of the court itself was beyond question.

The interests of the people were marine, and that made them sailors. Block Island, now only known as a pleasant resort for summer visitors, was toward the end of the seventeenth century famous as a rendezvous for sea-rovers, who put in there to recruit, or hovered off shore to intercept some ship, worth taking, bound in or out. And more than once, during those years, when a Frenchman was seen in the offing, a well-manned ship hurried out of Newport harbor in pursuit, and, after a gallant fight, sailed back again with a prize in tow.

So for many years, in the uncertainty of her territorial domain, Newport, with the tribute which Newport drew from the sea, was the chief reliance on which Rhode Island depended for prosperity and wealth. Massachusetts had never forgiven her for presuming to exist at all, and the boundary between the two colonies was a source of perpetual conflict till the middle of the eighteenth century. A similar controversy existed with Plymouth, and this lost none of its acrimony when that colony became a part of Massachusetts during the administration of Sir William Phips.

Rhode Island boundary questions.

But the question of the western boundary was still more serious, for it involved all that portion of the present State of Rhode Island which lies between Narragansett Bay and Pawcatuck River, and south of the latitude of Warwick. This came to be known as the King's Province because of that solemn act of submission of the Narragansett chiefs to the King which Gorton and Holden took to England in 1644.[1] The territory was claimed both by Connecticut and Rhode Island as covered by their respective patents. And in fact it had been granted to both, though the grant to Connecticut was a blunder.

It was one of the frequent blunders of that early period arising partly from geographical ignorance, partly from carelessness in the administration of colonial affairs. The patents secured by John Winthrop for Connecticut in 1662, made the Narragansett River the eastern boundary of the colony.[2] John Clarke of Rhode Island was then in England soliciting a charter for his people, and he exposed the wrong that would be done them by this encroachment upon territory which they claimed as theirs under the older patent. So obviously just was his protest that Winthrop was finally convinced of it, and when Clarke, the next year, sent home the Rhode Island charter granted by Charles II. — Winthrop acceding

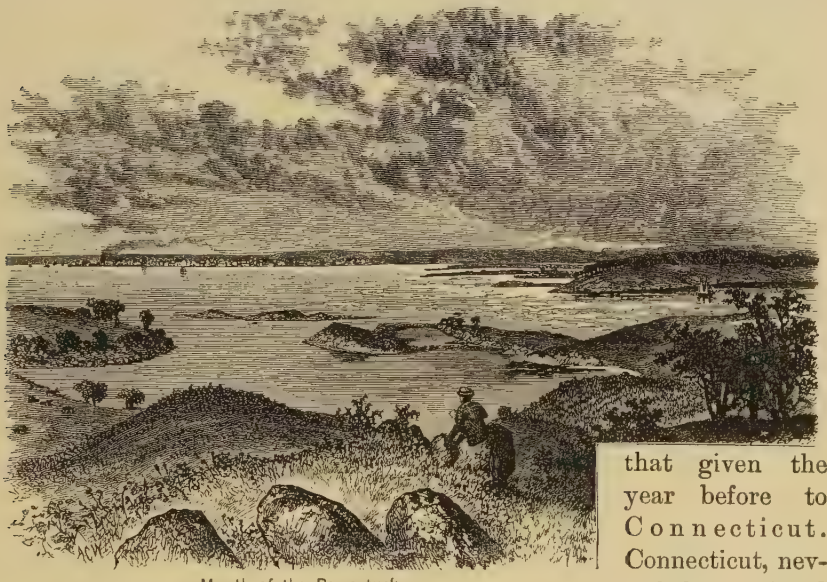
Conflict of Connecticut and Rhode Island charters.

[1] See vol. ii., p. 91.

[2] Vol. ii., p. 254.

to it as the Connecticut agent — it made the Pawcatuck River the western boundary of Rhode Island, expressly reciting that "the sayd Pawcatuck river shall bee alsoe called alias Narragansett river; and to prevent other disputes, that otherwise might arise thereby, forever hereafter shall be construed, deemed and taken to bee the Narraganset river in our late graunt to Connecticut Colony mentioned as the easterly bounds of that Collony."

Nothing could be plainer; the Pawcatuck had been mistaken for the Narragansett, and the Rhode Island charter corrected and limited



Mouth of the Pawcatuck.

that given the year before to Connecticut. Connecticut, nevertheless, refused to abide by that limitation, and continued, for many years, to maintain her title to the King's Province as part of her territory, and at the later period claimed as far north as Providence. Winthrop, she declared, had ceased to be her agent and had no right to acquiesce in such a compromise. But it was the King who had granted the patent, not Winthrop. Rhode Island accused her neighbor of securing a charter by "underhand" measures; Winthrop exonerated himself by acknowledging that a wrong had been done; if those he represented had not committed a fraud, they proposed, at any rate, to take advantage of a blunder — which supreme authority had attempted to correct.

Nor was this the only territorial complication which embarrassed and impoverished the Rhode Islanders. A company, called the Atherton Company, — from that Humphrey Atherton who was one of

the Massachusetts commissioners sent to break up the Gorton settlement at Shawomet in 1643[1] — had purchased large tracts in the Narragansett country on the Bay about "Smith's trading house," now Wickford, from the Indians. Another company had taken possession of lands, under authority from Massachusetts, — who claimed them by right of conquest of the Pequot country, — on

The Atherton Company.

Wickford, R. I.

both sides of the Pawcatuck River at its mouth. The township laid out by them was called Southertown, now Stonington. Its eastern division on the east side of the Pawcatuck was within the limits of the Rhode Island patent, and some Newport men settled upon it and called it Westerly. Thenceforth raged a feud, always bitter and sometimes bloody, between the two settlements.

Settlement of Southertown and Westerly.

It is an interesting fact, worthy of passing notice, that in that part of this old town of Westerly, now called Charlestown, reside all that are left, in New England, of the tribe of Narragansett Indians, though there is not among them one of pure Narragansett blood. In numbers they are about one hundred and twenty persons. In condition they are reduced to dependence upon the State, which provides for their wants when the fruits of their own toil, as common laborers and as basket-makers, are not sufficient for their subsistence. The land they live upon is reserved for their special occu-

Indian Reservation in Charlestown.

[1] See vol. ii., pp. 79 *et seq.*

pation; and when portions are conveyed to individuals for their sole use, as is sometimes done, the title passes by the ancient ceremony of presenting to the new owner a bit of turf and a twig from the land. The tribal government is still preserved, their local affairs being managed — subject to the Legislature of the State — by a council chosen yearly from among themselves.[1] A republic has displaced the line of kings, the royal dynasty ceasing, probably about a century ago, with King Tom — a rather disreputable monarch and much given to drink — and his Queen, Esther. The burial-place of the royal family is on a hill, within the reservation, where the pensive Indian may recall — if he remembers them — the traditions of his race as he looks out over many miles of lovely landscape, once happy Indian hunting-grounds; over, as far as Montauk point, the blue waters of the Bay, whose surface, not many generations ago, was never disturbed save by the swift canoes of savage fishermen and warriors. On the horizon, seaward, rises the rocky coast of Block Island where Endicott landed, in spite of wind and waves, to punish the natives and to destroy their corn, their wigwams, and their boats; near by, inland, within the reservation of the tribe, rises Fort Neck, where Mason passed the night and held counsel with the famous Narragansett chiefs, Canonicus and Miantonomo, on his way to the destruction of the Pequot Fort and tribe. It is historic ground. Does the half-breed pauper, standing upon the graves of the kings of his race, ponder upon departed glories? Do no old savage instincts stir his blood as he turns from the sight of his home of civilized penury to look upon thriving villages and mills and farms; upon the sea dotted with the glistening sails of commerce; upon the smoky pennants streaming across the sky from passing steamers? No scalps now hang in his wigwam; no squaw pounds his corn; no deer bounds through the forest to fall by his swift arrows; no enemy lurks in its recesses to be followed with stealthy tread and brought to sudden death. The wigwam of fragrant boughs, gay with many-colored deer-skins, is a board shanty: the squaw, once picturesque in scanty garment and untrammeled limbs, a plaything and a slave, is a hard-worked woman weaving wicker baskets; in the woods and swamps the son of the warrior and the hunter cuts cedar posts[2] and fire-wood. There are only the graves on the quiet hill-side to remind him of the past. But that one spot, at least, is sacred; no common dust is permitted to mingle there with the dust of kings, and even tradition fails to preserve the memory of the last burial. The blood of this royal race

The last of the Royal Narragansetts.

[1] MS. notes of Mr. S. H. Cross, Indian agent of the State of Rhode Island.

[2] The best cedar posts in Rhode Island come from this Indian reservation. — Mr. Cross's MS.

flows now only through the veins of one living person — Esther, an old woman in Westerly, living apart from her people, the only representative of the ancient Narragansett chiefs, and though not quite of the pure blood, the purest living of the Narragansett tribe.

Esther, the last of the Royal Narragansetts.

But — to resume the history of the boundary question — "underhanded" certainly were the measures sometimes resorted to, that Rhode Island might be deprived of territory which was justly hers, and her colonial power be limited to the narrowest bounds. The animosities engendered in those earlier times when Massachusetts banished Williams, ravaged Shawomet, and carried Gorton and his companions triumphantly to Boston, imprisoned Clarke and punished Holmes with many stripes, for the manifold heresies intolerable to the Puritans, — those bitter memories had, no doubt, much to do with this later hostility to the struggling little colony. That questionable Narragansett patent of 1643,[1] whereby Massachusetts might have set up a claim to all Rhode Island, was sometimes, though cautiously, appealed to as an argument in defence of the Atherton purchase.

The Atherton Company was composed of some of the most influential men of Massachusetts and Connecticut; but its affairs were chiefly managed by that Edward Hutchinson who was among the earliest settlers of Rhode Island, but afterward returned to Massachusetts and was restored to favor. Perhaps he bore no good will to the early associates whom he abandoned; at any rate, he seems to have been more considerate of the interests of his Company than scrupulous of the rights of the colony, of a portion of whose domain the Company proposed to take possession.

Captain John Scott as agent for the Company in England.

Hutchinson found a facile tool in that Captain John Scott who was soon afterward conspicuous in the affairs of New Netherland just before its surrender to the English Commissioners,[2] and of whom Governor Nicolls said two years later — when the Duke of York conveyed New Jersey to Berkeley and

[1] See vol. ii., pp. 100 *et seq.*

[2] See vol. ii., pp. 257 *et seq.*

Carteret — "I must charge it upon Captain Scott, who was born to work mischief as far as he is credited, or his parts serve him."

Captain Scott was in England acting as Hutchinson's agent, when Winthrop and Clarke were soliciting charters for their respective governments. That to Connecticut was granted in April, 1662; that to Rhode Island in July of the following year, after the points of difference between these agents had been discussed and an attempt at settlement made by a board of referees. One of the points pronounced upon by that board was, that the Narragansett people — the company was now called the Narragansett Company, Major Atherton having been killed by a fall from his horse the year before — should choose for themselves to which of the two governments they would be attached.

If the eastern boundary of Connecticut was to remain as provided by its blundering charter, — on Narragansett Bay, — this proposed compromise was unnecessary, for the Narragansett people were, in that case, already under the jurisdiction they preferred. But the transfer of that boundary to Pawcatuck River — "*alias* Narraganset," — would leave these people, where they did not wish to be, within the bounds of Rhode Island. Connecticut accepted their offered submission, while she rejected the new boundary of the Rhode Island charter on the ground that her agent had no longer power to act; accepted, that is, as much of the compromise as suited her; Rhode Island declined to surrender to another government jurisdiction in the very heart of that country which the new charter decided to be hers. The terms of this charter unquestionably were the only legal and proper basis of settlement, and those most interested knew it.

About three weeks after the meeting in London of the referees who thought they had settled this vexed and troublesome question, Captain Scott wrote a letter to Mr. Hutchinson, for the first time published a few years since by Mr. Arnold in his admirable history of Rhode Island.[1] Mr. Winthrop, he writes, was "very averse to my prosecuting your affairs, he having had much trouble with Mr. Clarke, whiles he remained in England." Perhaps he meant that Winthrop, having already brought the affair to a satisfactory conclusion, was impatient of any interference; and certainly, if he was at all aware of Scott's proposed method of interference, he, as an honorable man, might well be "very averse" to any such companionship. For so soon as Scott was assured that Winthrop had fairly left England, he took, he says, "into the Societye a Potent Gentleman," sent in a petition against Clarke and his associates of Rhode Island, and did not doubt "of effecting the premises in convenient tyme."

Captain Scott's management.

[1] Arnold's *History of Rhode Island*, vol. i., chap. ix., appendix.

And his method "in order to accomplish the business" was this: "I have bought" he wrote, "of Mr. Edwards a parcel of curiosityes to the value of £60, to gratifye persons that are powerfull, that there may be a Letter filled with Authorizing Expressions to the Collonyes of the Massachusetts and Connecticut," who should thereby "joyntlye or severallye have full power to doe us Justice to all intents as to our Naraganset concernes." The "potent gentleman" made good use of the sixty pounds' worth of curiosities to be given to powerful persons, and in return came a royal letter addressed to the United Colonies of New England, commending the Narragansett people to their kindness and protection.[1] The letter thus procured, and signed by the King probably in ignorance and indifference alike of the fresh difficulties in which it might involve his subjects in Rhode Island, was granted only seventeen days before the new charter was issued to her. That charter was dated the 8th of July; the agreement in regard to it between Winthrop and Clarke was concluded on the 7th of April; "I cannot deeme," wrote Scott to Hutchinson, "those termes Mr. Winthrop made with Clarke any way to answere your desires, were there a certaintye in what Clarke hath granted." Here was the motive for procuring the mandate of the King to the United Colonies — Rhode

A letter from the King in favor of the Narragansett Company.

Map of Rhode Island, showing the disputed Boundaries.

[1] In the letter of the King, as published in the *Collections of the Rhode Island Historical Society*, vol. iii., the name of this "potent gentleman" is given as Thomas Chissick. In the discussion on the Narragansett Patent before the Massachusetts Historical Society (*Proceedings*, June, 1862), Colonel Aspinwall says he was Thomas Chiffinch, "the Court pimp; the willing abettor of every vile Court intrigue; the man who to furnish assurance of the royal sanction, contrived the interviews between Charles II. and Dangerfield, the assassin from Newgate, hired to murder the discarded Premier Shaftesbury; and who afterwards stealthily admitted the Catholic confessor to the dying monarch."

Island, it will be remembered, was excluded from that Union — for the protection of the Narragansett Company; and it was necessary to bribe some persons about the King to secure his signature to a letter in direct collision with the Rhode Island charter, decided upon a few days before, and signed a few days afterward. Thus harassed on all sides — at Southertown, by the Narragansett Company, and along the boundary lines of Massachusetts, Plymouth, and Connecticut — for years the colony could assert no authority, nor collect a dollar of revenue, without dispute or resistance, anywhere beyond her little island.

Implicit obedience to imperial authority was by no means a colonial habit, and it did not in the least avail Rhode Island that in the course of successive years that authority was exercised on its behalf. Two of the royal commissioners, Carr and Maverick, decided in its favor, and declared the Atherton purchase of the Indians null and void; Andros was equally positive as to the justice of the cause of Rhode Island, although he suspended her charter; in 1694 the Board of Trade in London, by advice of the Attorney General, sustained all the claims which the province insisted upon under that charter which at the fall of Andros had again become its constitution of government; and the same Board decided against the claim of the heirs of the Duke of Hamilton to the Narragansett country, notwithstanding it took precedence of all others, as it was founded upon a purchase made of the old Plymouth Company early in the century.

Decisions of the boundary questions in Rhode Island.

But all this availed nothing; there were conflicting decisions enough, meant to be authoritative, to keep the question an open quarrel; and it was not till 1703 that Connecticut consented to accept the Pawcatuck as her eastern boundary, and not till nearly half a century later that Massachusetts would agree to any compromise whatever.

These protracted disputes were a source of perpetual anxiety to the colony, hindering her growth as well as interfering with her freedom of action. It was an encroachment upon her rights under the charter to give to Phips, and to Stoughton of Massachusetts, and to Fletcher of New York, the command of her militia. The case was still worse when the same power was given to Bellomont, who was Governor of two other colonies, and Captain-general also of the forces of Connecticut and the Jerseys. He was the representative of the party who believed it to be for the interest of the Crown that all the northern colonies should be united as a single province, and his conduct was not likely to be questioned if he went beyond the letter of his commission. Should he see fit to exceed his legitimate powers by interfering with civil affairs in Rhode Island, she had small capacity of resistance.

Bellomont's course towards Rhode Island.

He did interfere, to her great alarm and injury, by upholding the pretensions of her opponents. To carry out his purpose in the suppression of piracy and privateering, and the enforcement of the Navigation Laws, he needed more power over Rhode Island than his military commission gave him. This question of boundaries was a weapon he did not hesitate to use. When she declined or neglected to obey his military requisitions, whether because she could not, or because she would not, he forbade her to levy taxes or exercise any other authority within the disputed territories. Though received at Newport with cordiality and such hospitality as the people could command, his attitude was hostile, and his judgment severe. In a letter to England he declared her government to be "the most irregular and illegal in their administration that ever any English government was." Her worthy chief magistrate, Samuel Cranston, he denounced as "conniving at pirates, and making Rhode Island their sanctuary."

It was not that the little colony was so much worse than her neighbors, but that being driven to the sea for a subsistence, she made the most of it. That one is a good sailor is not, indeed, a good reason for being privateersman or pirate; but surely that favorite argument so often urged on behalf of the Puritan — that he was not the less a most estimable man and exemplary Christian when hanging Quakers, or drowning witches, or whipping Anabaptists, because such was the fashion of his time — may palliate those evil-doings of the Rhode Islanders. Of New York, Bellomont said: "The people have such an appetite for piracy and unlawful trade that they are ready to rebel as often as the government puts the law in execution against them." The Governor may have thought that because of the weakness and friendlessness of Rhode Island she, at least, might be easily brought to obedience and good behavior. His accusations, at any rate, were unsparing, and were met with difficulty by her agent in England; and had the Earl lived long enough to push them to a conclusion, Rhode Island might have been compelled to answer to a *quo warranto*, and have lost her charter.

Administration and death of Stoughton. — Dudley again active.

After the death of Bellomont, Stoughton again became acting Governor, but he too died in four months and left an opportunity for Dudley which he was not slow to seize. Cotton Mather warmly espoused the cause of a man who in England cultivated piety and Puritanism so sedulously as to win the Congregational heart. Dudley's active party was chiefly in England; Massachusetts had not forgotten his subservience to Andros, and his complicity in the composition of the new charter. His intrigue was so skilful and persevering that the King was prevailed upon to appoint him Governor of Massachusetts and New Hampshire.

This happened just before William's death. The appointment was confirmed by Queen Anne, and Dudley came to Boston, satisfied at reaching the point of an ambition which was inspired partly by patriotic and partly by personal considerations.

The first token of his unpopularity appeared when, according to instructions from the Court, he demanded that the province should vote permanent salaries to the Governor, his deputy, and the Crown judges. Massachusetts refused, insisting upon its custom of annual grants, and the General Court voted Dudley about one half of the sum which was paid to Bellomont. His governorship.

In May, 1695, a Board of Trade had been organized in London, for the regulation of colonial commerce. Its function lasted until the American Revolution, and being inspired chiefly by private interests, it was a constant source of vexatious interference. The old laws of trade were revived, and Randolph was sent out as Surveyor-general.

Governor Dudley.

Dudley, besides favoring the Board of Trade, undertook to carry into effect the most unpopular article of the new charter, that, namely, which clothed the governor with authority to reject the nominations of the General Court, or Assembly, for members of his council. He also, without a shadow of authority, endeavored to put creatures of his own into the Speaker's seat. He even went so far as to express hostility to all charters. His son wrote to England: "this country will never be worth living in for lawyers and gentlemen till the charter is taken away. My father and I sometimes talk of the Queen's establishing a court of chancery here." A strong party, headed by Cotton Mather, who was not so influential with Dudley as he expected to be, and including the leading clergymen of the province, was formed, and made persistent but unavailing attempts to oust Dudley from office. But he skilfully created a party of his own, and kept it in active cohesion by catering to the interests of its members. Au-

thorities accuse him of conniving at the illicit trade of his party during the war with France, and he was suspected of sharing in its profits; for Dudley was a lover of money for the sake of the power which it could buy.

The Peace of Ryswick, which was transmitted to the colonies in October, 1697, put an end for a time to French and Indian hostilities. But when, in 1702, after the death of William, Louis XIV. determined to espouse the cause of James's son, the Pretender, England declared war. Indian atrocities of a frightful kind, directed and stimulated by the French, were wreaked upon Massachusetts and New Hampshire. De Rouville, with three hundred French and Indians, came down from Canada by the Connecticut valley to surprise Deerfield. That village, containing about two hundred inhabitants, suspected an attack and was vigilant. But one morning in February, 1704, the savages, hiding in the woods till the sentries retired at daylight, surprised the half-awakened people. Fifty persons were killed, and a hundred prisoners, including women and children, were taken and carried off to Canada. It was the policy of the Jesuits to get hold of as many children as possible, in order to rear them in the principles of Romanism. Many of

Queen Anne's War.

Massacre at Deerfield.

Williams House, Deerfield, Mass

them thus became Catholics, and some of the women, married to Indians, began the race of half-breeds which, together with the unions of Frenchmen and Indian women, filled Canada and the Northwest with able guides and trappers.

Among the Deerfield captives were the minister, Williams, his wife, and five young children. The youngest had been only a few days born; and while the poor mother, finding that she was too weak to travel through the snow, knelt down in prayer, an Indian tomahawked her. Some twenty years after, a woman in an Indian dress walked into Deerfield. The people did not recognize a daughter of Williams, who had married an Indian in Canada and refused to desert her children. The minister ordered a public fasting and prayer that her resolution might be changed; but the new ties were more religiously observed than the old ones, and she returned. Indeed, many children made captives in this manner, who afterwards came back to the settlements, could not submit to the restraints of civilized life, and declared that the Indian way was the best.

In the course of the year Lancaster met a similar fate. The war, with the French element of subtle intelligence to guide, was even more barbarous than Philip's. The colonists, in scattered parties, sought to defend a long frontier against an enemy who knew how to avoid striking till the stroke promised to be fatal. At Lancaster.

The French, claiming the whole coast of Maine as far as the Kennebec, had established, not long before, a trading and missionary post among the Norridgewock Indians on the upper waters of that river. The Indians, ever the warm allies of the French, were ready always to oppose any settlement of the English east of the Kennebec, while the French men-of-war seized every English fisherman who was found in Acadian waters. The province was equally stimulated by hostility to the French and dread of the Indians, and Dudley recognized the importance of protecting the frontier against both. He went to Casco and induced the representatives of various Eastern tribes, including the Norridgewocks, to meet him in council. French advisers had carefully instructed the chiefs to assume a spirit of neutrality. The Governor was presented with the customary belt of wampum and assured that an intention to go to war was as distant from their minds as the sun was above the earth. Then two cairns of stones were piled up, both parties assisting, in token of amity and fraternity. All this time a plot existed among them to seize the Governor and his suite and turn them over to the French; and it was only frustrated by the failure of a French party to arrive in time.

In less than six weeks after this scene of pretended sincerity, attacks were made upon the settlements between the Kennebec and the

Hostilities in the Northeast.

Piscataqua, and the whole region was filled with terror. Families took refuge in garrison houses, and no work in the fields could be done without armed protection. Detachments of troops were sent out to intercept the savages, but they were not to be found. Winter expeditions, undertaken upon snow-shoes, were no more successful.

Colonel Church was sent, in 1704, from Massachusetts with over five hundred men to succor these harassed settlements on the eastern frontier. He destroyed some villages, and met and killed some of the enemy, both French and Indian, on the Penobscot, but with no important result. In the winter an attack was made by New Hampshire men upon Norridgewock, and the wigwams and French chapel were burned. These reprisals only exasperated the savages. They struck back with terrible and cruel blows wherever they found the English off their guard. That year and the next, Haverhill, York, Exeter, Dover, Sudbury, Groton, and other places in Maine, New Hampshire, and Massachusetts, were fallen upon and some of them destroyed. The savage enemy was so successful in attacking where there was no chance of defence, or, where defence was made, in eluding pursuit, that it was computed each Indian slain cost the provinces a thousand pounds.[1] Scalps were at a premium. Massachusetts offered fifteen pounds for the hair of any male Indian who was over twelve years of age; eight pounds was offered also for each child or woman captured.[2] The French also attempted to stimulate their Indian allies by offering a scale of bounties for English scalps; but the savages generally preferred to take prisoners and transport them to Canada, partly inclined to this by the Jesuit priests, who desired to make converts of Protestants, and partly by the pleasure which they felt in finding that a good many youthful captives were disposed to adopt their mode of life and to intermarry with their own young women. Thus the years of Queen Anne's War, glorious to England in the great campaigns of Marlborough and Peterborough, the splendid victories of Blenheim, of Barcelona, of Ramillies, of Oudenarde, were to the colonies years of inglorious Indian warfare and savage onslaughts upon the peaceful homes of women and children, — inglorious, but often heroic in brave deeds and braver endurance of torture and bereavement.

Through all, the colonial authorities held steadily to the purpose of the conquest of Canada and the expulsion of the French from their

[1] Penhallow's *Indian Wars*.

[2] This scale of bounties for scalps advanced so rapidly that when Lovewell's volunteers took the war-path in 1724, a man's scalp was worth one hundred pounds, and one of a child or woman brought fifty pounds to persons in the public service, and the double of each sum to volunteers.

northern borders. In 1707, Dudley sent a force of a thousand men, under Colonel March, raised in New Hampshire, Massachusetts, and Rhode Island, to reduce Port Royal. In two campaigns, extending through the winter into the following spring, the thousand men were reduced to less than two hundred, chiefly by hardship and disease, and the fort was not taken. Nicholson's first campaign from New York, though not so disastrous, was quite as unsuccessful; but neither these nor other misfortunes, the uncertainty of the friendship of the Five Nations, the certainty of the hostility of all the Eastern savages, abated the courage or determination of the colonies.

Expeditions against Port Royal.

In 1710, however, the place was taken by the aid which Schuyler and Nicholson had induced the ministry to give to the war in America. In September, a fleet of six ships of war and about thirty

Plan of Port Royal, Nova Scotia.

transports, carrying five regiments of troops, sailed from Boston harbor. Five of the war vessels belonged to the English navy, the sixth, a galley, to Massachusetts. Two of the five regiments were New England men; the fifth was a regiment of English marines. General Nicholson of New York was the commander-in-chief. Sir Charles Hobby and Colonel Tailer of Massachusetts, Colonel Whiting of Connecticut, and Colonel Walton of New Hampshire, led the troops of their respective colonies.

Port Royal — named afterward Annapolis Royal in honor of the

Queen — was still under the command of Subercase, who had so successfully repulsed March and Wainright, two or three years before. With less than three hundred men, he could make little defence against the formidable force which now approached. The people outside the fort opposed the landing of the English troops, and killed a few of them; but Subercase yielded when summoned to surrender. One transport was wrecked on entering the harbor, and twenty-six men were lost; fourteen or fifteen were killed in the advance to the fort; but at this cost of only forty lives Nova Scotia became an English province, for the capture of Port Royal was virtually the conquest of all that portion of New France. The proposed invasion of Canada by land and sea at the same time, under Hill and Nicholson, which failed so signally the next year, prevented — as we have shown in a previous chapter — the sending of any aid to Castin, and the treaty of Utrecht gave to England the province which the New England troops had conquered.

Its surrender.

With the accession of George I., August 1, 1714, to the throne, the doctrine of passive obedience which the Tories maintained against the Whigs was understood to have been defeated. At the same time the friends of Governor Dudley, who were principally Tories, lost their influence, and it was easy for his enemies to procure his removal. For twelve years he had, for the most part, misgoverned Massachusetts, planting in the soil seeds of enmities which grew to have a protracted life. Cotton Mather, [illegible] expected to make of him a supple instrument, was foiled by his own weapons in the hands of an adroiter man; he became, therefore, an implacable foe, and carried great numbers of the clergy with him. They sympathized with the accession of Whiggery to power, because it was understood, though mistakenly, to be more favorable to provincial principles. Their friends at court were strong enough to procure the removal of Dudley, when the Massachusetts Assembly declared, soon after the death of the Queen, that the office of governor was vacant.

Dudley removed.

In New Hampshire Dudley was less unpopular than in Massachusetts, for he espoused the cause of the actual settlers upon the land against the Mason claim. This was still the paramount question to the people of that province, and anxious to win over to their side the influence of the Crown, they voted the permanent salaries which Dudley was instructed to exact, but which Massachusetts refused to grant. When, therefore, the Crown allowed Allen, the representative of the Mason claim, to take possession of all common and unenclosed land, and he summoned Dudley to appear at the trial on writs of ejectment to sustain the royal instructions, the Governor managed on various pretexts to delay his journey and not to

New Hampshire Affairs.

reach Portsmouth at all. So it was easy for him on several occasions to persuade that province to send addresses on his behalf to the Queen. One of these was sent to George I., in 1715, earnestly praying for Dudley's continuance in office.

Massachusetts then contained about 94,000 inhabitants, and of these 2,000 were Negro slaves, and 1,200 civilized Indians. The population of Boston was probably about 10,000. As early as 1690, Indians were employed as field-hands at one shilling a day and their board. The Negroes were chiefly house-servants in the larger towns. The price of a slave in provincial currency was equivalent to about $80 of our money. If the slaves ran away, which occurred but seldom, for their servitude was not severe, Indians were employed for their recapture. The labor of white workmen was worth two shillings a day.[1]

Population and condition of Massachusetts in 1715.

The province owned at that period 190 vessels of various kinds and of 8,000 tons in all, sailed by 1,100 men. There were employed in the fisheries 150 smacks, with crews in all of 600 men. A few manufactories of hats and cloths existed, which were a perpetual source of jealousy to England, whose exports in English products to all American ports were valued at £1,000,000 sterling. Exports from all American plantations were valued at £800,000. During a period of great commercial activity, from 1714 to 1717, Boston cleared for the West Indies alone 518 vessels, and for all the ports of her trade 1,247 vessels; and 232 vessels were cleared at Salem.[2] The colonial policy of self-protection was in continual struggle with the English policy of restriction which affected everything, iron-work, hats, woolens, and linen.

The scourge of this colony was small-pox. Four times it had been epidemic in Boston at different periods, and it appeared again in the spring of 1721. Nearly six thousand persons, more than one half the population, were attacked, of whom nearly nine hundred died. Inoculation was introduced at this time in America by Dr. Zabdiel Boylston, and its efficacy was proved in the next serious visitation from this pestilence, thirty years later, when out of the 5,544 who took the disease the natural way, 514 died, while

Small-pox and inoculation.

[1] In England at that time the rates of wages were as follows: cook-maids and dairy-maids £2 10 a year; mowers of corn and grass 1 *s.* 2 *d.* a day without meat and drink, and only 6 *d.* with food; male haymakers 10 *d.* a day without food, 5 *d.* with; female haymakers 6 *d.*; rough masons, carpenters, ploughmen, bricklayers, plasterers, and tilers 1 *s.* 6 *d.* from Lady Day to Michaelmas, and 1 *s.* from Michaelmas to Lady Day. If they were fed they had only 8 *d.* a day all the year round. Gardeners and thatchers were paid at the same rate. Tailors earned 6 *d.* a day with food, 10 *d.* without; spinners earned only 4 *d.* daily without food. This schedule of wages lasted into the reign of George I.

[2] Barry's *History of Massachusetts*, Part ii., p. 107.

of the 2,113 who were inoculated only 31 died. The remedy was first used in England by Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, who had observed its effect at Adrianople, and had the courage to try it upon a child of her own. The medical faculty were bitterly opposed to it. The clergy preached against it from their pulpits and advised the people to hoot at her as an unnatural mother who had put the life of her child in peril. The four physicians who were appointed by the government to watch the experiment upon her daughter were so rancorously hostile, so maliciously incredulous, that she never left them alone with the child. As in old England, so in New; the hatred of innovation was stronger than the fear of the most loathsome of diseases and the strong probability of death.

Cotton Mather — who was somewhat of a lay practitioner of medicine — was warmly interested in this bold attempt to mitigate human suffering, and became, in consequence, so obnoxious that his house was assaulted and an attempt made upon his life. Increase Mather, his father, then a very old man, published a tract in favor of the remedy, in which he quoted the Negro slaves as averring that it had always been practised with success in Africa, whence, perhaps, the Turks had obtained their knowledge of it. About two hundred and fifty persons were safely inoculated by Dr. Boylston, — seven only dying — who began with his own children and servants. The brave man stood almost alone in his own profession; but among the clergy, though the opposition was general and bitter, the Mathers were supported by some of the more eminent of the brethren, — as the Rev. Drs. Colman of Boston, Walter of Roxbury, a son-in-law of Increase Mather, and Wise of Ipswich.[1]

Dudley's successor was nominally one Colonel Burgess, chiefly known and esteemed as a soldier. He valued his appointment, however, so little that he was easily persuaded to surrender his commission for £1,000, raised by subscription among friends of the provinces who doubted his fitness for the office of governor. It was given then to Samuel Shute, also a soldier; but till his arrival the duties of the office were discharged by Colonel Tailer, who had been made Lieutenant-governor in reward for his services in the capture of Port Royal.

Governorship of Samuel Shute.

Governor Shute was fated to discover that party spirit could rage as violently as an epidemic. Before he became involved in a controversy which arose from the depreciation of the currency, he got into trouble from a zeal like that of Dudley's to promote the prerogative of the Crown. In fact, much to the surprise and disappointment of the province, he was disposed to favor Dudley's old party. This first dispute turned upon the en-

[1] *Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, passim.

forcement of the acts of Parliament on the right to the forests, and the exportation of naval stores from the colonies.

When the Earl of Bellomont came out as Governor, nearly twenty years before, his instructions upon this subject were very positive. It was believed that the colonies could be made to contribute largely to the support of the royal navy and relieve England from its dependence upon Norway for ship timber and other stores. But the supply was to be enforced by arbitrary and inconsiderate acts of Parliament, not as the result of a legitimate commerce. The Earl had faithfully devoted himself to the fulfillment of his instructions. He died before his plans were so matured as to influence his own popularity; but they were so definitely fixed, and were so confirmed by subsequent laws that his successors had only to enforce an established policy.

Disputes as to the export of timber.

The vast primeval forests along the Atlantic coast had become to the colonists a source of commerce with Spain and Portugal. This profitable trade was interdicted, that England might pick and choose the choicest timber for the wooden walls of the royal navy — "to be the mast of some great ammiral" — and in so doing little regard was paid to the rights of private owners. The assertion of a royal privilege first bred discontent, then violent resistance. It was not easy to prevent the shipping of timber to foreign countries — a trade which the hardy lumberers of Maine and New Hampshire maintained as a right wrested from nature herself by toil and privation. Quite as difficult was it to prevent the farmers from felling trees on lands to which they had a legal title by grant or purchase — their own trees which the King's surveyors marked with a broad arrow that they might be reserved for the King's use. The curious explorer in those eastern forests may even now find occasionally upon pine trees which the centuries have spared, these arrow-marks cut more than a hundred years ago — the King, his mark, upon a domain to which the Revolution secured a quit-claim deed.

John Bridger was, as he had long been, Surveyor-general when Shute assumed his office. Wherever the surveyor and his men saw fit, they carved the emblem of royal ownership. The settlers resisted this assertion of a right over lands held by titles which should be good even against the King, and for which they had risked their scalps, and endured the extremity of hardship, that this savage wilderness might be turned to the uses of civilization. The loss of their tallest and most shapely trees moved them to righteous anger; hardly less did they resent the act of Parliament which denied a trial by jury on any question of ownership that it was thought worth while to listen to, but left it to the decision of a judge of admiralty appointed

by the Crown. The products of the soil they owned were theirs, they maintained, to do with as they would, to use or to sell — to sell even to the King, if he wanted their tar and timber. Still the surveyors went on carving the broad arrow-heads with indifference or contempt. Every stroke of the axe in the clearings was a blow in the long conflict between provinces and Crown.

Remonstrance and indignant complaint against Bridger found their way to Portsmouth and Boston, and the Governor sided with the surveyor. Elisha Cooke, a member of the Massachusetts Council, showed the justice of the settlers' claims, and the irascible old soldier deprived him of his office. Thereupon the General Court sent a remonstrance to the Governor which he forbade them to print. They printed it nevertheless, establishing thereby a parliamentary privilege, never again questioned, of printing what they pleased.

The General Court offended the Governor still further by electing Cooke as Speaker. Shute stood upon his prerogative, refused to confirm their choice, and dissolved the Court. When compelled to call a second, that body declined to grant certain appropriations he asked for. He indignantly prorogued them also. A third voted him an insignificant sum, but, at the same time, they patiently and firmly thwarted his obnoxious measures. The old quarrel was fastened upon him when he attempted, like Dudley, to have a fixed salary attached to his office. To manifest its rooted policy upon this point, the Assembly quietly reduced year by year the annual grant which it allowed him, and voted a sum so small to Lieutenant-governor William Dummer that he disdained to accept it.

All this time another cause of bitter variance flowed out of the deplorable financial condition of the province, which was suffering all the evils of gambling speculation that belong to periods of paper money and depreciated currency. The infection of speculation had something of the virulence of John Law's Mississippi scheme and the subsequent English South Sea Bubble, though these manias did not directly implicate the provinces. Queen Anne's War was responsible for a resort to a financial policy which so readily buys immediate supplies, and so fatally contracts a public debt for another generation to repudiate or pay at heavy cost. The provinces were drained of gold and silver; and as a desperate remedy recourse was had to a fresh supply of paper money. It was called currency, but nothing could make it current. Land and merchandise increased nominally in value, but actually depreciated.

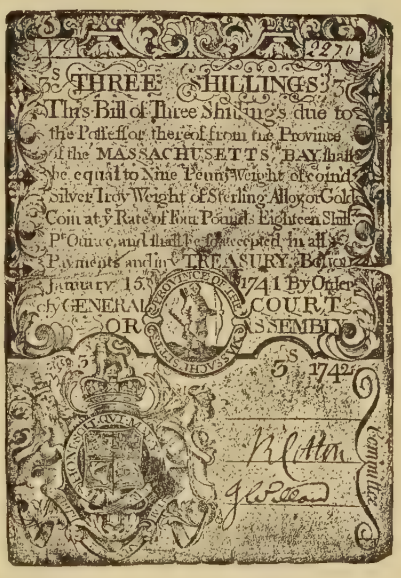
Paper money.

The province was divided into three heated parties, — one that proposed a speedy return to gold and silver; another, much larger, that sought to defeat resumption by the establishment of a private bank

for the issuing of unlimited paper; and a third that perceived the necessity for a public bank that should steadily labor to pay the public debt, and issue paper but restrain the abuse of it. There was great agitation in every town and village. The acrimony of theological difference was never more bitter than this discussion over a question of finance which was little understood. It divided parishes and families like a civil war. At length the project of a public bank was successful. It was a great misfortune, the result of unreasonable neglect and parsimony on the part of England, that the provinces, which had lavished their life and treasure upon various wars, were left, thus impoverished, to pay the bills. Under this ingratitude of the mother country, for whose continental policy the provinces bled as well as for their own welfare, they may be pardoned for finding no resource save in the frequent issue of bills of credit.

Financial projects.

The Council generally, from 1710 downward, favored a public bank; but the Assembly was pretty evenly divided. Boston, being a lively centre for speculative operations, was eager for a private bank. When the project for a public bank finally prevailed in 1721, a loan of £50,000 in bills of credit was placed with a board of trustees for five years at five per cent., and one fifth of the principal was to be paid in yearly. Colonel Burgess, who sold out his appointment as Governor, was among those who asked for the establishment of a private bank; its supporters were highly incensed when they discovered that Governor Shute favored the public bank. But no financial plan could resist the demoralizing effect of frequent issues of bills of credit. When the five years had expired in which the principal was to have been paid, the issue of these bills had increased to £100,000. In that year, 1727, £60,000 more were voted by the Assembly, and when Dummer, who was acting Governor till Burnet arrived, vetoed the measure, the Assembly simply refused his grant of money until he signed the bill.


THREE SHILLINGS
This Bill of Three Shillings due to
the Poſſeſſor thereof from the Province
of the MASSACHUSETTS BAY, shall
be equal to Nine Penny Weight of coind
Silver Troy Weight of Sterling Alloy or Gold
Coin at ye Rate of Four Pounds Eighteen Shill
P Ounce, and shall be accepted in all
Payments and in TREASURY, Boston
January 15 1741 By Order
of GENERAL COURT
OR ASSEMBLY
1742

Three-Shilling Massachusetts Bill of 1741.

In 1722 bits of paper representing five pounds were struck off for

small change. The penny was round, the two-pence square, and the three-pence angular. In 1728, £340 in this fractional currency was issued; in 1730, £380, the specie value of which was only £100. In 1733, by a vote of the General Court, bills to the amount of £75,500 were issued to pay the public debts; and in 1737, £20,000 of the new tenor "to exchange for old bills at the rate of one new for three old."

Two-pence, 1722.

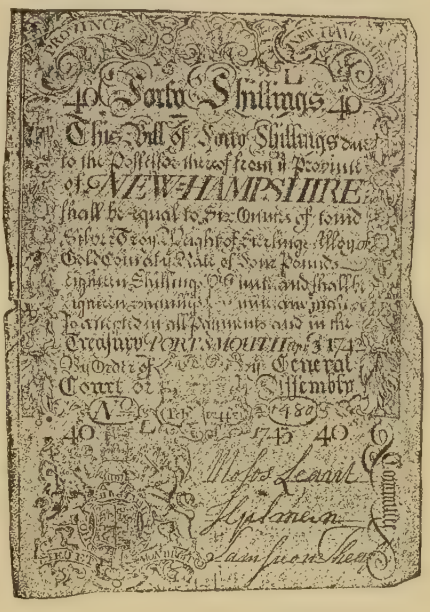
Governor Belcher, who was opposed to all the schemes which steadily depreciated the currency, stated, in 1740, that the issue of bills up to that time amounted to £260,000, of which £70,000 were yet unredeemed.[1] In the previous year a number of private individuals undertook to establish a land bank with a capital of £150,000. Notwithstanding the popularity of this step, it failed to procure the sanction of Parliament, and the company dissolved. The different parliaments of the eighteenth century which eagerly voted enormous sums to sustain England's continental wars, could seldom be influenced to reimburse the colonies for their heavy expenses incurred in expeditions against France and the West Indies. When in 1741 England was organizing an expedition against the island of Cuba, the American provinces were called upon to furnish 3,600 men, with the bounties, provisions, and transports. The quota of Massachusetts was five hundred men; their outfit and transportation cost £7,000, not a shilling of which was ever reimbursed. Five years after the fall of Louisburg in 1745, the expenditure of the colonies in that expedition was remitted to Boston by the home government in specie, and this was the beginning of a return to specie payments. But in 1748 the existing currency could only purchase one eighth the value which the same nominal sum would buy in 1700, and exchange on London stood at £1,100 currency for £100 sterling. A measure toward resumption which steadily grew popular in spite of all interested opposition, was in two years confirmed by an act of Parliament commanding the colonies to call in all their bills of credit and to issue no more that were not to be discharged within a year. And no further issue of paper money was to be made save in extraordinary emergencies.

The colonies burdened with war expenditures.

Specie was at one time so scarce in New Hampshire that paper currency was issued for half a crown, and an ordinance was passed to allow the payment of taxes in tar that was rated at twenty shil-

[1] Felt's *History of Ipswich*, p. 105.

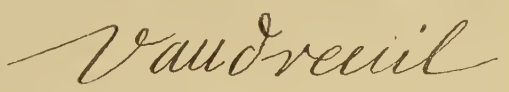
lings to the barrel.[1] The soldiers who were engaged in the various campaigns against the French and Canada after 1755 were paid in paper bills that were issued on the plea of emergency. A bill bearing the face of fifteen shillings was worth a dollar. Of this money the soldiers received £13 10*s.* a month, and as the paper steadily depreciated their pay stood in the course of the same year at £15, in 1756 at £18, in 1757 at £25. But sterling money soon recovered its status as the standard, and the paper value followed the price of silver in all contracts and exchange. This digression will serve to group the financial interests of the province for a considerable period. In other colonies similar measures of a resort to the issue of paper money to meet public exigencies had like results.



New Hampshire Bill of Forty Shillings, 1742.

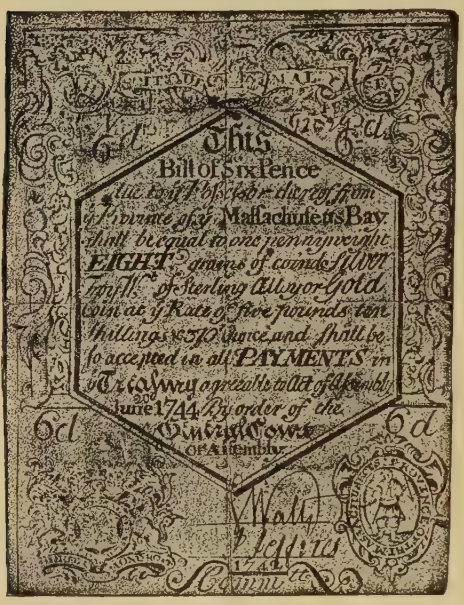
The Indian difficulties during the administration of Governor Shute became another source of serious embarrassment. With the connivance of Count Vaudreuil, then Governor of Canada, the French secretly stirred up the half-slumbering ill-will of the Indians, in spite of the treaty, on the pretext that France possessed the coast of Maine as far as the Kennebec. It was not difficult to inflame the temper of the savages when they observed the inevitable encroachments of the English upon domains which had been purchased from them. They did not at first foresee the practical effect upon themselves, — upon their hunt-

Indian difficulties during Shute's Governorship.


Autograph of Vaudreuil.

[1] The *Provincial Papers of New Hampshire* contain frequent records of legislation against the counterfeiting which can be so easily practised in an era of paper currency. One day in January, 1756, £95 of counterfeit bills were brought into the Assembly, and there ordered to be burnt in the presence of the members. This was done with sufficient solemnity. At one time the counterfeiters got possession of unfilled blanks of currency, left over from the printing, and proceeded to imitate them at their leisure. Then each officer of the government and each member of the Assembly was furnished with such blanks, that they might be compared with the bills in circulation. In 1730 the punishment for counterfeiting in Pennsylvania was death; but that proved to have little deterring power, and a conviction was seldom obtained.

ing, fishing, and planting, — of the more elaborate and persistent methods of the white man, who was not very scrupulous in observing the bounds of the tracts which had been ceded to him for an insignificant remuneration. Naturally all this civilizing movement began to be clear to them, and the French made it clearer. Claims and counter claims, disputes, ill-blood, quarrels, were inevitable. The Governor had an excellent plan of building trading-houses in the eastern territory to supplant the French by direct traffic with the Indians for their furs. These trading-posts were to have been under the direct control of the provincial government. The constant turmoil of provincial politics prevented their establishment; so that the private traders as usual, then and at present, fleeced the Indians and made their business operations easier by the demoralizing effect of liquor. The Governor anticipated that trouble would result from the complication, and endeavored to arrive at some friendly understanding with the chiefs. He made, however, the mistake of pressing upon them a Puritan minister to reside among them, hoping thus to observe and counteract the Jesuit intrigues. The Indians favored the religion of France as well as its politics, and no minister was allowed to settle where a Jesuit ruled.



Six-pence, 1744.

When the war impended, the General Court gave additional umbrage to Shute by encroaching upon his power as commander-in-chief of the provincial forces. The officers who were attached to the first expedition were instructed to communicate, not with the Governor, but with the General Court as the representative of the people who were taxed to support the war. This was clearly an illegal measure, which provoked bitter wrangling, and the Governor found himself involved in a fresh dispute.

Conflicts between the Governor and the General Court.

The provincial temper exhibited such an increase of animosity toward the royal government that Shute sailed for England in disgust.

He spent the time there in explanation of his course and in urging a decisive policy against the province. As the result of his activity, a remonstrance was sent to the General Court in 1723; it enumerated the complaints brought by the Governor of interference with his prerogative, and demanded explanations. At first the General Court treated the charge with an aggravating nonchalance, contenting itself with a vote that an agent should be appointed to manage the vindication of its conduct. When the Provincial Council stoutly non-concurred with this, the General Court undertook the more prudent course of returning specific answers to the complaints. The provincial agents found the Court obstinately bent upon enforcing the provisions of the royal charter, especially on the points of cutting timber, the Governor's power to negative the selection of Speaker, and interference with military operations.

The result. — A supplementary charter.

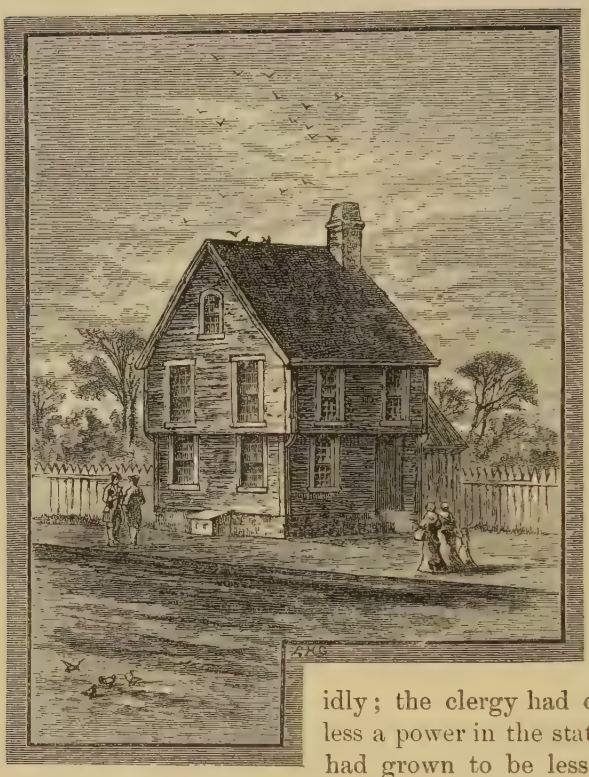
The judgment of the Board of Trade and the law-officers of the Crown was clearly against the province. A supplementary charter intended to enforce the most important points at issue was sent to Boston in August, 1725, and laid before the General Court. After some preliminary discussion and voting, during which a great deal of popular opposition was developed, this explanatory charter was finally accepted by a majority upon a joint vote of the House and Council.

Governor Shute was now confirmed in his power to negative the selection of Speaker of the House, and he proceeded to work for another concession, — that of a permanent salary for the Governor and Lieutenant-governor. Put off and disappointed, he was on the point of returning in 1727, greatly to the discontent of the province, whose affairs had been judiciously administered by the Lieutenant-governor, William Dummer. Just at that crisis George I. died; new intrigues sprang up under a new reign; new men came into prominence; new favorites clamored for office and had to be provided for. In consequence of this, Shute was pensioned, and the government of Massachusetts and New Hampshire was conferred upon William Burnet.

Theological matters in Massachusetts.

It is worth noting that the disposition of the clergy of Massachusetts had been slowly softening in matters of theology. Even the intolerant Cotton Mather preached a tolerant discourse on the occasion of the establishment of a Baptist Church in Boston during Shute's administration. It was within the memory of living men that the whipping-post or the stocks was thought to be the proper place for those who doubted the efficacy of infant baptism; in a controversy of half a century before upon the rightfulness of admitting to baptism the children of those who were not mem-

bers of the Church, the father and the grandfather of Cotton Mather had taken different sides. The times had greatly changed. They had changed still more since Roger Williams said that Cotton was the high priest of Boston, when the priest was the head of the State as well as of the Church. In country towns the clergyman was still indeed chief among men; looked up to as fittest of all to guide in worldly as in spiritual affairs; as absolute in the town-meeting as in the pulpit; always revered and often beloved by those of mature age, and always feared by the young, who would fly from before his face and hide from that austere and reverend presence. But in larger places the influence of the growth of political freedom asserted itself more rapidly; the clergy had come to be less and less a power in the state; liberty of thought had grown to be less and less a civil offence; religious differences were more tolerated, and free discussion of all subjects was beginning to be possible. Journalism, with something of the meaning which later times attach to that term, made its appearance.

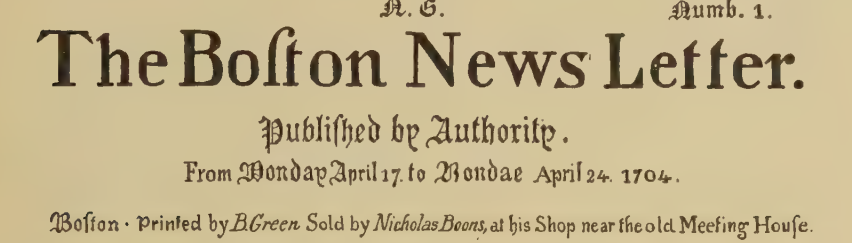


Birthplace of Franklin.

The first newspaper was printed in Boston, in the autumn of 1690, and was meant to be a monthly, with occasionally more frequent issues, should the demand warrant it. A single number, however, only appeared. In 1704, the "Boston News Letter" was established, — a weekly paper which long held its own, but which never, till a rival appeared, was anything but a mere digest of news. In 1719, the "Boston Gazette" was started, of which James Franklin was the printer. Two years later — August, 1721 — Franklin established the "New England Courant," partly, it was thought, because the

Newspapers established in Boston.

printing of the "Gazette" had been taken from him.[1] The publisher of the "Gazette," Philip Musgrave, was also postmaster, and in the first number of the "Courant" Franklin attacked him for official incapacity. Of the "News Letter" the "Courant" said it was only "a dull vehicle of intelligence." The new journal was evidently to be a thing as yet unheard of — a paper in which politics and religion, morals and manners, were to be freely discussed. Its editor indeed soon wrote himself into prison, and in about six years it



N. G. Numb. 1.

The Boſton News Letter.

Publiſhed by Authority.

From Monday April 17. to Monday April 24. 1704.

Boſton: Printed by B. Green. Sold by Nicholas Boone, at his Shop near the old Meeting Houſe.

Fac-simile of the Heading of the "News Letter."

was discontinued; but its appearance and its character mark an era in intellectual progress and in the freedom of thought and speech in Massachusetts. A club of gentlemen contributed essays on various subjects, and these writers were called by conservative people, sometimes "Free Thinkers," sometimes the "Hell Fire Club." Benjamin Franklin was the younger brother of James, and wrote paragraphs as well as set type for the paper. He was about sixteen years of age, having been born opposite the Old South Church on January 6, 1706. He was the carrier of the paper, and wrote the carrier's addresses. Curiously enough, the paper opposed inoculation, and perhaps its popularity in this respect, especially with the physicians, who had the free use of its columns, procured toleration for its more offensive matter.

Benjamin Franklin.

The paper was only a year old when the publisher was bound over to be of good behavior, in the sum of £100, in consequence of "many passages . . . . published, boldly reflecting on His Majesty's Government, the Ministry, Churches, and College." It was at the same time ordered that no number of the paper should be printed till it had been submitted to the Secretary of the Council, and permission granted. When afterward the elder Franklin was imprisoned for continued contumacy, the management of the paper fell into young Benjamin's hands. When James was ordered to cease the publication he obeyed,

[1] Benjamin Franklin probably shared his brother's resentment against the proprietor of the *Gazette*. In his autobiography he ignores its existence, and asserts that the *Courant* was the second newspaper established in America, the *News Letter* being the first.

so far as his own name was concerned; but the paper came out, nevertheless, with Benjamin as publisher. There was no abatement of the freedom of comment upon public affairs, while the journal commended itself for family reading by a selection of the best hymns of one Dr. Watts. James seems to have been jealous of his younger brother's success, and they quarrelled. Then Benjamin ran away; and the loss to Boston was a gain to Philadelphia, till the whole country claimed the services of one of the wisest and best of her sons.

New Hampshire under Shute's administration.

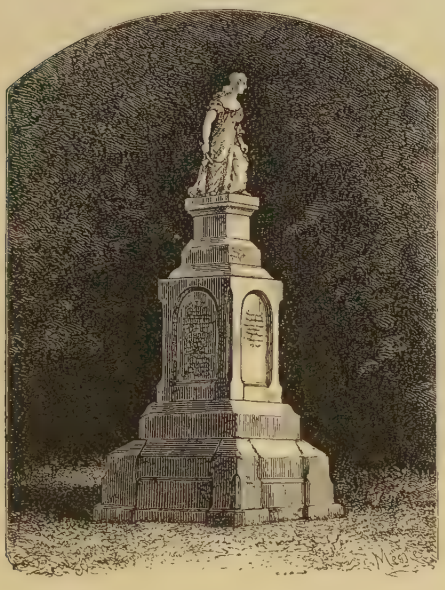
Shute was no happier in his administration of the affairs of New Hampshire than of those of Massachusetts. The Assembly would never vote him a permanent salary, and this standing grievance of the royal governors in all the colonies precluded the possibility of any cordiality of feeling between him and the popular representatives. He removed several members of the Council and appointed others, who represented the local interests of Portsmouth, to the prejudice, the country people thought, of their own. He called the Assembly to a conference with the Council, regarding the issue of bills of credit, but without condescending to inform its members of his reason for convening them. When the two Houses resented this treatment, he dissolved them. On one point, however, they agreed; the Assembly supporting him in the suspension of Vaughan, the Lieutenant-governor, who assumed the exercise of supreme authority during Shute's absence in Boston. The removal of Vaughan was justified also by the Crown, and John Wentworth was appointed in his place.

Scotch Presbyterians settle at Londonderry, N. H.

The emigration of some Scotch Presbyterians to New Hampshire, in 1718, while Shute was Governor, was much more important in her history than these political quarrels. These people, who undertook to better their condition in America, were descendants of the colonists who had been transferred by James I. to the North of Ireland, where their condition, from penal laws against Protestants and from local taxation, had become intolerable. Arriving first in Boston, they dispersed in various directions; but sixteen of the families, holding together, settled upon lands a few miles northwest of Haverhill. The boundary between New Hampshire and Massachusetts had not, at this time, been determined, though the two provinces had more than once appointed commissioners to draw it, who could not agree. Massachusetts informed these new settlers, when they applied for a grant, that they were out of her jurisdiction. In New Hampshire the disputed title to the land gave them some trouble, but under the protection of Wentworth they remained upon the spot of their choice, and, being joined from

time to time by other families, they called their place Londonderry, in 1722.

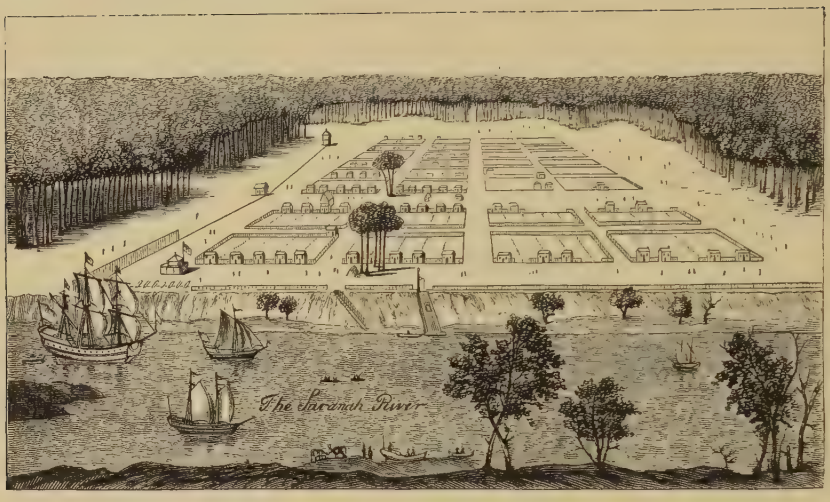
Their minister, MacGregor, informed Governor Shute how offensive it was to them to be confounded with the Irish against whom they had fought always for the defence of Protestantism. But the New Hampshire people were jealous of these new-comers, who entered into quiet possession of the soil at a time when their own lands were threatened with litigation. These Presbyterians did the province the good service of introducing the manufacture of linen by the spinning-wheel, and the cultivation of the potato. That vegetable was first planted at Andover, whose inhabitants began with boiling the balls instead of the bulbs, wondering, when the result was served up at their simple tables, that a potato was considered to be an esculent.



Mrs. Dustin's Monument, Concord, N. H.

The prosperity attending these new colonists led other people to petition for grants of land for townships. They took possession before their charters were made out, and began to fell the trees, incurring the usual dispute with the King's surveyor. In 1722 charters for four townships, Chester, Nottingham, Barrington, and Rochester, were drawn up, including a reservation during the pendency of Allen's suit, and signed by Governor Shute, which was his last official act in the province. From 1713 to 1720 some attempts were also made to settle tracts of land in Maine. On Shute's departure for England in 1723, Wentworth became acting Governor of New Hampshire.

Other settlements.



Savannah, from a Print of 1741

CHAPTER VI.

GEORGIA.

PROPOSED SETTLEMENT SOUTH OF THE SAVANNAH. — THE MARGRAVATE OF AZILIA. — THE SETTLEMENT OF GEORGIA. — SKETCH OF JAMES OGLETHORPE. — ARRIVAL OF THE COLONISTS. — BUILDING OF SAVANNAH. — SPEECH OF TOMO CHICHI. — THE HIGHLANDERS AND SALZBURGERS. — THE PILGRIMAGE OF THE SALZBURGERS. — THE "GRAND EMBARKATION." — THE BROTHERS WESLEY. — GEORGE WHITEFIELD AND HIS ORPHAN HOUSE. — SLAVERY AND THE IMPORTATION OF RUM PROHIBITED IN GEORGIA. — LAND TENURE. — OGLETHORPE'S JOURNEY TO THE INTERIOR. — SLAVE INSURRECTION IN SOUTH CAROLINA. — GEORGIA INVADED BY THE SPANIARDS. — GALLANT ACTION OF OGLETHORPE. — THE ROAD TO FREDERICA. — SLAUGHTER OF THE SPANIARDS IN A DEFILE. — OGLETHORPE'S STRATAGEM. — RETREAT OF THE SPANISH FLEET. — OGLETHORPE'S RETURN TO ENGLAND. — THE LATTER YEARS OF HIS LIFE. — SURRENDER OF THE CHARTER. — THE HALF-BREED QUEEN MARY. — SUPPRESSION OF THE BOSOMWORTH INSURRECTION. — GEORGIA A ROYAL PROVINCE. — ITS SLOW PROGRESS.

Proposed settlement at the south by Sir Robert Montgomery.

It was proposed as early as 1717 by Sir Robert Montgomery, a Scotchman, to plant a colony on the Savannah River, and it is quite possible that the failure of his plan was partly due to the revolution in South Carolina. Adventurers may have been deterred from trying their fortunes in the vicinity of a colony torn at that time with internal dissensions, and the more

exposed, therefore, to attacks from their Spanish and Indian enemies on the southern border. Perhaps it was better, however, for the future settlement of the beautiful region between South Carolina and Florida that it should be left a while longer to its virgin solitude, rather than be made the scene of the fanciful schemes of this visionary Scotchman.

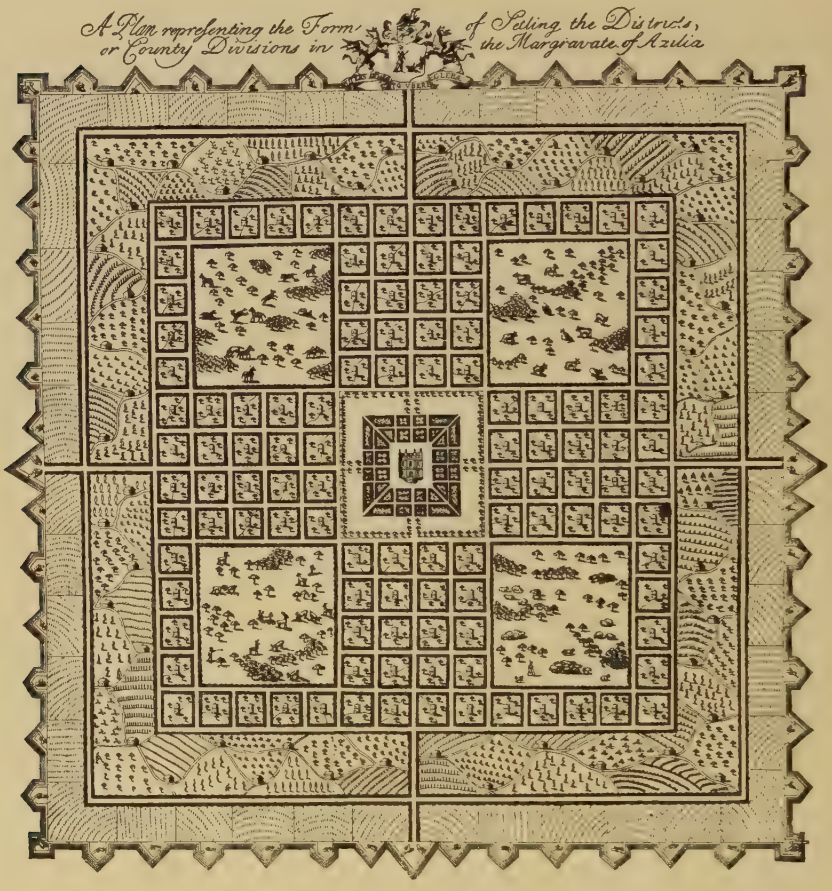
Montgomery purchased the territory of the Proprietors on condition that he should occupy it within three years. "My Design," he said, in a "Discourse" commending it to public attention, "arises not from any sudden Motive, but a strong Bent of Genius I inherit from my Ancestors," one of whom, a century earlier, had been interested in some plans of colonization in Nova Scotia. "The Humour, however," he continues, "Descended and ran down with the Blood: For my Father was so far of this Opinion, that together with Lord Cardross, the late Earl of Buchan, and some other Gentlemen, he entered into Measures for Establishing a Settlement on Port Royal River in South Carolina, and Lord Cardross went thither in Person."[1]

The projector of the new colony proposed to call it by the grandisonous title of the "Margravate of Azilia." It was generally agreed, he said in his "Discourse," that "Carolina, especially in its Southern Bounds, is the most amiable Country of the Universe; That Nature has not bless'd the World with any Tract which can be preferable to it; that *Paradise* with all her Virgin Beauties, may be modestly suppos'd at most but equal to its Native Excellencies." His fanciful plan of colonization was not dependent upon any proposed community of labor or of property; and it paid no heed to the practical difficulties in the way of contiguous blocks of farms laid out for cultivation, regardless of soil or situation, as city blocks are planned for residence and trade. The country was to be divided into districts, as population increased, each district to be twenty miles in length and width, surrounded by a square of fortifications. These were to be defended by garrisons who should maintain themselves and the Margrave by the cultivation of a strip of land one mile in width running around the square within the walls. Inside of this another strip, two

The Margravate of Azilia

[1] See vol. ii., p. 360. The "humour descended and ran down with the blood" also in the Erskine family. The great-grandson of the Lord Cardross here alluded to — the eccentric sixth Earl of Buchan, whose faith in metempsychosis was so profound that he believed all his ancestors lived in his own person, and who might have said, "when I was at Port Royal," as he would say, "when I was at the battle of Agincourt," — this descendant of Lord Cardross was deeply interested in America, and his sympathies warmly enlisted on behalf of the colonists in the American Revolution. He entered into correspondence with some of the leading men, and sent them his engraved portrait. One of these, presented by the Earl to James Otis, is in the possession of the author, and bears the autograph inscription, "As a mark of my attachment to the cause of Liberty and its friends."

miles in width, was to be reserved to furnish these defenders with farms of their own, rent free for life, after their term of service should be over. Of the remaining land, the most was laid out in one hundred and sixteen smaller squares of one mile each, "bating only for the highways which divide them; and in the centre of each square should



The Margravate of Azilia.

stand its owner's dwelling: "these are the estates belonging to the Gentry of the District." Finally, in the middle of the whole there was a large square for a city, and at the corners there were others for great parks — each four miles square — in which were to be kept the stocks of cattle and of game. Like a holy of holies, at the city's central point was to be built the Margrave's house — his constant residence.

But this ingenious scheme of a great rural city, portrayed by picture

JAMES OGLETHORPE.

(After a contemporary engraving.)

as well as described in words, failed to excite the admiration and enthusiasm its designer hoped for. Not an emigrant offered to avail himself of the beauties and advantages of the promised "Paradise." The provisional three years expired, and the Proprietaries resumed their ownership of the country. For fifteen years longer it remained a sort of debatable land between the English and the Spaniards of Florida, a hunting-ground and refuge for a few hundred Indians, till, purchased by the Crown of the Proprietors, it was once more selected as the site of a colony.

Failure of the scheme.

A humane movement about this time for the reformation of English jails — where, it was notorious, the most shocking abuses existed — enlisted the sympathies and the energies of James Oglethorpe, a member of Parliament. His experience as a member of a parliamentary committee, appointed with reference to this subject, led him and others to wider observation and reflection upon the condition of the poor generally, and his committee suggested, in a report to the House, that "there were great numbers of indigent persons burthensome to the public, who would be willing to seek a livelihood in any of his Majesty's plantations in America, if they were provided with a passage and means of settling there." They asked that lands might be given them, as Trustees, in the southern part of South Carolina, for the planting of such a colony. The subject was deliberately and carefully discussed for two years after the report was made, and on the 9th of June, 1732, a charter was granted to twenty Trustees, for the benefit of the poor of the kingdom, and for the protection of the southern frontier of the American colonies, of all that region between the Savannah and Altamaha rivers.[1] The new colony was to be called Georgia, in honor of the King, George II.

A new movement.

Oglethorpe was at this time little more than forty years of age, and his life had been full of action and adventure. His family had been well known in courts and camps for generations. His great-grandfather and his grandfather had held positions in the royal household; and his father — that Sir Theophilus Oglethorpe referred to in a paragraph of "Guy Mannering" as one who "held orgies with the wicked Laird of Ellangowan" — had been a well-known general under James, but at the time of the Georgia founder's birth, in 1688, had retired to live as a quiet country gentleman in Surrey. Oglethorpe was sent to Oxford at sixteen; and at twenty-one entered the army as an ensign. He subsequently took service under the great Prince Eugene, was

[1] The Trustees were Lord Percival, Edward Digby, George Carpenter, James Oglethorpe, George Heathcote, Thomas Tower, Robert Moor, Robert Hucks, Roger Holland, William Sloper, Francis Eyles, John Laroche, James Vernon, William Belitha, John Burton, Richard Bundy, Arthur Beuford, Samuel Smith, Adam Anderson, and Thomas Coram.

made an officer of his staff, and for several years shared in the most famous fighting of the time, serving at Peterwardein and at Belgrade, and not returning finally to England until peace was made with the beaten Turks in 1718. This military experience was not the least among the qualifications that fitted him for the post of governor of a frontier colony.

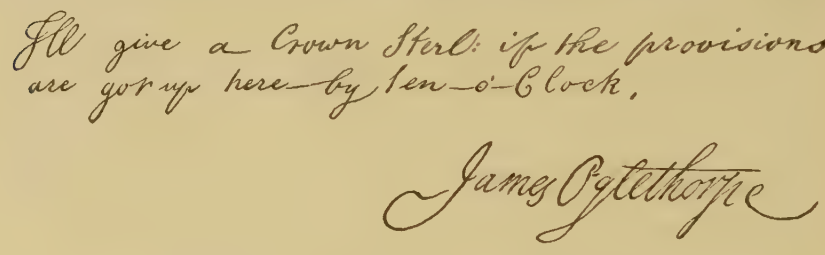
Oglethorpe's military career in Europe.

The project of the Georgia Trustees was received with a good deal of enthusiasm. Subscriptions on its behalf were numerous. Parliament made generous grants, and the Bank of England and other public institutions led long lists of contributors. All the Trustees themselves gave money, besides gratuitous service. They adhered rigidly to their original design; selecting their first body of colonists carefully from the destitute inhabitants of large cities; from deserving insolvent debtors, whose creditors were generally willing to forego their worthless claims on the payment by the company of a small sum; and from well-disposed laborers out of employment. Their aim was to exclude from the company all idlers and vicious persons, and all married men who were disposed to leave their families behind.

Settlement of Georgia.

On the 17th of November, 1732, Oglethorpe sailed from Gravesend in the ship *Anne*, with the first company of emigrants, — thirty-five families, containing in all one hundred and fourteen persons. On the 13th of January she arrived in the lower bay of Charleston, where she remained only a day, while Oglethorpe went up to the town to confer with Governor Johnson. Then the *Anne* sailed for Beaufort, and the people were landed to recruit after their long voyage; but Oglethorpe, accompanied by Mr. Bull of Charleston, — subsequently the Governor of South Carolina, — went up the Savannah River to select the place for their future home. The city of Savannah now stands on the spot he thought best adapted to his purpose.

Arrival of emigrants.



Fac-simile from a Note of Oglethorpe, ordering Provisions.

He rejoined his people at Beaufort, and the next Sunday was observed as a day of thanksgiving. "There was," says a contemporary narrative, "a great resort of the Gentlemen of that neighborhood and

their families; and a plentiful Dinner provided for the Colony, and all that came, by Mr. Oglethorpe; being 4 fat hogs, 8 turkies, besides fowls, English Beef, and other provisions, a hogshead of punch, a hogshead of beer, and a large quantity of wine; and all was so disposed in so regular a manner, that no person was drunk, nor any disorder happened."[1] In the course of the week the company, charmed with their first experience of the new country, and full of cheerfulness and hope, were taken to the place their leader had selected. Oglethorpe's first care was to obtain the consent of the nearest Indian chief, one Tomo Chichi, to his occupation of the land. In this he was aided by Mary Musgrove, the half-breed wife of an Indian trader whose post was in the neighborhood. This woman, who acted as interpreter, persuaded the Yamacraw chief that the settlement of an English colony at that spot would be an advantage to his people, and he agreed to use his influence with the Creeks, to whom the territory belonged.

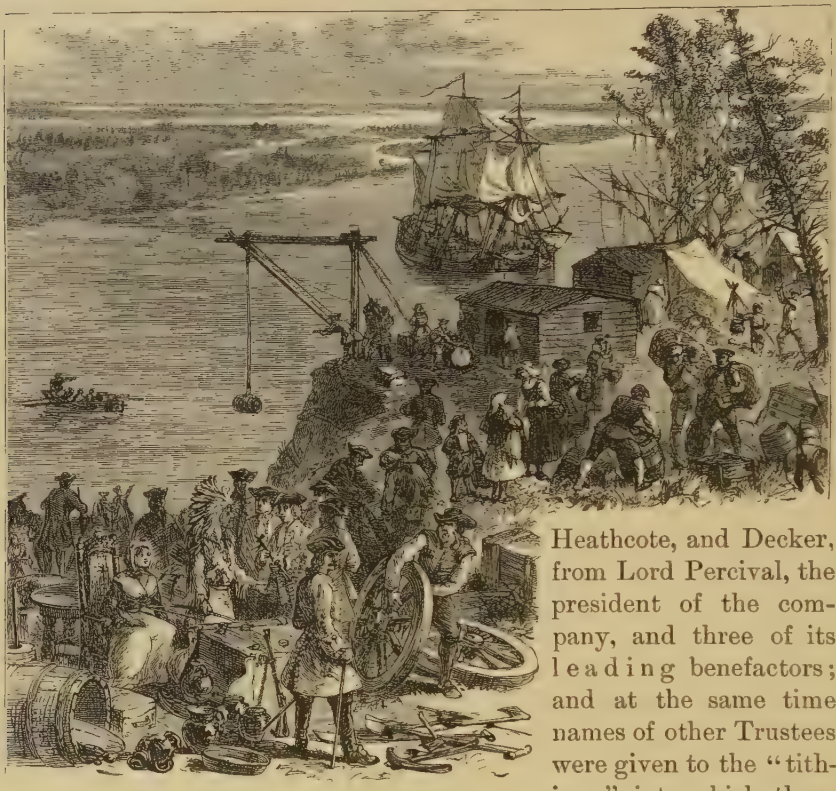
For the first week the people were employed in landing their goods. When this was done they were divided into three parties: one to prepare land for cultivation; another to fell the trees on the proposed site of the town, — Oglethorpe, however, wisely sparing some of the finest of them; a third to build palisades. Their poor shelter, and exposure to the malaria from the low banks of the river, caused some sickness, but their progress was rapid. All worked with a will; "there are no idlers here," wrote a visitor from Charleston; "even the boys and girls do their part." "Our people still lie in tents," Oglethorpe wrote to the Trustees on the 10th of March, "there being only two clapboard houses built, and three sawed houses framed. Our crane, our battery, cannon, and magazine are finished. This is all that we have been able to do, by reason of the smallness of our number, of which many have been sick, and others unused to labor; though, I thank God, they are now pretty well, and we have not lost one since our arrival here."

With the aid of Captain Bull, of Charleston, who had returned thither and brought back hired laborers and settlers, Oglethorpe laid out the place on that symmetrical and excellent plan which makes the present city of Savannah so beautiful. The broad avenues, with little parks at the alternate crossings, still bear witness to Oglethorpe's good taste and judgment, and many of the streets retain the names — Bull, Drayton, Whitaker, Abercorn — which he then gave them from his associates, or from American or English patrons of the enterprise. Several months later, when the

Laying out Savannah.

[1] *A Brief Account of the Establishment of the Colony of Georgia*, etc., a contemporary narrative first published in *Force's Tracts*, vol. i.

number of the colonists was increased by fresh arrivals from England, the four wards of the town received the names of Percival, Derby, Heathcote, and Decker, from Lord Percival, the president of the company, and three of its leading benefactors; and at the same time names of other Trustees were given to the "tithings" into which these wards were subdivided. The divisions and their names were officially announced on July 7,— a day specially set apart for the establishment of the local government, and kept by all the people as a holiday.



The Landing at Savannah.

In May a council of the chiefs of all the nearer Indian tribes was held at Savannah, and the treaty first made with Tomo Chichi was confirmed. Oglethorpe assured them that he did not mean to dispossess, or to injure their people in any way, and that whatever land they would grant for the convenience of the English should be fairly paid for. "We are persuaded," said a sachem of the Lower Creeks, "that the Great Spirit who dwells above and around all has sent the English hither for our good; and therefore they are welcome to all the land we do not need." "When these white men came," said Tomo Chichi, "I feared that they would drive us away, for we were weak; but they promised not to molest us." Then in acknowledgment of corn and other supplies which the Englishmen had given

Treaty with the Indians.

them, he offered presents in return, and besought the strangers for continued kindness. "Here," — he went on with that figurative eloquence in which the North American Indian has always so loved to clothe his speech — "Here is a buffalo skin adorned with the head and feathers of an eagle. The eagle signifies speed, and the buffalo strength. The English are swift as the eagle, and strong as the buffalo. Like the eagle, they flew hither over great waters, and like the buffalo, nothing can withstand them. But the feathers of the eagle are soft, and signify kindness; and the skin of the buffalo is covering, and signifies protection. Let these, then, remind them to be kind and protect us." [1]

Speech of Tomo Chichi.

Between the new colony and its nearest English neighbor there was the utmost harmony. South Carolina came to Oglethorpe's help with large public and private subscriptions, and on a visit to Charleston he cordially and feelingly acknowledged these in an address to its Assembly. At Savannah the first rude shelter of boughs of trees, and the clapboard houses, were soon displaced by substantial dwellings. A public garden was planted as a nursery, with many kinds of fruit trees, and especially with mulberry trees; for it was proposed to make the manufacture of silk a principal industry of the colony, and for this purpose some skilled workmen from Italy were sent out among the earliest emigrants. On Tybee Island, near the mouth of the Savannah, a light-house to be ninety feet in height was begun; on the river bank below the town, a battery was built for its protection. On the Ogeechee River, Captain M'Pherson with a company of Highlanders built a fort and called it Fort Argyle, as a defence against the Spaniards. When Oglethorpe returned to England after fifteen months' stay, he left his colony in a prosperous and promising condition. He had brought to it a little more than one hundred persons; in the first year and a half it increased to very nearly five hundred.

Progress of the colony.

Tomo Chichi. (A Portrait painted in London.)

Every ship that had come from England had brought small parties of emigrants, most of them of that class for whose benefit especially

[1] The English found the buffalo in immense numbers in Georgia.

the colony was projected. Not all, however; Highlanders came from Scotland under their petty chiefs, who, at different times, settled at Fort Argyle and at Darien on the Altamaha, — men well-trained, by their lives at home, for the new life of the wilderness, whose love of arms and the hunt, whose picturesque garb and the wild music of their bagpipes commended them to the enthusiastic admiration and warm friendship of the natives. And in absolute contrast to these was still another class who, like the Fathers of Plymouth the century before, were truly Pilgrims, fleeing from religious persecution, and who prized above all earthly things freedom of belief and of worship; a devout, humble, long-suffering, and industrious people, certain to remain as a distinct community apart from the general population with whom they had so little in common.

The Highland emigrants.

These were the Salzburgers, descendants of those Piedmontese Waldenses who, as early as the twelfth century, were, as Pope Innocent III. lamented, "carried along by an immoderate desire of knowing the Scriptures," and who came, therefore, under the ban of the church. Through the centuries, down to the time of the Reformation, persecution followed them, and then, as they became distinguished for their adherence to the tenets of Luther, the church determined that they should be exterminated from the face of the earth. They were hunted like wild beasts; some were scourged till they died; some were burnt to death in the flames of their own houses; some were blown up with gunpowder. Ingenuity was exhausted in devising methods of pain and terror; their ministers were tortured till death released them; the head of one of their most beloved teachers, Anthony Brassus, was nailed in mockery to the pulpit from which he had preached. But they were not quite destroyed; a remnant escaped and fled to the valley of Salzburg, then a province of Bavaria.

The Waldenses and their descendants.

Here, in obscurity, they found safety. They had preserved their organization and, though without ministers, kept alive their religious zeal, holding their meetings in the depths of the forests and in the dark recesses of mines. For three quarters of a century they were unnoticed and unmolested, handing down from generation to generation an inheritance of the memory of centuries of wrong and suffering, and of the steadfast faith which had sustained their fathers, and would sustain them.

As their numbers increased, the eyes of the church searched them out, and again the church stretched out its hands against them. Their belief was denounced and derided, and their worship forbidden. They were summoned before ecclesiastical courts for trial; many were left to languish in prisons, their limbs

Persecution of the Salzburgers.

loaded with chains, while their souls were vexed with priests who labored to confound their belief and frighten them into apostasy; others were driven from their homes, their possessions seized or destroyed, husbands and wives separated, the children taken from both to be nurtured in the bosom of the church. It was only by the protests of Protestant Germany, and especially of Frederic William, the Elector of Brandenburg, that there came, toward the end of the

The Salzburgers at Frankfort.

seventeenth century, some mitigation of their many trials and sorrows, and the wretched Lutherans were left for a season in peace.

But it was only for a season. In 1728, Leopold, the Archbishop of Salzburg, alarmed at the spread of heresy within his diocese, determined that it should be suppressed. He renewed the persecution of the unhappy people with a resolute will and a relentless spirit, and suc-

ceeded in three or four years in driving thirty thousand of them into exile. Twenty thousand found a refuge in Prussia; the other third fled to Holland, to England, anywhere where their faith and their sufferings entitled them to sympathy and welcome.

Nowhere was there a warmer interest aroused on behalf of this people, who had endured so long and so much for conscience' sake, than in Protestant England. In Oglethorpe's scheme for planting a colony in America, the Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge saw the opportunity for providing an asylum for some of those who were still exposed to persecution. Arrangements were made to provide the necessary aid to a limited number, and a proposition to emigrate to Georgia was accepted by about fifty families of the village of Berchtesgaden, a few miles south of Salzburg.

Their pilgrimage in Europe.

The way was toilsome and long through Germany to the northern coast. But in the autumn of 1733 the villagers started, most of them on foot, carrying only the young and infirm with their household goods in rude carts. At Augsburg they remained awhile to rest, though the Catholic authorities at first refused them entrance even to the town. As they dragged on through their weary journey, they were scoffed at and sometimes maltreated, when in Catholic districts; but among Protestants they found everywhere hospitality and kindness, the peasants taking the tired women and children in their arms to carry them from one village to the next. At Frankfort-on-the-Main the citizens came forth to meet them and led them into the city in a sort of triumphal procession, to the music of Lutheran hymns. Here their long march ended, as they took boat upon the Main. Here, also, they were met by two clergymen, Bolzius and Gronau, who were to lead them as their pastors to the promised land.

Arrival in Georgia.

It was not till March of the next spring that these way-worn pilgrims by land and by sea reached Charleston, their voyage alone having taken more than a hundred days. Oglethorpe was on the eve of departure for England, but he gladly turned back with them to Savannah. They came without wealth; their only arms were their Bibles and prayer-books, for the non-resistance to violence, which discretion had so long taught a hopeless minority, had grown to an abhorrence of all violence; but Oglethorpe well knew that these virtuous, harmless, and industrious people, long acquainted with privation, self-denial, and submission, must needs be a valuable acquisition to a new colony. Lands were given them on the Savannah, selected by themselves because the hills and valley bore some remote resemblance to the home they would never see again. The place they called Ebenezer, for, they said, "Hitherto hath the Lord helped us;" and the name was retained when two or three years afterward they

removed a little farther inland, — retained by their descendants ever since.

In the winter of 1735–6 Oglethorpe returned from England, where the report of the first success of the colony, and the presence of Tomo Chichi and several other Indian chiefs whom he had taken with him, had renewed the public enthusiasm. The Grand Embarkation. He brought an addition of about three hundred persons, a few of whom were of a better class than the beneficiaries of the Trustees; some were Salzburgers, others were Moravians, with the Baron von Rick and Captain Hermsdorf, from Germany, at their head. Charles Wesley came as the Governor's secretary; the elder brother, John, was sent by the Trustees as a missionary to the Indians. This second voyage is known as the Grand Embarkation, from its importance to the colony, and the distinction is not misapplied. Hermsdorf, as a brave soldier, was of signal service in the contests with the Spaniards which soon threatened the existence of the colony; the Wesleys, though then young and unknown men, whose stay in Georgia was short, made in this visit the first step that led to important results in the religious history of the country.

Charles Wesley quarrelled with Oglethorpe, promulgating a scandalous story which it was base to repeat if he did not believe it; and if he did believe it, the cordial friendship of subsequent years is not creditable to Wesley. The Wesleys in Georgia. His stay in Frederica was short, and judicious people had quite as much reason to rejoice at his departure as he had in going. The career of his brother John at Savannah was longer and his course even more reprehensible. He permitted his disappointment in a love affair to influence his conduct as a clergyman; he showed more zeal than charity or good judgment in censorious criticism (from the pulpit) of public affairs and public men; "he drenched them," says Southey, "with the physic of an intolerant discipline."[1] Perhaps it was not altogether his own fault that he failed to commend Christianity to the Indians, though he might have succeeded better had he sought them outside of the English settlements; for, when he strove with Tomo Chichi to lead him to a new faith, the clear-sighted savage, who measured precept by practice, said — "Why, these are Christians at Savannah! Those are Christians at Frederica! Christians get drunk! Christians beat men! Christians tell lies! Me no Christian!"

But the Wesleys were young men then, and the zeal and ardor of youth ran before knowledge. This episode in their lives would have been forgotten had there not come in after years the abounding grace, the eloquence that moved multitudes to bow before it as the forest

[1] Southey's *Life of Wesley*, vol. i.

bends before the storm, the wisdom that could lay deep and strong the foundations of a great ecclesiastical organization to rule millions, which made them among the most marked and most influential men of their century. It may be that the painful experience of failure in positions whose duties were then beyond their strength fitted them for other and higher duties which, had they remained in a young and feeble colony, they would never have found. But their departure prepared the way for the coming of another whose immediate influence upon his time was equal to if it did not exceed theirs, both in England and America.

George Whitefield.

This was George Whitefield, who was sent to take John Wesley's place at Savannah. Wesley had left there in secrecy, shaking off, as he said, the dust of his feet against it; for, there was an indictment for libel hanging over his head on complaint of the husband of the woman whom he, at one time, had hoped to marry. To him Savannah had become not a pleasant place to live in, and it is to be presumed that he was truthful enough and humble enough to know that this was, in part at least, his own fault. How else could he urge Whitefield to take the place he had run away from, and in such terms as these? "Do you ask me what you shall have? Food to eat, and raiment to put on, a house to lay your head in such as your Master had not, and a crown of glory that fadeth not away." He surely could not have meant to deceive his friend. For it was no common tie that bound them together; even the bitterness and acrimony of theological difference — and nothing will make men hate each other so cordially — failed in later years to separate them permanently. They had been fellow-students

John Wesley.

at Oxford; had suffered together, with a few others, ridicule and persecution for a religious enthusiasm incomprehensible to those about them. The more they were divided from the world in those days, the more closely they were bound together, and in behavior and belief alike they had set themselves apart. It was to this Oxford time that Whitefield alluded once when he said — "I myself thought that Christianity required me to go nasty." And it was also of that time, or soon after, that the father of the Wesleys, himself a clergyman, said of his son John — "I sat myself down to try if I could unravel his sophisms, and hardly one of his assertions appeared to me to be universally true." These "sophisms" were beginning to be a puzzle to many by the time Whitefield came to Georgia in 1738. On his arrival at Charleston, the Rev. Alexander Gordon, the Episcopal clergyman, warned his people against this disturber of the peace of the church, preaching from the text — "Those who have turned the world upside down are come hither also." Whitefield answered him, and his text was — "Alexander the coppersmith hath done me much evil; the Lord reward him according to his works."

At this second coming to Georgia, Oglethorpe brought with him two acts of Parliament of a novel and radical character. It would be a subject of curious speculation what the future history of the country would have been, could these acts have been permanently enforced. But as both were from the outset evaded; and as it was difficult, probably impossible, under the circumstances of time and situation, to build up a commonwealth from such foundations; they remain only as a remarkable instance of failure to establish a purely moral government. One of these acts prohibited the introduction of spirituous liquors into the colony; the other forbade the holding of slaves. In the one case the Trustees hoped to encourage and aid dependence upon free white labor, which they believed, and believed truly, could never flourish in competition with the labor of slaves; in the other case they knew that a free traffic in rum led to drunkenness, and that this was an unmitigated evil to rough emigrants necessarily freed, in large measure, from the ordinary restraints of law in older communities, and an exterminating curse to the savage tribes by which they were surrounded. But appetite and avarice were far stronger than acts of parliament or local laws. The most profitable trade in Carolina was the trade in rum; such wealth and prosperity as Carolina had, she derived from the use of slave labor. The law was powerless to keep rum out of Georgia, where on one side of an imaginary line were a people determined to buy, and on the other side a people determined to sell. Equally futile was it to attempt to keep out slavery. For a brief period the prohibition

Prohibition of slavery and the importation of rum.

of the ownership of slaves was evaded by hiring them in gangs from South Carolina. But even this soon ceased to be necessary.

For a time, also, there was another grievance which was a real and serious injury. This was the descent of lands to sons only. Widows and daughters were debarred by law from any share in the real estate of husband and father, who had no right of devise of lands to any person whatever. The tenure was strictly and inalienably in tail male. The Trustees, however, were wise enough to see at an early period, that such a system in a new colony was impracticable and ruinous. But the progress of the colony was seriously interfered with from these various causes. It had besides to contend with the hostility of the Charleston tradesmen, who were disgusted with Oglethorpe's determination to control the traffic with the Indians within the boundaries of Georgia. The Governor was quite willing to grant licenses, but it was on condition that no rum should be sold to the natives. The trader looked upon this as a double wrong; not only was he deprived of his best customer for rum, but he also lost the advantage, when he in his turn became a customer for peltries, of having a drunken Indian to deal with. The merchants of Charleston were at a loss for words to express their indignation and contempt for such an interference with free trade. In Georgia the malcontents and the friends of the Trustees gave and took hard blows in a skirmish of pamphlets. In one of these, in a dedication to Oglethorpe, it was said with what was meant to be fine irony: "The valuable Virtue of Humility is secured to us by your Care to prevent our procuring, or so much as seeing, any *Negroes* (the only human Creatures proper to improve our Soil) lest our Simplicity might mistake the poor *Africans* for greater slaves than ourselves: And that we might fully receive the Spiritual Benefit of those wholesome Austerities, you have wisely denied us the Use of such Spirituous Liquors as might in the least divert our Minds from the Contemplation of our Happy Circumstances." [1]

The tenure of lands.

Whitefield, on one of his early visits to the colonies, says, in a letter to the people of Maryland, Virginia, and Carolina: "I was sensibly touched with a fellow feeling for the poor Negroes." He wonders "they have not more frequently risen up in arms against their owners." "And though I heartily pray God," he adds, "they may never be permitted to get the upper hand, yet should such a thing be permitted by Providence, all good men must acknowledge the judgment would be just." But this "fellow feeling," unhappily, did not last long. The clamor for the introduction of slavery into the colony carried him along with it.

[1] *A True and Historical Narrative of the Colony of Georgia*, etc. Republished in *Force's Tracts*.

In accordance with a plan of Oglethorpe's and Charles Wesley's,[1] he had established near Savannah an orphan house, and in all his wanderings and preachings through America and Great Britain he never forgot to beg of the charitable for means to support his Georgia orphans. But he cut off from one end of his mantle of charity to piece out the other. He discovered what clear gain it was to rob the poor of their wages; how safe and expedient a thing to do if the law would sanction it; how much easier to support those poor orphans, the constant theme of his eloquence, if there was nothing to pay for the labor on which they depended. The law forbade it in Georgia; but there was nothing to prevent his holding slaves in Carolina. He bought a plantation there for that purpose, and, while thanking God that the investment was profitable, he complained in pathetic terms to the Trustees of the inconvenience of that law which compelled him to have his slaves and his orphans in separate provinces. It is a pitiable record of inconsistency and weakness. Before he was himself tempted to become a slaveholder, he had, in his expostulation with the colonists, reminded them of "God's taking cognizance, and avenging the quarrel of the poor slaves;" that "God is the same to-day as He was yesterday, and will continue the same forever. He does not reject the prayer of the poor and destitute, nor disregard the cry of the meanest negroes. Their blood which has been spilt for these many years in your respective provinces, will ascend up to Heaven against you. I wish I could say it would speak better things than the blood of Abel." Now his eyes were blinded, and he could not see that the blood was on his own hands. So far as the influence of his character and example went, no man did more than he to fasten slavery upon Georgia.

Whitefield's orphan house.

Whitefield on slavery.

Bolzius.

The destination of the larger portion of the Grand Embarkation under Oglethorpe, was to build a new town upon the Island of St. Simon's, at the mouth of the Altamaha. Darien, farther up that river, the new Ebenezer of the Salzburgs, and

New towns built.

[1] *Life and Travels of George Whitefield.* By J. P. Gledstone, London, 1871.

Augusta — both on the Savannah — were begun at about the same time, but it was to Frederica, on St. Simon's Island, that the Governor gave his chief attention. The town itself and the approach to it were defended with military prevision by forts and batteries at different points on St. Simon's and Cumberland Island, for, as Georgia was to be the protection of Carolina against the Spaniards of Florida, Frederica was to be so formidable that no Spanish force would venture to leave it in their rear, should an invasion of the settlements north of it be undertaken. The Governor made it his base in the unfortunate expedition against St. Augustine, — already related in the chapter on Spanish colonization.[1] But this was not till after he had made a second visit to England, and returned, for the third time, with a military commission which included South Carolina as well as Georgia.[2]

Map of the Georgia Coast.

That he was enabled to hold, after his repulse from Florida, all the places he had built and fortified on the southern frontier, was due largely, if not alto-

[1] See vol. ii., p. 560, *et seq.*

[2] His commission was that of colonel, and not major-general, as we inadvertently said in the account referred to, though he was called by courtesy General. He went through the various gradations of military rank on his final return to England, till he was for years the senior general of the British army. His last military service was in the suppression of the Rebellion of 1745 under Charles Edward, the Pretender.

gether, to the friendly relations he had established with the Creeks, Choctaws, and Chickasaws. He learned, in the summer of 1739, that the Spaniards were making overtures to these tribes, and attempting to alienate them from the English; and that their success was not impossible, as many of the chiefs were exasperated by the disorder created among their people by the introduction of rum by traders from Carolina, who had gone among them without licenses. A grand council was to be held in August at the Indian town of Coweta, three hundred miles northwest of Savannah, and Tomo Chichi and other chiefs begged Oglethorpe to attend it.

With only three or four attendants he made this arduous journey through the unbroken wilderness, into which, except for the first few miles, not a settler had penetrated, making his way through forests and swamps, crossing rivers, when wading or swimming was impossible, upon rafts built for the emergency, exposed by day to the heat of a southern summer, by night to dangerous malaria, sleeping upon the ground without shelter, or upon heaps of branches where the ground was wet. It was a journey of nearly a month each way; and so completely did the party pass out of the sight and out of the reach of their countrymen, that either they would bring back the tidings of their own safety, or never again, in all probability, be heard of. The courage to encounter, the energy to overcome the difficulties of such an enterprise, and the complete reliance upon the good faith of the Indians evinced in undertaking it, were virtues certain to command the enthusiasm and admiration of the savages. Chiefs of various tribes, who together could bring into the field 7,000 warriors, met Oglethorpe at Coweta. The personal influence he gained over them was of the utmost importance to him so long as he remained in Georgia, and to the colony long after he had surrendered its care into other hands.

Oglethorpe's journey into the interior.

It was not Indians only, however, whom the vigilant and determined enemy of the English, the Spaniards, endeavored to stir up against them. The slaves of Carolina were encouraged to escape to Florida, where they were organized into military companies, and to their officers were given the same rank, the same uniform, and the same consideration that distinguished the officers of Spanish regiments. It was fortunate for the five or six thousand whites of Carolina that their forty thousand slaves had no allies in Georgia at this critical period, when Spain was determined upon the conquest of these English provinces. Oglethorpe had scarcely recovered from the fatigue and serious illness which followed his long journey to the West, when tidings of a formidable servile insurrection in South Carolina reached him. The number of the in-

Servile insurrection in South Carolina.

surgents constantly increased as they took up their march toward Florida, devastating plantations and killing the whites as they made their way southward. But they were without discipline or organization. Giving themselves up, at last, to a carouse upon the liquor which they had brought away from some of the houses they had plundered, they were surrounded by a body of militia, attacked, some killed, some taken prisoners, and the rest dispersed. Oglethorpe issued a proclamation for the arrest of any fugitives who should be found in Georgia, and for any Spanish emissaries discovered in the province, and sent out a body of troops to enforce his orders. The wide frontier of free territory between the Savannah and the Altamaha, thus vigilantly guarded, was an efficient protection to slave-holding Carolina against the designs of the Spaniards.

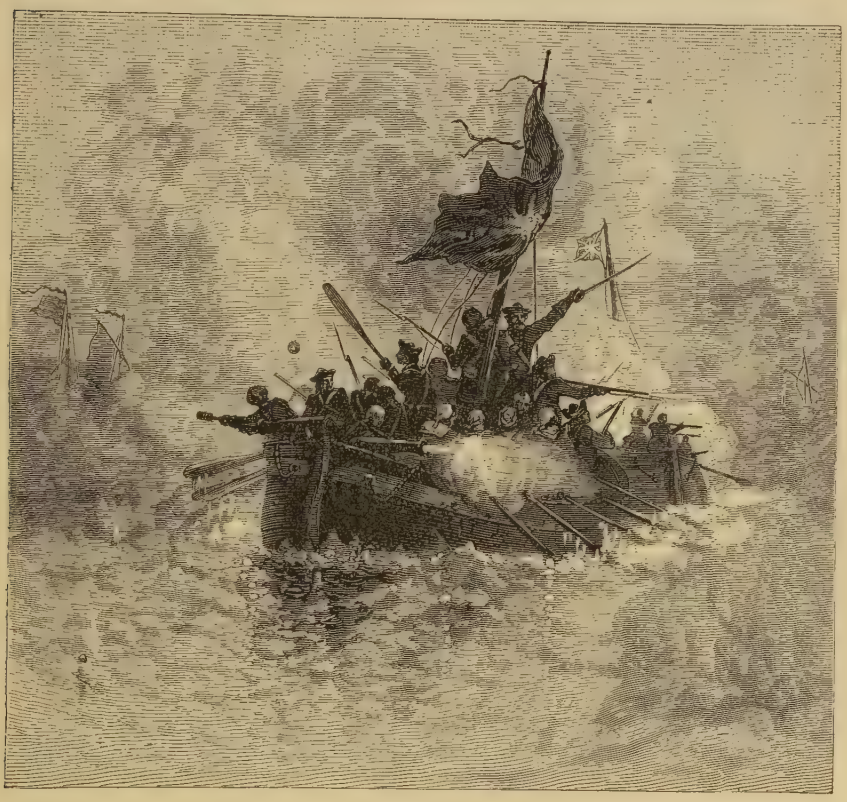
Admiral Vernon.

How efficient was to be made evident when in the summer of 1742, two years after Oglethorpe's failure to take St. Augustine, the Spaniards in their turn, as we have briefly related in a former chapter, determined to invade the English provinces. Don Manuel de Montiano, who was still Captain-general of Florida, having been reënforced from Havana, appeared off St. Simon's Island with a fleet of more than thirty vessels and a force of five thousand men.[1] Reports of this proposed invasion had reached Oglethorpe some weeks before, and he had sent dispatches, asking for aid,

Invasion of the Spaniards.

[1] *A Memoir of General Oglethorpe.* By R. Wright. *A Sketch of the Life of General James Oglethorpe.* By Thomas Spalding. Hewit, in his *Historical Account of South Carolina and Georgia*, estimates the force at three thousand.

to the Governor of South Carolina, and to Admiral Vernon in command of the English fleet in the West Indies. But no assistance came in time from either. He called in his Highland troops from Darien; summoned those of his Indian allies who were within reach; released indented servants, and so mustered a force of about eight hundred men. There appeared first eleven galleys, probably in what is now



Fight of the Galleys.

called St. Andrew's Sound, between Jekyl and Cumberland islands. It was necessary to reënforce Fort William on the southern extremity of Cumberland Island, and to do this Oglethorpe started with three boats carrying two companies of men. As they crossed the Sound the Spaniards bore down upon them, and one of the three boats, under Lieutenant Folson, was driven back. But Oglethorpe, with the other two boats, pushed on through the fleet of galleys, delivering his shot right and left as he passed, with such effect that four of them afterward foundered, and the rest were seriously disabled. Pulling to leeward of the smoke of the battle, he escaped without the loss of

a man, while those who had watched the engagement from St. Simon's Island supposed — as Folson had also reported — that he and his men were utterly destroyed. He landed at Fort William, however, the troops requisite for its defence, removed thither the men and guns from St. Andrew's Fort, at the upper end of Cumberland Island, and then returned in safety to his fleet in St. Simon's Sound. This gallant action, and the immediate arrest of Folson for cowardice, aroused an enthusiasm and determination in his little army without which their situation would have been desperate and hopeless.

Fort William reënforced.

The enemy's fleet of thirty-two vessels, a few days later, ran into St. Simon's harbor with a brisk breeze, and were received with a heavy fire from the batteries on shore. To meet them on the water, Oglethorpe had only a merchant-vessel of twenty guns, on board which he put one hundred and ten men, and two schooners of fourteen guns and eighty men each, all with springs on their cables. On eight "York sloops" in the harbor he put one man each, with orders to sink or run them ashore in case they were likely to be taken. The object of the Spaniards was to get up the river, rather than destroy these vessels. Twice, however, they attempted to board the larger ship, the *Success*, and one of the schooners, but were repulsed with a loss of twenty men after four hours' fighting. Oglethorpe was everywhere at the right moment; sometimes on the vessels encouraging his men, sometimes on shore directing the batteries. When this hot work was over, and the Spanish fleet had fought their way through the fire of the batteries and the resistance of the three English vessels, then Oglethorpe ordered his troops ashore, thanked the sailors for their brave conduct, and ordered them to escape to Charleston. That nothing might be left behind to fall into the hands of the Spaniards, he dismantled his shore-batteries, spiked their guns, destroyed all the provisions, and fell back upon Frederica in good order.

Approach of the Spanish fleet.

The military skill with which the defences of Frederica had been laid out now became apparent. The town, well fortified, was at the head of a bay of difficult navigation; at one point, called the Devil's Elbow, no ship could pass without "going about," and batteries were so planted that as she made that manœuvre, she could be raked at once from three directions for three quarters of a mile. The Spaniards lacked the courage to expose themselves to so formidable a fire, and the fleet came to anchor at a point, about four miles below the town, called Gascoin's Bluff. Here the whole force of about 5,000 men was set ashore, that the attack might be made by land and in the rear.

But neither here had Oglethorpe's prevision been wanting. The road running southward from the town reached, at a distance of two or three miles, a marsh, along the edge of which it continued, with an impassable morass on one side and a dense and tangled wood on the other. A mile or two farther on, this road took a crescent shape with a width of only about sixty feet, making a defile dangerous to be caught in, with an enemy concealed at the inlet and outlet, and in the wood on one side, while over the morass, on the other, escape was impossible.

The road to Frederica.

This crescent terminated in a wood, where Oglethorpe, when he fell back the day before to Frederica, had left a small detachment of troops with some Indian allies. At dawn of day the Spaniards attacked this handful of men, and drove them through the woods to the entrance of the crescent. Speedy information was sent to the General, who, with such force as he could rally on the instant, galloped to the front, met the Spaniards and attacked them with such impetuosity that he drove them through the wood into the open ground beyond. Then placing a reënforcement to resist any farther advance of the enemy, he hurried back to Frederica, apprehensive that this movement in his rear might be a feint to distract his attention and draw off his men from an attack on the town by the fleet.

The Spaniards repulsed.

There was no movement, however, from the ships, and he moved down the road again with a larger force to meet the Spaniards in case of another advance in that direction. Before reaching the crescent he met the troops which he had left in the woods beyond, in disorderly retreat. The Spaniards — veteran troops selected from the army and brought from Cuba for this important service — outnumbered the English, probably six or seven to one. Oglethorpe's men, knowing how perilous their position would be should the enemy be able to get possession of the pass and cut off their retreat, swept through it in too great a panic to remember that they might make a successful stand there against their pursuers. They had already left it a mile or two behind when Oglethorpe met, rallied, and turned them back. They, as well as he, knew that should the enemy once pass through the crescent and up the road to the open prairie in the rear of Frederica, the chance of a successful resistance of 800 men against 5,000 was hopeless.

The Spaniards had pursued the panic-stricken Englishmen into the pass and marked by the retreating footsteps that they had fled precipitately through the farther entrance. The victory seemed complete, and the road beyond open to an advance at the pursuers' leisure. Their present position could be easily held against any attack in front, and

from the rear there was, they thought, no possibility of danger. On one side they observed the perfect protection of the impassable morass; on the other, what seemed to be an impenetrable wood. Confident in security, and exultant in success, the tired and hungry soldiers stacked their arms, threw themselves upon the grass for rest, and prepared to break their fast, for they had not as yet that day taken food. There were within the curve of the road probably from two to three hundred men.

The defile held by the English.

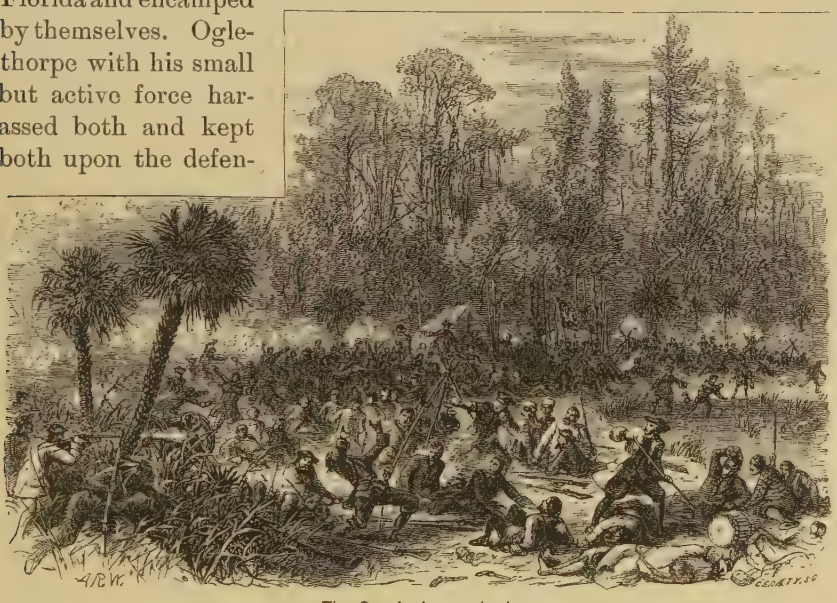
When the English had fled in utter confusion before the Spaniards into the defile, the rear guard was a company of Highlanders under the command of Lieutenants McKay and Southerland. They followed without being in the least touched by the panic which had seized their fellow-soldiers in advance, and when in the bend of the road they swept out of sight of the pursuit, the Highland lieutenants halted their men. A brief and hurried consultation resulted in a rapid movement. Before the Spaniards had again come in sight, every Highlander, and a few Indians with them, had sprung silently into the dense woods bordering one side of the road, and disappeared. Not the flutter of a single plaid, not the rustle of a single footstep upon the dried leaves of the forest, revealed to the Spaniards that they were leaving behind them a detachment of the troops whom they had seen only a few moments before in rapid retreat.

Slaughter of the Spaniards.

Stealthily and silently the Highlanders and Indians crept through the underbrush. McKay and Southerland placed their men so as to command both ends of the pass, and the whole of the sweep of the crescent. Without impatience, motionless as the trunks of the trees which hid them, they watched the movements of the enemy. When the arms were stacked and the Spaniards were dispersed in groups taking the needed food and rest, hilarious at success achieved, buoyant with the hope of success to come, there appeared suddenly, among the green foliage, the concerted signal of two Highland caps, raised in the air at different points. Instantly a volley of bullets was poured in among the Spaniards; then another and another. The wildest panic seized all who were not killed by these first discharges. Some plunged into the woods, only to be cut down by the broadswords of the Highlanders; some fled to the entrances, to be met there by death from an unseen foe. On one side were a few men, cool, collected, out of sight; on the other, there were many more, but in the open roadway, crazed with fear, unarmed, hopeless of escape, falling with every shot. The disparity of numbers counted for nothing. Oglethorpe was near enough to hear the din of battle, but not near enough to take part in it. The firing had ceased

before he reached the defile; as he rode rapidly into it at the head of his men, he was received with the shouts of the victorious and triumphant Highlanders and the yells of the Indians, who stood wiping swords and tomahawks, surrounded by the dead and dying Spaniards, of whom hardly a man had escaped.

No further attempt to approach the town by land was made by the Spaniards, and an advance two or three days afterwards, by water, in boats, was easily repulsed by the batteries, and by a judicious disposition of men along the shores of the bay. Disaster produced dissension among the invaders; the Havana troops separated from those of Florida and encamped by themselves. Oglethorpe with his small but active force harassed both and kept both upon the defen-



The Spaniards surprised.

sive. A proposed assault upon one of them with six hundred men at the dawn of day, was defeated by a Frenchman, who gave the alarm by a premature discharge of his gun and made his escape into the Spanish camp. The misfortune was the greater that the man knew exactly the condition and resources of the English, and it was of the last importance that of these the Spaniards should be kept in ignorance. By the boldness and energy of Oglethorpe they were persuaded that he was much stronger than he really was; he might be overwhelmed by mere force of numbers, should the Spanish commanders know that their fleet of thirty-two vessels and force of 5,000 men were opposed by only 800 men. To meet this new emergency he resorted to a desperate bit of strategy, suggested by the treachery of this Frenchman.

He immediately wrote a letter of instructions to the French deserter which assumed him to be a spy sent into the Spanish camp. He ordered him to do all in his power to persuade the Spanish commander that the English could muster only a few hundred men, and that Frederica was really almost defenceless; and he was to offer to pilot the fleet up the river that it might thereby be detained, if only for three days longer. For, the spy was to let drop no hint of the immediate approach of reënforcements of 2,000 men from Charleston, according to dispatches which, it was declared, had been received since his departure; nor that an English fleet was off the coast bound to Frederica, and that Admiral Vernon was on the way to attack St. Augustine. Should the Frenchman strictly and skillfully obey these directions, he was assured that the reward already paid him should be doubled. This dispatch was put into the hands of a Spanish prisoner, who was liberated and heavily bribed on condition that he would faithfully deliver it to the Frenchman on his arrival in the camp of the enemy. This man, as Oglethorpe had presumed he would be, was taken before the Spanish commander when he reached the Spanish lines, was questioned as to his escape, and, on giving some confused account of himself, was searched and the letter taken from him.

Oglethorpe's stratagem.

Desperate as the expedient was, it happened to be well-timed and successful. A stratagem was suspected, but so much credence was given to the intercepted letter that the Frenchman was put in irons, and the Spaniards delayed all movements, awaiting further tidings. Meanwhile, in the course of two or three days, some passing vessels were seen off the coast, which the Spaniards at once believed to be the advance guard of that English fleet which, as the letter hinted, was approaching. The Spanish general permitted himself to doubt no longer; his whole army was hurried on board his vessels; all sail was crowded for St. Augustine; Oglethorpe, audacious to the last, chasing them out of the sound with his few boats — too few and too small to venture upon an attack.

Retreat of the Spaniards.

So the formidable invasion came to this sorry and almost ludicrous conclusion. But the brave and skilful defence of Frederica, nevertheless, had saved two provinces to the British Crown, and while it covered the Spanish commander with disgrace and ridicule, it gave great military renown to the English general. It was the last serious attempt of Spain to establish her assumed right to territory north of the Altamaha River, though for the twenty years longer that Florida remained a Spanish province, hostilities occasionally broke out — as when in 1743 Oglethorpe again carried the war to the very walls of St. Augustine.

A year after that expedition he returned to England — recalled by his own request. Calumnies had gone before him from enemies in Charleston; one Cook, whom he had made a lieutenant-colonel at Frederica, but who had deserted his command on the plea of illness just before the late invasion, had followed with accusations which jealousy and malice had at length formulated. The General's pecuniary affairs also demanded his personal presence in London, as they, not through any fault of his own, but through the official stupidity at the war-office, had become entangled.

Oglethorpe's final return to England.

That there was nothing in all these complications that he could not and did not satisfactorily answer, is plain enough from the fact that Cook was dismissed from the service when his accusations were brought before a board of generals, and that Oglethorpe in the course of two years was raised to the rank of major-general and two years later to that of lieutenant-general. He did not again return to Georgia, but his warm interest in the colony, to the end of his long life of ninety-six years, never wavered. And to the very end of his days he preserved the vigor of character which always distinguished him, though he gradually retired from public life. Not long before his death Horace Walpole wrote of him: "His eyes, ears, articulation, limbs, and memory would suit a boy, if a boy could recollect a century backwards;" and added — "two years and a half ago he challenged a neighboring gentleman for trespassing on his manor." This vigorous old man was often a

Oglethorpe in 1785. From a Sketch from Life.[1]

[1] The inscription on the old print from which this is copied, states that the sketch was made at the sale of Dr. Johnson's library, Feb. 18, 1785, "where the General was reading a book he had purchased, without spectacles."

conspicuous figure in the literary society of London in the last quarter of the eighteenth century; and it is an interesting fact that the venerable Samuel Rogers, the poet, whom many living persons knew, remembered that when a young man he met General Oglethorpe, the founder of the last English colony on the Atlantic coast of America, at the sale of Dr. Johnson's library.

After Oglethorpe's return to England the Trustees appointed a president, — William Stephens, who had been the colonial secretary, — with a council of four for the government of Georgia. The population at this time numbered only about fifteen hundred persons, and these were, for the most part, poor and not prospering. If their energy and industry had not been misdirected in the attempt to make silk and wine the staple products of the country, they were at least disappointed and depressed at the failure of the experiment. No great degree of prosperity, moreover, was possible so long as the settlers were harassed with a constant dread of their Spanish and Indian neighbors, and were so frequently engaged in active warfare. The tenure of land, though the laws of the Trustees were modified from time to time, continued unwise and burdensome; and the discontent was almost universal at the prohibition of the use of slave labor, which was so obviously a source of wealth in the neighboring province. There was little agriculture, almost no commerce, an impoverished people, and a feeble government. The brilliant promises of the early days, if they were still promulgated, were no longer believed in, and few new emigrants sought homes in a colony where, though prosperity was possible, it was certain that a struggle with many difficulties awaited them.

Condition of the colony.

In 1752, the Trustees, convinced at length, by an experience of twenty years, of their inability to govern profitably for themselves or wisely for the colonists, voluntarily surrendered the charter to the Crown. An incident had occurred, however, five years before, at Savannah, which came near making this surrender a barren concession. A new claimant appeared to a portion, if not the whole, of the territory of Georgia, and had the title been established the province would, probably, have passed out of the control of the Trustees.

Surrender of the charter.

That Mary Musgrove, the half-breed Indian whom Oglethorpe had made his interpreter on his first arrival, had, after losing successively two English husbands, — John Musgrove, Jr., and Jacob Mathews, — married the Rev. Thomas Bosomworth, a clergyman of the Church of England, at one time a missionary of the Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge, and a chaplain to Oglethorpe. He relinquished these clerical duties for the more

An Indian insurrection.

profitable calling of the propagation of cattle, and ran in debt for large herds in South Carolina. The islands of Ossabaw, St. Catherine's, and Sapelo, and some portion of the mainland, had been reserved to the Creeks by treaty. Bosomworth induced the Indians to cede these lands to him for the accommodation of his herds. But the enterprise was a failure, and it is conjectured that he then resorted to a desperate measure to relieve himself from debt. It is quite as likely, however, that the acquisition of so much influence over the Indians as to induce them to part, for a trifling consideration in merchandise, with three islands, extending nearly half the length of the coast of Georgia, suggested the more ambitious scheme to be accomplished by their help.

Mary Musgrove, Mary Mathews, Mary Bosomworth, — as she was known by the surnames of her successive husbands, — was a woman of mark, as an interpreter and a trader, and had acquired, in both callings, great power over the Indians. She had as well, it seems, the respect and confidence of Oglethorpe, who, on leaving Georgia, presented her with a diamond ring. Apparently she was quite content for years to act as the common friend of both races, being allied to both by blood, — serving one by selling it peltries, the other by selling it rum.

But as the wife of Bosomworth, and probably at Bosomworth's instigation, she aspired at length to higher things. She was, or pretended to be, descended from a royal race of Creeks, and, calling the chiefs of that nation together, she persuaded them to acknowledge her as their queen. She asserted her sovereign right to all the territory of the Upper and Lower Creeks; she disavowed all allegiance to the King of England, whose equal she assumed to be; and she sent a messenger to Savannah demanding from President Stephens a recognition of her claims, and threatening, in case of refusal, the extirpation of the colony. Queen Mary.

If all this had, at first, a ludicrous aspect, it became serious enough when Mary approached the town at the head of a large body of Indians. The whole militia of the province — which numbered, however, only a hundred and seventy men — had been hastily called together. A company of horse was sent out to meet the invaders, who were so far overawed by the determination of the English that they agreed to lay down their arms before entering Savannah. But the approach of this Indian host, though unarmed, was quite enough to excite the utmost apprehension among the people. At the head of this formidable procession marched Bosomworth, in his canonical robes, and Mary the queen. These royal persons were followed by the principal chiefs of the Creek nation; and behind them came the tumultuous, hideous, howling, raging mob of naked savages.

The courage and sagacity of President Stephens and his council were sufficient for the emergency. No signs of fear were seen in Captain Jones and the provincial militia as, drawn up in the public square, they received the warriors, who so many times outnumbered them, with an artillery salute of fifteen guns. It is questionable, however, whether a general massacre could have been long averted had not the savages been induced to lay down their arms at the outset. In the course of the negotiations, which continued for several days, there were moments of exasperation and fury, when Bosomworth, enraged at imprisonment, and Mary, wild with drink, could easily have led their followers, had they been armed, to carry out the threat of extermination. But the leaders were separated, as much as possible, at first by persuasion and then by force, from the chiefs, and these at length were brought to a calmer and more rational state of mind. A judicious use of presents is never without influence upon the contemplative Indian, and Stephens brought it to bear with great skill upon the Creek chieftains. Then he reminded them — of what they must have known even better than he — that there was no strain of royal blood in the veins of Mary, but that this daughter of some common squaw by some obscure white man was, when "in a poor, ragged condition, neglected and despised by the Creeks," raised into consideration by Oglethorpe, as an interpreter. Bosomworth stormed and threatened when he saw his followers fall away from him; Mary, in a drunken rage, stamped upon the ground which, she swore by her Maker, was all hers; she cursed Oglethorpe and his treaties, and devoted to speedy death all these white intruders. More than once there was imminent danger that the Indians, inflamed by these appeals, would put the threats in execution; but the chiefs, at last convinced that the claims of this half-breed impostor to be their queen were preposterous, and that her husband was a liar and a cheat, consented to disperse.

The insurrection suppressed.

The province remained in the hands of the English without further molestation from the Bosomworths, who, however, seem to have been, in later years, persons of some consideration, notwithstanding their attempt to set up a throne for themselves within the dominions of the King. It is quite possible that they still retained so much influence over the Creeks as to be too formidable for punishment, while the colony remained too feeble to risk a struggle.

The growth of the colony was slow even for ten years after it became a royal province. When, in 1754, a convention of delegates from the several colonies assembled at Albany and resolved to form a union, Georgia was not represented; and in the apportionment of representation in the proposed Congress under that plan, no members

were assigned to that province. It was only, probably, because the colony was too insignificant for recognition. It was not till at the Peace of Paris, in 1762, when Florida was ceded to England, and Georgia relieved from the presence of a dangerous neighbor, that it gave much promise of prosperity.

Seal of the Georgia Trustees.

CHAPTER VII.

PENNSYLVANIA.

Penn's Return to America. — Aspect of Philadelphia at that Time. — Birth of his Son John. — Penn's Seat at Pennsbury Manor. — Relations to the Indians and his Neighbors. — Return to England. — Friends and Slavery. — The Earliest Abolitionists. — New Charter granted. — John Evans appointed Deputy-governor. — Penn's Troubles with the Fords, and his Arrest and Imprisonment. — Negotiations for Sale of the Province to the Crown. — Troubles in Pennsylvania. — Opposition Party under David Lloyd. — Resistance to Taxation. — Complaints against James Logan. — Conduct of William Penn, Jr. — Death of the Proprietor. — Governor Gookin on Military Requisitions and Oaths. — Sir William Keith's Administration. — Visits of the Younger Penns. — Benjamin Franklin.

Penn's return to America.

When William Penn returned to his colony in December, 1699, it was after an absence of fifteen years. The Meetings of Friends in England parted from him with the warmest assurances of their respect and affection, and on his arrival in the colony he was received with enthusiasm. It was not thought too trifling an incident by a Friend[1] to record in his journal that some young men — belonging, no doubt, to the world's people — determined to salute the arrival of the Governor at Chester by the firing of cannon. So unseemly a demonstration was forbidden by the magistrates; the salute, nevertheless, was made with two small field-pieces, but done so clumsily that the premature discharge of one of the guns so mutilated the young man who was loading it that he afterward died. It is an evidence of the paternal relations which Penn maintained with his people, that in the Proprietary Cash Book of that period are several entries of sums paid "for B. Bevan, of Chester, who lost his arm," closing with one of "April 20th, for his funeral charges."

The colony was not yet nineteen years old. Penn was thinking of it as he last saw it, when, before embarking in England, he said he was about to return to "the American Desart." But he found a province of more than twenty thousand inhabitants, "a noble and beau-

[1] Thomas Story's *Journal*.

tiful city" of "above two thousand houses, and Most of them stately and of Brick, generally three stories high, after the Mode in London." There were "curious wharfs," as "Chestnut Street Wharf, High Street Wharf, Mulberry Street Wharf, Vine Street Wharf," and from one of these the goods were carted into the city "under an Arch over which part of the street is built." There were many lanes and alleys leading from Front Street to Second Street; and some of the principal streets were named Walnut, Vine, Mulberry, Chestnut, Sassafras, "taking their names from the abundance of those Trees that formerly grew there." [1] Those familiar with Philadelphia will observe how accurately names and localities have been preserved for nearly two centuries. Penn took for his town residence the "Slate Roof House," as it was called, in Second Street, at the southeast corner of Norris's Alley. In this house was born John, the oldest son of his second wife, Hannah Callowhill, — the only one of his children born in this country, and called therefore, by way of distinction, "The American." But his principal residence, to which he removed in the spring, was his country-seat, Pennsbury Manor, four miles above Bristol, on the Delaware River.

Aspect of Philadelphia.

The "Slate Roof House,"
as it appeared just before its demolition in 1868.

Birth of John Penn.

Eighteen years before, during his first visit, a mansion had been built at this place, spacious and well appointed, and worthy of its surrounding domain of about six thousand acres. Here he lived in a style to which, as an English country gentleman, he was accustomed, and here he exercised the large hospitality and influence becoming a provincial proprietor and governor. From the gen-

Pennsbury Manor.

[1] *An Historical and Geographical Account of the Province and Country of Pennsylvania, etc.* By Gabriel Thomas.

tle eminence on which the house stood, an avenue of poplars led from the broad porch down a terraced bank to the river; the grounds were laid out in lawns and gardens; here and there were planted trees from other parts of the country, not indigenous to Pennsylvania; there were nurseries of carefully selected fruit and forest trees, and shrubs imported from England to enrich the native flora; and the most beautiful of the native flowers were gathered together in beds. Only a few acres of the surrounding land were cultivated, and the old woods were preserved, except where it was necessary to cut a road, or where some added charm could be given to the landscape by opening a vista to a stretch of the river, or to a distant view. In the river, at the foot of the poplar avenue, swung with the current the barge of the Governor. Near the house were buildings for all the convenient offices of such a residence, — a detached kitchen and larder; a wash-house; a brewery, that there should be no want of the national English beverage, of more universal use at that period, at all meals, than tea and coffee are now; stables for imported blooded horses, and English carriages. In the spacious rooms of the mansion, where Hannah Penn — described as "a delicate, pretty woman, sitting beside the cradle of her infant"[1] — bore gentle sway, were signs of luxurious living not then quite common in the colonies, in satin-covered and plush-covered cushions, in damask and camblet curtains, in silk blankets, in plate and Tunbridge ware, and blue and white china, and in damask table-cloths and napkins, in high-backed chairs and spider-legged tables of solid oak.[2] Everywhere, without and within, were the evidences of cultivated tastes, and, combined with them, the purpose was apparent of so using wealth that it should conduce to the enjoyment and the good of others. For, there was no ostentation and no assumption of superiority. In the great hall of the house were always standing long tables, at which a hearty welcome awaited all comers, whites or Indians, whether of high or low degree. There is a tradition of one entertainment given to the Indians, when they were so numerous that it was necessary to lay the tables out-of-doors, in the great poplar avenue, and one hundred roasted turkeys were provided as a part only of the ample bill of fare.[3] When among the Indians, in their own villages, Penn ate of their simple food with as much heartiness as he entertained them at his own more elaborate feasts. Nor did he disdain, on such occasions, to join in their sports, to try a fall with their athletes in a wrestling match, or to put his agility against theirs in a contest in running or jumping. No English-

His hospitality.

[1] Logan MSS. cited in Janney's *Life of Penn.*
[2] *Private Life of William Penn.* By J. F. Fisher. *Memoirs Hist. Soc. of Pa.*
[3] Fisher's *Private Life.*

man ever so gained their good-will, affection, and respect, and there was no more affectation or condescension in the familiarity with which he associated with them, than there was want of sincerity in the uniform policy of absolute justice which he made the rule of all his dealings with the natives. A perfectly sincere simplicity in all his social intercourse was a marked trait of Penn's character. He was, apparently, incapable of comprehending that mere worldly position made any difference between him and his fellow-men. So well was this understood among those who saw his

His relations with the Indians.

Penn and Rebecca Wood.

daily life, that only a stranger would remark upon it, as a thing worthy of notice, that Penn rode up to the Darby Meeting with a young girl, — Rebecca Wood, — whom he had picked up on the way, sitting behind him on the bare back of the horse, her naked legs and feet dangling down by the well-clothed limbs of the Governor. Yet he was by no means indifferent to personal appearance and presence; the ladies at Pennsbury Manor wore silk gowns and jewelry; its master was careful of the texture of his garments,

Personal habits.

and, if his coat was plain, it probably fitted nicely to his shapely figure; he did not think it essential to the purity of the inner man that the outer man should be clothed in the leather breeches of George Fox; in one year, while in America, he bought four wigs, at a cost of twenty pounds.

Return to England.

Pennsbury Manor he, no doubt, sincerely hoped would be his permanent home for the rest of his days, and that there he could devote himself to the government of his province, and the development of its resources. Within two years, however, he was

Pennsbury Manor.

recalled to England, where his presence was absolutely necessary to defend his proprietary rights against a proposition introduced by bill in the House of Lords, to bring all the provinces under the direct government of the Crown. "My heart is among you," he said, in a speech to the Assembly, "as well as my body, whatever some people may please to think: and no unkindness or disappointment shall (with submission to God's providence) ever be able to alter my love to the country, and resolution to return and settle my family and posterity in it." But now, he thought, he could best serve the colony and himself on the other side of the ocean. It was, however, a final leave-taking. He never again saw his beloved Pennsylvania; anxiety, perplexity, and pecuniary embarrassments vexed the remainder of his days, and of the last twenty years of his life he doubtless looked back to the two years passed at Pennsbury Manor, as the only happy ones.

Nor did he ever cease, so long as disease left him the power of volition, to long for a return to that tranquil residence on the banks of the Delaware, and to hope that he might escape to it from the cares and vexations which beset his declining years.

He left the colony late in October, 1701, and, though his visit had not been long, he had reason to reflect with satisfaction, upon the good that had resulted from it. Many laws were passed at his suggestion, which were directly conducive to the welfare of the people, and where his influence was less direct, it was not less permanent. A minute of the Philadelphia Monthly Meeting in 1700, says: "Our dear friend and Governor laid before the meeting a concern that hath laid upon his mind for some time, concerning the negroes and Indians." He had, in the spring of that year, attempted to procure the passage of a law, — which the Assembly rejected, — for regulating the marriage of negroes; for his theory seems to have been, that a care for the moral well-being of the slave was the imperative duty of the master — a theory which was the high-road to doubting whether the relation of master and slave was not itself immoral. That it was absolutely unchristian, inhuman, and impossible of existence in a high state of civilization, had no more occurred to Penn, as a self-evident proposition, than to anybody else a hundred and eighty years ago. He was himself an owner of slaves; the very possibility of such a relation, however, seems to have impelled him, instinctively and irresistibly, to be rid of it. In a will, written just before he sailed for England, he gives freedom to his blacks, but from the phraseology in which the bequest is conveyed, it is apparent that it was meant, not to confer a new benefit, but to guard one already bestowed. The benefit of the doubt, in his mind, — if he had only come to the point of doubt, — as to the morality of slave-holding, he gave to his slaves.[1]

Penn a slaveholder.

Twelve years before this date, the German Friends about Germantown had sent to the Monthly Meeting a strong though quaint remonstrance against "the traffic of men-body." "We hear," they said, "that the most part of such negroes, are brought hither against their will and consent, and that many of them are stolen. Now, though they are black, we cannot conceive there is more liberty to have them slaves, as [than] it is to have other white ones. . . . . But to bring men hither, or to rob and sell them against their will, we stand against. . . . . Pray, what thing in the world can be done worse toward us, than if men should rob or steal us away, and sell us for slaves to strange countries; separating husbands from their wives and children. Being now this is not done in the manner we

Friends and Slavery.

[1] See Janney's *Life of Penn.*

would be done at, therefore, we contradict, and are against this traffic of men-body." The memorial was referred to the Quarterly Meeting, and by that to the Yearly Meeting of Philadelphia. This body declined to give a positive judgment upon the question of the "unlawfulness and lawfulness of buying and keeping negroes."

Discussion, however, was not silenced. Eight years afterward — 1696 — in response to the remonstrances of subordinate meetings, the Yearly Meeting advised, "that Friends be careful not to encourage the bringing in of any more negroes; and that such as have negroes be careful of them, bring them to meeting, and have meetings with them in families, and restrain them from loose and lewd living, as much as in them lies, and from rambling abroad on first days [Sundays]." So also about the same time the schismatics who followed George Keith, charged Friends that "they should set their negroes at liberty, after some reasonable time of service."[1]

Growth of opposition to slavery.

The minds and the consciences of Friends had been thus prepared for a further consideration of the condition of the Africans, when the subject was again brought before the Yearly Meeting and the Assembly by Penn. It may have been partly because there was no precedent for such legislation as he proposed, that the Assembly declined to accede to his wishes. The good seed, nevertheless, did not perish, though it was of slow growth. It was observed by Clarkson, that when, in later years, the preponderating influence in the Assembly was on the side of the Proprietary and the Friends, legislation leaned to mercy.[2] But so long as Pennsylvania remained an English colony, every attempt to interdict the importation of African slaves was promptly suppressed by the English government.

The convictions of Friends, however, and their action in Yearly Meetings, were beyond the reach even of the Crown. For the next half century these bodies "bore their testimony;" first, upon the responsibility of those Friends who were slaveholders, for the moral condition of their slaves; then, against any increase of their number by importation or purchase; and finally, in 1755, a rule of discipline was adopted for the disownment of all members of the Society who persisted in the practice of buying negroes. Three years afterward, Friends were advised to manumit their slaves; in 1776 this advice was enforced by discipline, and Friends were no longer permitted to retain their membership if they continued slaveholders.

To this final and conclusive step, the Society was gradually led by

[1] *The Friend*, vol. xvii. Bettle's *Notices of Negro Slavery*. *Mem. Hist. Soc. of Pa.*, vol. v. Janney's *Life of Penn*. Moore's *Notes on the History of Slavery in Massachusetts* — the fullest and most thorough history of the progress of the anti-slavery sentiment in this country in the eighteenth century, that has ever been written.

[2] *History of the Slave Trade*.

the persistent and earnest preaching and writing, through many years, of Burling, Sandiford, Lay, Woolman, Benezet, and other earnest persons, though the forerunner of them all was William Southeby, a Roman Catholic, of Maryland, who wrote against slavery before 1700, and in a petition to the Assembly, in 1712, prayed for the abolition of slavery in Pennsylvania. It may be that others preceded or followed Friends in that humane work, but, as a religious society, they were the earliest Abolitionists. It was impossible, moreover, that the agitation among them, which continued for three quarters of a century, till a Quaker could no longer be a slaveholder, should not influence the character of the people at large, and the legislation of the province. As the feeling against slavery grew stronger year by year in the Yearly Meeting, so from time to time hostility to the slave trade showed itself in the Assembly; and at length in 1780, Pennsylvania, first of all the States, passed an act for the gradual emancipation of all the slaves within its jurisdiction.

Early Abolitionists.

Abolition of slavery in Pennsylvania.

But if generations of the unfortunate Africans were to perish before the benevolent purposes of Penn bore perfect fruit, his policy in regard to the Indians was firmly established before he left for England. A new treaty was made in April, 1701, with the assembled chiefs of all the leading Indian tribes within his territory, securing to them and all their subjects the protection and the privileges of the colonial laws, without restriction. "That the said Indians," it promised, "shall have the full and free privileges and immunities of all the said laws, as any other inhabitant; they duly owning and acknowledging the authority of the Crown of England and government of this province." And "that if any of the said Indians, by means of evil-minded persons and sowers of sedition, should hear any unkind or disadvantageous reports of the English, ... such Indians shall send notice thereof to the said William Penn, his heirs or successors, or their lieutenants, and shall not give credence to the said reports till by that means they shall be fully satisfied concerning the truth thereof; and that the said William Penn, his heirs and successors, or their lieutenants . . . . do the like by them." The immediate cause of this treaty was a question as to the title of lands on the Susquehanna which Penn had purchased of the Five Nations, through Governor Dongan, of New York. The Susquehanna and the Conestoga Indians denied the right of the Five Nations to sell these lands; but by this treaty Penn's title was confirmed, and a bond of friendship established between these tribes and the Pennsylvanians, which remained unbroken for more than half a century.

Renewed treaty with the Indians.

A new charter.

Before his departure, the Governor gave to the colony a new charter, under which it continued to be governed till it ceased to be a proprietary province. It gave to an annual Assembly, consisting of four persons out of each county, power to propose bills, a privilege hitherto belonging to the Governor, to judge of the qualifications and elections of their own members, and to "sit upon their own adjournments," with "all other powers and privileges of an Assembly, according to the rights of the free-born subjects of England, and as is usual in any of the King's plantations in America." With great reluctance, Penn affixed to this new constitution his consent that the province and the territories — the lower counties, now the State of Delaware — should have separate legislatures, in case they should not afterward "agree to join together;" but he made one last effort, just before his going, to reconcile the two, and sent to the representatives of both an appeal which was as strong as it was brief.

The Delaware counties.

Andrew Hamilton.

"Friends," he wrote, "your union is what I desire; but your peace and accommodating one another is what I must expect from you: The reputation of it is something; the reality, much more. And I desire you to remember and observe what I say: Yield in *circumstantials* to preserve *essentials;* and being safe in one another, you will always be so in esteem with me. Make me not sad, now I am going to leave you; since it is for you, as well as for your Friend and Proprietary and Governor, William Penn."

Special charter to Philadelphia.

One more act remained before his leaving — the grant of a special municipal charter to the town of Philadelphia. This done, and Andrew Hamilton appointed deputy, with Penn's warm friend, James Logan, who had come with him from England, as secretary, the founder of Pennsylvania sailed down the Delaware as the first year of the new century drew to a close, and looked his last upon the field of his "Holy Experiment."

It was December when he reached home. In February the King died, and with the reign of Anne, the daughter of the man who had

never been false to Penn, whatever treachery he showed to others, the Quaker came again into court favor. The proceedings against his charter were soon put aside; and had political opposition at home been all he had to fight against, he would have gone back to America completely victorious and prosperous.

But he had still worse things to face. New tidings reached him continually of the dissensions which had been renewed in Pennsylvania as soon as he had left it. The old dispute between the legislatures broke out still more violently; and, besides this, he was overwhelmed with complaints from the people of petty grievances. The new municipal government of Philadelphia did not work well; there was great opposition to the payment of the quit-rents now falling due; Deputy-governor Hamilton died at the end of 1702, and was succeeded the next year by John Evans, whose earlier administration proved eminently unsatisfactory; in brief, for several years Penn heard little else than bad news from the province, or from Philadelphia, or from personal friends; while his private affairs prevented his returning to restore the prosperity his presence might have brought about.

Complaints from Pennsylvania.

John Evans, Governor.

For, from a long accumulation of causes, his private property was found to be embarrassed almost beyond remedy. The steward, Philip Ford, to whom he had intrusted his affairs in England, had died just after Penn's arrival at home, and out of the confusion in which the property was left, it soon became clear that Penn had been defrauded of large sums. But the worst feature of the matter only appeared when Ford's widow — apparently a woman with as few scruples as her husband — brought forward a lien on the American province, which Penn had given her husband as security for money advanced at the time of the second voyage to America. This indebtedness Penn had paid off by installments, but these Ford had carefully refrained from crediting in the accounts, while the apparent indebtedness had been increased to £12,000, by computations of compound interest every six months, at six and eight per cent. The accounts, which Penn had carelessly received without examination, would not — wrote Thomas Callowhill, a merchant of Bristol, and Penn's father-in-law — "had they been corrected in time, have amounted to a tenth part of what they now are." But evidence of Penn's payments was wanting, and when the widow and the son of Ford brought an action against the proprietor, judgment was given in their favor. Penn was arrested, and lodged in the Fleet Prison, where he remained for nine months. The object of the Fords was to get possession of the province, but despairing of that after several hearings before the Lord Chancellor, they consented

Penn's troubles with the Fords.

Penn in Fleet Prison.

to a compromise. To meet the payment of the sum agreed upon — which was nearly eight thousand pounds — Penn mortgaged the province to several of his friends, and entered into negotiations for its sale to the Crown. These dragged on for several years, and were about to be concluded, when an attack of paralysis, from which he never recovered, though he lived several years longer, rendered him incapable of business, and the negotiations came to an end.

Proposes to sell his province.

The disappointments and anxieties of this period, which covered the last vigorous years of Penn's life, were aggravated by the unsatisfactory condition of affairs in the colony. Evans's administration was unwise and oppressive. He refused to pass a reasonable judiciary bill, presented by the Assembly; he undertook to enroll a militia force, and foolishly aroused the people of Philadelphia by a false alarm of the approach of a French fleet, keeping the town under arms for two nights, and pretending that the consternation of the inhabitants was the best proof of the necessity for military preparations; he imposed burdens upon commerce, by compelling all vessels to report at New Castle, and those inward bound to pay an impost duty; he granted a commission for privateering; and finally he brought reproach upon the colony by the scandals of his private life. A vigorous opposition party was aroused against him, of which David Lloyd, a Quaker lawyer, was the able, but not always scrupulous leader. He united all who were not Friends, and many who were, against the proprietary party under Evans. And it was a Quaker who resisted and effectually put an end to the Lieutenant-governor's attempt to raise a revenue by subjecting vessels coming up the Delaware to a tonnage duty.

Administration of Governor Evans.

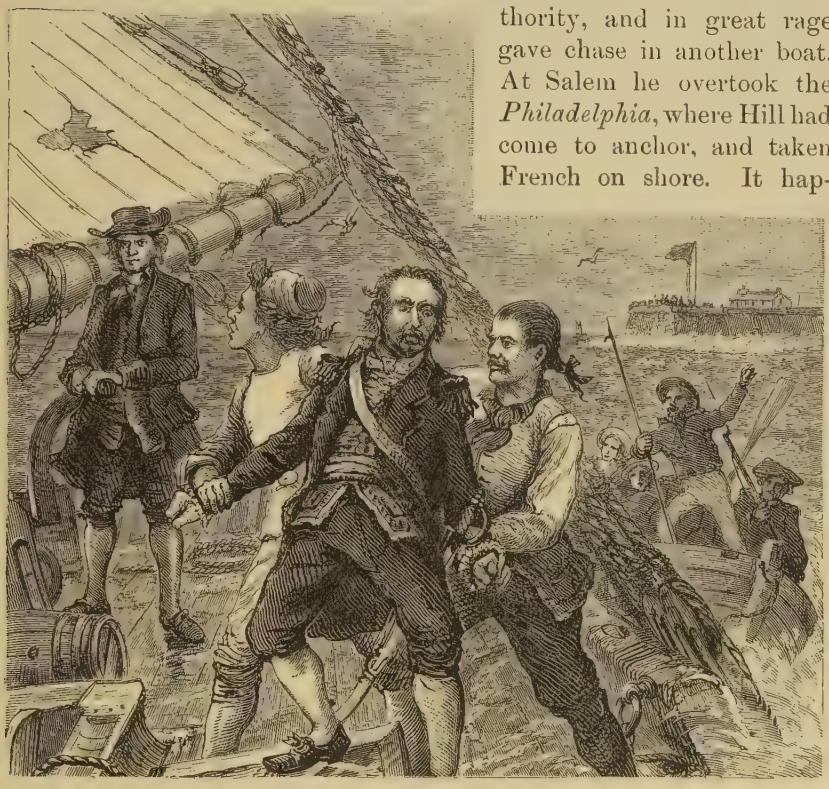
An Opposition party.

Richard Hill, who was one of the Council, determined to test the question, and went down the river in a vessel of his own, bound to Barbadoes. As he approached the fort at New Castle, two of his friends, Isaac Morris and Samuel Preston, who had embarked with him to carry out his purpose — both also Quakers, and merchants of great respectability — went on shore and informed the commander, John French, that Hill's vessel was standing out to sea, and would refuse either to report to him or to submit to the fine for not reporting. French attempted to bring the vessel to by opening fire from his guns, and a shot tore through her mainsail. But Hill himself had taken the helm, and the *Philadelphia* stood steadily on her way. French threw himself into an armed boat and pursued her, and as he came alongside, Hill ordered a rope to be thrown him. As the commander stepped on deck he was secured and taken to the cabin as a prisoner, and his boat was cut adrift.

Contest on the Delaware.

French begged to be released, and appealed to Hill's pity by declaring he was ill. "If that be the case," answered the Quaker, "why didst thou come here?"

From the fort, Evans himself had witnessed this defiance of his authority, and in great rage gave chase in another boat. At Salem he overtook the *Philadelphia*, where Hill had come to anchor, and taken French on shore. It happened that Lord Cornbury of New York was at that place, who, as Governor of New Jersey, claimed to have jurisdiction over the waters of the lower Delaware. The parties appeared before him, and his decision, that the free navigation of the river should not be interrupted, was submitted to, because it could not at the moment be resisted. Logan, the secretary of the province, afterward waited upon him, and he wrote to Penn, "I entered fully into the matter, and protested, in thy name and behalf, against these proceedings, as being not only against thy inclinations, but evasive of thy rights. I found he had resented the matter to our Governor, and will resent it home to the Lords of Trade." But Hill's summary method of resentment had already settled the question. Others followed his example. He, with a large number of the merchants of Philadelphia, waited upon the

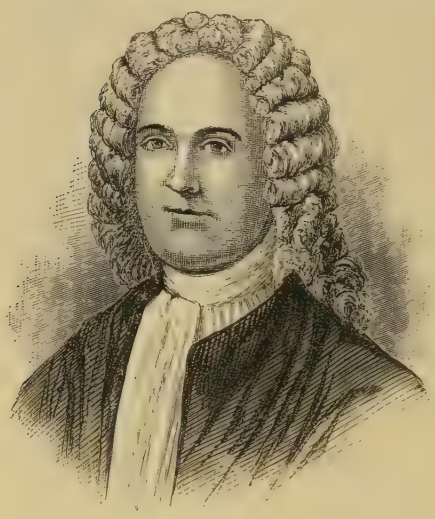


Passing New Castle.

Assembly, and that body unanimously adopted an address to the Governor, in which they declared that the "arbitrary actions and oppressions complained of," were an abuse of the Queen's authority, an open defiance of the royal grant, that they "obstruct our lawful commerce, and invade our liberties, rights, and properties, and under the pretence of fortifying the river for the service of the Queen, commit hostilities and depredations upon her liege people." The Delaware was henceforth free of any exactions from Governor Evans.

Complaints against James Logan.

"These are very cloudy times indeed, and to us a day of severe trial," Logan wrote to Penn. The secretary was a man of great integrity, and too wise to approve in all things of the course and character of Evans. But his official relations to the Lieutenant-governor, and his efforts to maintain the rights of the Proprietor, made his position one of great difficulty. He was accused of having aided Evans in his senseless scheme of spreading the alarm of the approach of a French fleet, when the inhabitants of Philadelphia were thrown into so great a panic that many abandoned their houses to escape into the country, injuring and destroying their household goods in attempting to conceal them. For this and other wrong-doings of Evans, Logan was made the scape-goat. An indictment was found against him, and though nothing came of it in the end, it was a cause of great vexation both to him and his warm friend, the Proprietor. But though the "cloudy times" pervaded all this period of Penn's life, there were intervals of sunshine. The conduct of the opposition sometimes produced reaction, and the proprietary party would attain again a majority in the Assembly. Thus, David Lloyd overshot the mark when he sent to England — to Penn and other Friends there — a memorial setting forth the real grievances of the colonists with great exaggeration and more bitterness; and this he signed as Speaker of the Assembly, though it had never been submitted to that body. It had been proposed to send an official remonstrance to the Proprietor, and to ask for the redress of certain wrongs; but when it became known that Lloyd had taken advantage of this purpose to address



James Logan.

Lloyd's letter to Penn.

Penn in a tone that the facts did not justify, and with an assumption of authority that did not belong to him, the revulsion of feeling was very great, both in England and in Pennsylvania.[1]

But through all this period, Penn's heaviest trial was, doubtless, a private grief, — a private grief, however, that carried with it much public scandal. This was the conduct of his eldest son, William, whom, two or three years after his return to England, he had sent to America. This youth had given great promise of future worthlessness at home, but his father hoped that new associations and surroundings, and a removal from old temptations, might work a change in him. He changed his skies, but not his morals. The sober influence of Logan and other friends of his father in the colony weighed nothing with young Penn, while, for his name's sake, he received for a while more tender consideration than should have been accorded him in his many offences against society. In the Lieutenant-governor, Evans, he found a boon companion after his own heart, and a useful friend in bringing him safely through many an awkward dilemma. Strange and disgraceful stories were told of his conduct — women in men's dress in the streets; midnight orgies; his increasing following and evil influence among the young men of the town — until at last he was engaged in a tavern brawl, and arrested for beating a constable. Evans was his companion on this occasion, and getting the worst in the fight, sought safety by declaring his rank. His assailant had already recognized him, but pretending that he did not believe the assertion, beat him all the more for scandalizing the Governor by suggesting the possibility of his being engaged in such disgraceful proceedings. Evans, however, managed to escape, and attempted afterward to rescue Penn by proposing to exercise his official authority over the court. But the court disregarded this, and brought an indictment against Penn. The young man, in a rage, declared he would have nothing more to do with Quakers or with Pennsylvania; he renounced the Quaker doctrines; he denied the right of the provincial magistrates to try him; and shortly afterward was allowed — probably very willingly by those who loved his father — to sail for home, leaving creditors everywhere behind him, and selling, before his departure, all the property his father had given him in the colony.

Conduct of William Penn, Jr.

[1] Great use is made in the *Historical Review of Pennsylvania* — attributed to Franklin — of this assumed memorial or letter of the Assembly. No intimation is given that Lloyd had put his name as Speaker to a document of his own writing, which the Assembly had never seen, which had, indeed, no existence till after the House was dissolved. Yet it seems hardly possible that the author of the *Review* should not have known that the document, so far as it pretended to have any other authority than that of Lloyd alone, was little better than a forgery.

Penn lived till 1718, but the last six years of his life were passed in a childlike tranquillity, on his estate at Ruscombe, his mind seriously impaired and his physical vigor almost destroyed by the slow progress of disease. By his will he left all his property in England and Ireland to his son, William, in spite of his misconduct; but the proprietorship in the American colony he left to three trustees, "to dispose thereof to the Queen, or any other person, to the best advantage they can;" and to pay over the proceeds to still other trustees, for the benefit — after the payment of all debts and the conveyance of some land to each of William's children — of his children by his second wife. To her he left his personal property, and made her sole executrix. As might have been expected, William entered on a contest of the will; and the whole matter, going into chancery, resulted ultimately in the confirmation to the younger branch not only of the part the will had left to them directly, but of the right of government as well, which had been left to be disposed of to the Crown. The proposal to surrender the province was never seriously revived again; and John, Thomas, and Richard Penn, the heirs, and their mother, the executrix, became proprietors in the political as in the ordinary sense, till the American Revolution dispossessed the survivors.

Penn's death and will.

Ruscombe.

The colony, meanwhile, had grown in prosperity and numbers, — a growth never seriously checked by the political dissensions between Governor and Assembly, which continued, not only so long as Penn lived, but till his sons were old men and Pennsylvania became a State. These dissensions had their root in differences hard to reconcile, — the vital principles of Friends in regard to oaths and the lawfulness of war, and the conflicting interests of Proprietaries and people. The conflict was more or less determined, more or less successful on one side or the other, as the Quaker element was sometimes stronger or weaker in the Assembly, or as the Governor might possess strong powers of persuasion, or command re-

Political dissensions of Pennsylvania.

spect and obedience by weight of intellect or will. Evans possessed none of these qualities, and it was a relief to the colonists when Charles Gookin succeeded him in 1709. His administration was, at least, without scandal, but the differences to which we allude marked it from its beginning to its close.

The Governor was uncompromising in character, uncompliant in temper. In obedience to the Queen, he made, soon after his arrival, a requisition upon the Assembly for the quota of the province in men, to be used against the French, or their equivalent in money. The Assembly, with every assurance of their devotion and loyalty to the Crown, were constrained, in obedience to the religious scruples of the larger portion of the people of the province, to decline contributing directly for the support of war; but they were willing, on their part, to make a present to the Queen. By this, or some similar device, the colony continued to do its part in support of war measures, for many years; but any Governor with a weakness for casuistry could find in the subject, as Gookin did, an opportunity for controversy which could be made to last, if he chose, a man's natural life. "We did not see it," said Isaac Norris, "inconsistent with our principles to give the Queen money, notwithstanding any use she might put it to, *that* not being our part, but hers." There was little of this conciliatory spirit and common-sense view of the subject on the Governor's part; he demanded more than the Assembly thought the province could afford to give, and his demands were always an unpleasant reminder to Friends that he was asking them to violate their principles, and not merely to contribute to the support of government.

Governor Gookin's military requisitions.

Grave of Penn.

He raised subsequently a more serious question, by refusing to accept an affirmation instead of an oath from Quakers. Nowhere in the whole range of history could a moot-court find a question with so many points for the exercise of ingenuity, with so many unanswerable arguments on both sides, and one so abso-

The question of oaths.

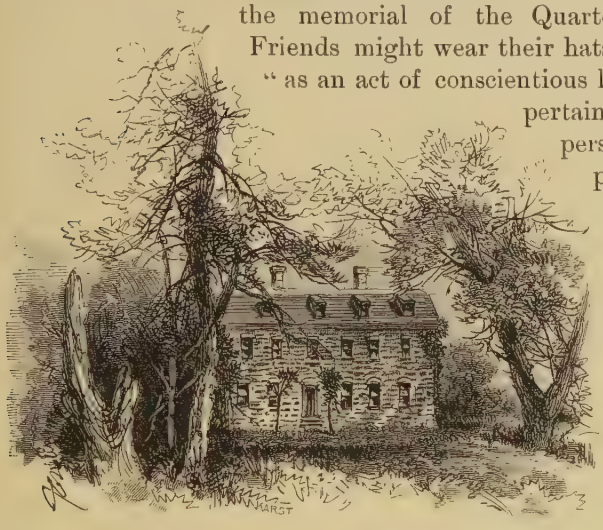
lutely impossible of settlement by any process of reasoning on either one side or the other. The charter granted by Charles II.; acts of Parliament in the seventh and eighth of William III.; orders of the Queen in council under Anne; act of Parliament in the first of George I.; acts of the Colonial Assembly of Pennsylvania; decisions by the Governor and the Chief Justice of New Jersey, — from all these sources were drawn arguments, precedents, confirmations, inconsistencies, and incompatibilities, by a judicious and skilful use of which it could be shown that one side was perfectly impregnable till the other side was shown to be equally so, and that neither, according to the laws, had a leg to stand upon. As a question of controversy, moreover, it had this great charm: practically it was of the smallest consequence, if let alone, but, if meddled with, its capability of mischief could only be measured by the possibility of its interminable discussion. Gookin fortunately retired in 1717, silenced, though not convinced, by the last message on the subject from the Assembly. Sir William Keith, the next Governor, had the good sense not to reopen it; Friends went on quietly as before, affirming instead of swearing, when an oath was required as a qualification for any civil position; and in 1725 the question was once more taken up, but only to be settled forever by a positive act of the Assembly, confirmed by an act of Parliament, permitting affirmation, and releasing Friends from oaths.

Sir William Keith.

Keith, either because his sympathies were really with the Friends, or because he thought it politic to govern his conduct in accordance with the known wishes of a majority of the people, yielded gracefully, rather than contended, on these vexed questions. For, that Friends would yield nothing on a question of conscience, they gave him to understand at the outset of his administration. The Assembly joined with him, at his accession, in an address to the King, which was written in the style used by subjects when speaking to a sovereign. But they were also careful to note upon their minutes, that, though they agreed "as to the matter and substance of the said address," they excepted to "the plural term you;" they would have preferred to say, "thy most dutiful subjects," rather than "your Majesty's;" — "may

it please thee to know," rather than "may it please your Majesty." The Governor clearly had not forgotten this significant evidence of the sturdy persistence of Friends, when, some years afterward, the Quarterly Meeting sent him a remonstrance upon an incident in the Court of Chancery. He had ordered the hat to be lifted from the head of John Kinsey — an eminent Quaker lawyer, and afterward Chief Justice — before he was permitted to address the court. Keith had the good sense to see that ceremony had better yield to conscience, and thereupon ordered, in response to the memorial of the Quarterly Meeting, that Friends might wear their hats where they would, "as an act of conscientious liberty, of right, appertaining to the religious persuasion of said people." The determined and independent spirit shown in these affairs of comparatively small moment, marked the character of the people in the long and almost monotonous struggle of later years between successive Governors and Assemblies. The time came when the province had little other history than the constant demand of chief magistrates for means to aid in the general defence of the colonies in the French and Indian wars, and the firm purpose of the Assemblies to contribute to that end in their own way, and to compel the Proprietaries to bear their share of the burden.

Adherence of Friends to their own principles.



Keith's Mansion House. Græme Park, near Philadelphia.

That struggle began during Keith's administration, in a proposition from him to raise money by the issue of a paper currency, in 1723. The project was discussed with great thoroughness, and its possible consequences wisely foreseen. It was difficult in the then condition of the colonies to avoid a resort to this measure, and still more difficult, when the first step was taken, to avoid the inevitable evil consequences. The Assembly of Pennsylvania was cautious. "It was provided," says a report made to the Crown fifteen years later, and after several other issues had been made on the same plan, "that a real estate, in fee simple, of double the

Paper money.

value of the sum lent out, should be secured in an office created for that purpose; and that the sums so let out should be annually repaid into the office, in such equal sums or quotas as would effectually sink the whole capital sum of forty-five thousand pounds within the time limited by the aforesaid acts." In 1739, when this report was made, the amount of these bills that had been issued was altogether about £87,000, of which some £80,000 were outstanding in the province; yet so favorably did they stand in comparison with some other colonial paper money, that the £80,000 of provincial currency had a value of £50,196 in sterling money. This comparative value, however, steadily decreased in later years with the additional issues of paper currency.

Keith's removal.

Keith was removed from the office of Governor in 1725, but he remained a citizen of the province, and was chosen a representative to the Assembly. If he had lost the confidence of the Proprietors, the people seem to have believed that his administration of the affairs of the colony was for its good.

Prosperity of Pennsylvania.

It was a period of great prosperity, so great that it does not seem to have been retarded by an act passed in the fifth year of Patrick Gordon's administration, which succeeded Keith's. By this act it was attempted to impose restrictions upon immigration,[1] by taxing every immigrant five shillings on his settlement in the province. It was ostensibly designed "to prevent poor and impotent persons from being imported," but is said to have been dictated by alarm at the large numbers that arrived from Ireland and from Germany, and seriously threatened the supremacy of the Friends in the colony which they regarded as especially their own. That the prosperity of Pennsylvania was great enough to bear without injury this check to population, appears from a statistical account published this year (1731). "That Pennsylvania," the writer says,[2] "which has not any peculiar staple (like Carolina, Virginia, and Maryland), and was begun to be planted so late as 1680, should at present have more white inhabitants in it than all Virginia, Maryland, and both the Carolinas, is extremely remarkable. And although the youngest colony on the continent, they have by far the finest capital city of all British America; and the second in magnitude;" and adds, after a long enumeration of the colony's products and profitable industries: "The Pennsylvanians build about 2,000 tons of shipping a year for sale, over and above what they employ in their own trade, which may be about 6,000 tons more. They send great quantities of corn to Portugal and Spain, frequently selling their ships as well as cargo; and the produce of both is sent thence to England, where it is always

[1] Grahame, vol. iii., pp. 134 and 135.

[2] Cited by Proud, vol. ii., p. 203.

laid out in goods and sent home to Pennsylvania. . . . . They receive no less than 4,000 to 6,000 pistoles from the Dutch isle of Curaçoa alone, ... and they trade to Surinam, ... and to the French part of Hispaniola as also to the other French sugar islands. . . . . From Jamaica they sometimes return with all money and no goods. . . . . And all the money they can get . . . . is brought to England, ... which has not for many years past been less than £150,000 per annum." The Pennsylvania trade with the other colonies this writer estimates at £60,000 a year.

In 1732, Thomas Penn, the founder's second son by his second marriage, arrived in Philadelphia; but, though the people received him cordially, and he lived for years among them, he was never popular, and had but little personal influence. The case was very different with his elder brother John — the senior Proprietor — who came in 1734. His personal magnetism, cordial interest in the province, and exceptional ability, recalled his father; but a renewed attempt by the Baltimores to revive the old claim to Delaware, called him again to England, as William Penn had once been called, after a year's residence, and he did not return. In the year after his departure (1736), Governor Gordon died; and after an interval, during which the venerable Logan acted as chief magistrate, George Thomas followed in the governorship in 1738, — beginning a nine years' administration, which, while it showed his own ability to be inferior to Gordon's, was not more eventful or less quietly prosperous.

Visits of the younger Penns.

Patrick Gordon.

If the general annals of the province yield but little which it is of interest to trace, much happened in the Quaker city — "the finest capital of British America" — during these quiet years, that was as important as though it had come under the head of political events. One of the foremost characters in American history was coming into public notice, and beginning his career in ways as various as his abilities. Benjamin Franklin, — whose first visit to the town had been made when his quarrel with his elder brother at Boston had sent him out, a printer's-boy of seventeen, to seek his fortune, — had returned to Philadelphia in 1726, and made it his

Benjamin Franklin in Pennsylvania.

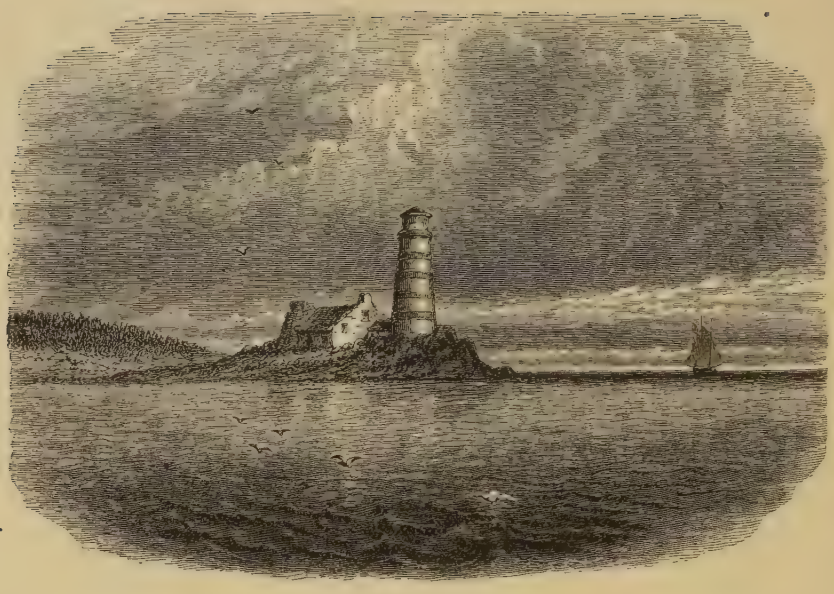
home. The story of his first short stay there is familiar; his arrival on a Sunday morning in 1723, and his traditional walk through the streets eating his breakfast of a roll of bread; his unprosperous engagement with the printer Keimer; his encouragement by Governor Keith, and his voyage to London, only to find there that he had been deceived by the Governor's promises. His second arrival in the Pennsylvania capital was very different. He came with employment assured him; and from this time all that he did prospered. In 1728 he was a partner in establishing the "Pennsylvania Gazette," a newspaper which had a life of a hundred and twenty years. He sprang almost immediately into prominence. His activity was ceaseless; he improved the printing press, and printed paper-money for his own and other provinces; he founded a cheap library; and wrote usefully on all manner of subjects. He published the first edition of the famous "Poor Richard's Almanac" in 1732. The Assembly appointed him its clerk in 1735; and under Thomas's administration he was the provincial postmaster. What Philadelphia owed to his sound sense and public spirit, can hardly be over-estimated. Every part of the city administration profited by his suggestions. He founded the American Philosophical Society in 1744; and two years afterward began the series of experiments in electricity which led him to such great achievement. From his election to the Assembly four years later, his political life belongs to other chapters of the history of the time; and to those greater strug-

Franklin entering Philadelphia.

gles on which his adopted colony was now, like the rest, about to enter.

The history of Pennsylvania begins to merge into the history of that colonial union which the events of the next ten years so thoroughly cemented. James Hamilton, a native of the colony, and the son of Andrew Hamilton, Penn's former deputy, succeeded Thomas in the fall of 1748; and by the close of his administration, the shadow of a coming war had forced the Quaker province, like its neighbors, into active preparations for defence.

Penn's Brewing-jar.



Cape Canso

CHAPTER VIII.

NEW ENGLAND AND THE FRENCH.

The Third Indian War in New England. — New Hampshire a Separate Province. — Governor Benning Wentworth. — Administration of Governor Belcher of Massachusetts. — Financial Condition of the Colony. — Appointment of Governor Shirley. — George Whitefield's First Visit to New England. — The Revival Period. — War again declared between England and France. — The Siege and Capture of Louisburg. — Colonel William Pepperell. — Louisburg restored to France. — An English Press-gang in Boston. — The Town-house Assaulted. — Insurrection skilfully Averted.

The third Indian war in New England.

In the third Indian war, which broke out in 1722, in the Northern provinces, the strife was most deadly and the destruction most complete along the Eastern border, in the disputed territory claimed both by the English and the French and their Indian allies. But it was not confined to that region. Bands of savage warriors crept along the frontiers of Maine and New Hampshire, watching with unwearied vigilance for a chance to fall suddenly upon some sleeping village or defenceless farm-house, disappearing again like the shadows of the night, before the next day's sun arose upon heaps of mangled bodies and the smouldering ashes of desolated

homes. In 1723, Dover, New Hampshire, and its vicinity, suffered from the over-confidence of the inhabitants, who were careless in retiring at night-fall to their garrison-houses. Many narratives of heroic conduct belong to this period. For instance, Aaron Rawlins, at Newmarket, had a daughter twelve years old; her mother saw her own father killed by the Indians in 1704, and the recollection mingled with the blood of this daughter. Late in August, 1723, the house of Rawlins was attacked by a band of eighteen Indians. His wife and two children, going out by chance, were seized, the father and the youngest daughter being left within. He barred the door, and both made such a defence by rapid firing that the people in the garrison-house were afraid to send assistance, concluding by the frequent reports that the Indians were in great force. At length the father was killed, and his daughter's head cut off. The captive son was adopted by the Indians, and never cared to resume the English life; and the captive daughter married a Frenchman.

Fate of the Rawlins family.

In 1724 a few persons were killed, but the vigorous movements of scouting parties prevented great disasters. In Dover, there were several Quakers, who would neither use arms for the defence of their families, nor avail themselves of the shelter of the garrison-houses. The Indians could neither understand nor respect their scruples; a few were killed, and the families taken to Canada. These outrages led to the expeditions of the two provinces of Massachusetts and New Hampshire, against Father Rasle and his Eastern Indians. If it be true, as Belknap says, that a half-breed son of the priest was killed at Oyster River in the summer of 1724, his bitter plotting against the English involved a personal feeling.

Father Sebastian Rasle had lived among the Indians for thirty-seven years, accommodating himself with the usual French facility to their habits of life, building his own wigwam, planting corn, and preparing his meals in their method, adopting their language, and devoting himself to their temporal and spiritual improvement. He was a polished scholar, who had surrendered all the preferments of the Church to occupy this outpost in the wilderness. Age and privation had not blunted a single faculty of his intelligence, and he devoted it, together with a rare diplomatic talent, to the service of Rome and of France. A truly remarkable pioneer, a perfectly unselfish man, as the Jesuits generally were, — a man whose delight was in the commanding influence which he had fairly earned, — his record has been not altogether appreciated by the men whose hate he naturally incurred. In him the Governor of Canada found an agent more potent than his troops.

Father Rasle.

The first act of violence was committed by the Indians upon some

traders at Canso, in August, 1720; their goods were plundered, and several persons were killed. Then the Eastern Indians, who began to muster with fresh threats against the frontier towns of New England, were again met by Governor Shute's agents, and with difficulty dissuaded from their purpose of attempting to recover, as they said, the territory which by natural right belonged to them. Their abandonment of the attempt was a sore disappointment to Father Rasle and Vaudreuil, the Governor of Canada, who had hoped to reanimate the hostility of the Indians. This intrigue was suspected, and a demand was made upon the Indians at Norridgewock to deliver up their favorite priest. Their consent ought not to have been expected; but, on their refusal, Colonel Westbrook was sent with a party of men to arrest the priest, who had notice in time to escape, but his flight was so precipitate that he left behind the compromising correspondence with Vaudreuil. This was in 1722. The plunder of their village and attempt upon the Father so enraged the Norridgewock Indians that they led the other Eastern tribes in fresh attacks upon the frontier, and plunged the provinces into a serious and costly defence.

The first hostilities.

The Indian settlement at Norridgewock had greatly flourished under the supervision of Father Rasle. Every political and theological motive inspired the provinces with jealousy and dread of this success at civilizing their worst enemies, and of the establishment of a frontier post which would be a constant menace. Two attempts had been made to break up this settlement by the capture of its master-spirit. On the 12th of August, 1724, a third attempt succeeded.

The settlement at Norridgewock.

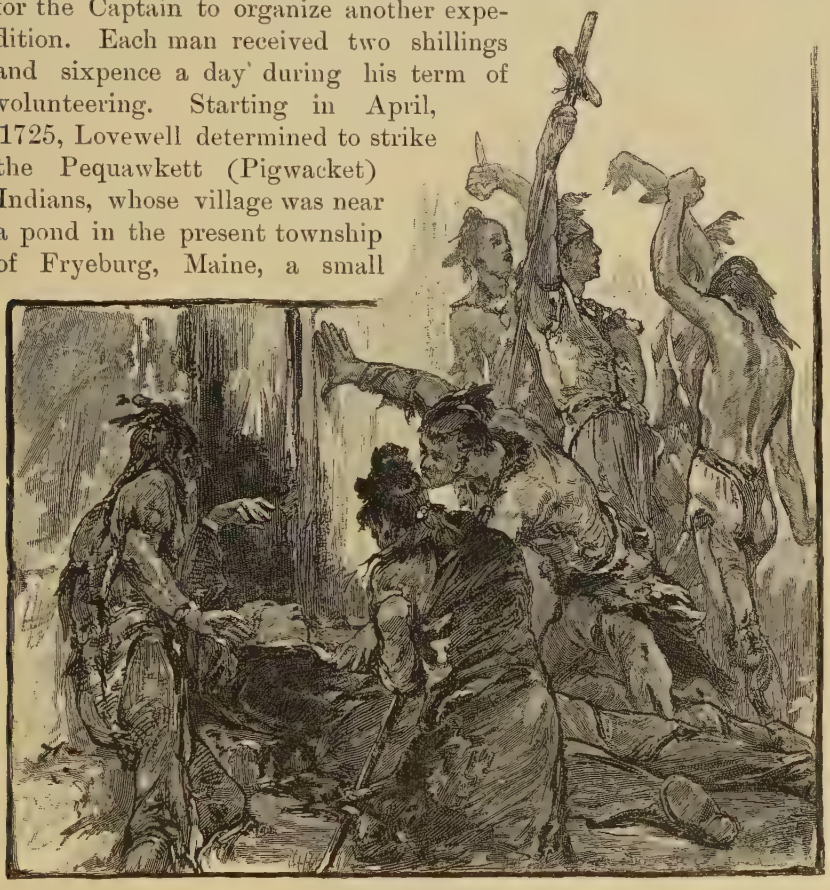
The place was surprised by an expedition of two hundred men, at a time when few Indian fighters were at home. The survivors of the attack fled into the forest with their wives, and Father Rasle was slain in advancing toward the English in order to divert their attention from his flock. The victors pillaged the chapel, and tore down the crucifixes and other symbols of worship which the Indians had learned to reverence. When they returned to their devastated village, the beloved priest was found all hacked with wounds, scalped, and with mud crammed into the persuasive mouth. It is said that strict orders had been issued to capture but not injure the father; but that when a soldier summoned him to surrender, he refused, and was slain. The body of the priest was buried underneath the altar at which he had ministered to his converts, with savage vows of vengeance for a funeral service.

Its capture and pillage.

In the same year, Captain John Lovewell, with a company of volunteers numbering eighty-seven, made a successful expedition against

a party of Indians who were coming from Canada, well equipped with snow-shoes and moccasins for the captives whom they expected to carry back. Stimulated by this success, by the large bounty offered for scalps, and by the liberal pay, it was easy for the Captain to organize another expedition. Each man received two shillings and sixpence a day during his term of volunteering. Starting in April, 1725, Lovewell determined to strike the Pequawkett (Pigwacket) Indians, whose village was near a pond in the present township of Fryeburg, Maine, a small

Lovewell's expedition.



Death of Father Rasle.

sheet of water two and a half miles long and a mile wide. When they reached Ossipee Pond, a stockade was erected, to afford a place of shelter in case of a reverse. Here eight men were left; the rest pushed forward about twenty miles, and came to the pond, where they encamped.

The next morning, May 8, an Indian who was hunting ducks disturbed them by the report of his gun. They left their packs on the ground and pursued him, expecting to come upon a body of the enemy; he was killed, and the men, finding no trace of other savages, returned to their camping-ground. In the mean time a party of Indians, under a noted sachem, Paugus, came upon Lovewell's track,

and, counting the packs, discovered that his own force was superior in numbers. He placed an ambush, and when the men returned for their packs they received a fire which instantly killed Lovewell and eight more, and wounded three. The rest, only twenty-three in number, retreated to a pine grove upon a point which ran into the pond. Here they maintained themselves all day without food, and delivered so deadly a fire that the savages, toward nightfall, retreated, carrying away many of their dead and wounded.

Only nine of the men remained unhurt. They, and the wounded who could walk, began their retreat toward the stockade, leaving on the well-fought field the mortally wounded, one of whom — Lieutenant Robbins — asked that a musket be left with him, hoping to have one more shot before he died. They had struggled to the stockade with incredible suffering, only to find it deserted; for a man who had run away at the first volley had so alarmed the little garrison with his report that they fled. In the march homeward, three wounded men died. The survivors were amply honored and rewarded, for this fight of theirs was the most determined and audacious recorded in the earlier Indian warfare. Paugus was killed, and the tribe had suffered so severely that the remnant deserted the spot, and went to settle on the head-waters of the Connecticut.[1]

Robbins's Last Shot.

[1] There was a legend connected with this fight, long believed but now somewhat discredited, that John Chamberlain and Paugus went down to the water to clean out their guns,

It was high time that the provinces should attempt to restrain this deadly warfare in a time of peace, by proceeding to the headquarters in Canada of the French instigation. Vaudreuil was at Montreal, where he received the provincial commissioners with a deal of blandness and courtesy, and professed to be surprised at their charge of his intrigue through Father Rasle. Whereupon the commissioners quietly produced his correspondence, at the sight of which he was struck with mortification and a sense of guilt at having disturbed the relations established by treaty between France and England. But he was still so much swayed by the influence of the Jesuit priests who were around him, that the commissioners found difficulty in bringing him to any terms. They noticed that, whenever a priest was present at their conferences, the Governor was stubborn; but when they addressed him alone, he was disposed to consider the justice of their complaint. At length he did interfere so far as to procure the release of several captives at a moderate ransom, and to promise to counsel the Indians to cease hostilities. After a while, the Eastern tribes did solicit peace, when they discovered that the provinces were preparing to pursue them still more vigorously. A treaty was made with them at the close of 1725. The English set up trading-posts on the St. George, Kennebec, and Saco, toward which they succeeded in attracting the Indians by underselling the French. The policy was not financially profitable, and the posts had to be sustained by special appropriations, but the period of tranquillity that was thus secured lasted, with few interruptions, till the war between England and France which began in 1755.[1]

English commissioners at Montreal.

A treaty of peace.

which had become fouled by firing. In this process, each gesture which they made was simultaneous, as they taunted each other and threatened death; but the musket of the Englishman had a habit of self-priming, and while Paugus was filling his pan, Chamberlain shot him. True or false, the story is a happy hint of the benefit of that shortening of method attained in the modern revolver. If the story be true, Chamberlain's gun, probably, only had the trick of priming itself — not uncommon, as sportsmen know, with the old-fashioned musket — from an enlargement of the vent in the pan. But it is a curious coincidence that something like the modern revolver had already been invented in Boston. Penhallow [*Indian Wars*], speaking of the reception given there to some chiefs of the Six Nations, a few months before Lovewell's fight, says: "They were entertained with the curious sight of a gun that was made by the ingenious Mr. Pim, of Boston; which, although loaded but once, yet was discharged eleven times following with bullets, in the space of two minutes, each of which went through a double door at fifty yards distance."

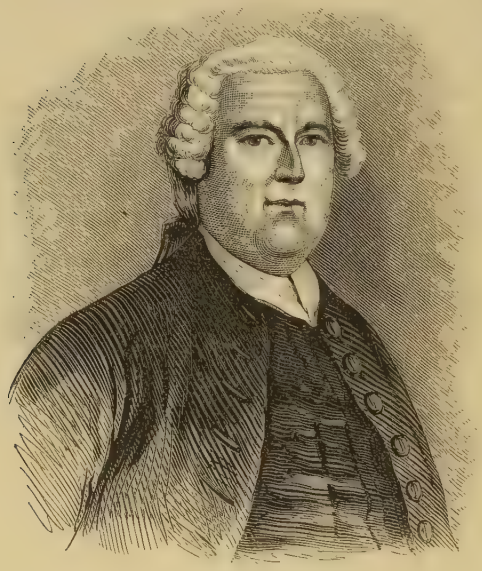
[1] The coast of Maine and its rivers were very sparsely settled by the English, notwithstanding this accommodation with the Indians, for their treachery was held in lively remembrance, and a well-defended trading-post offered the only security. From George's River to the St. Croix, there was not one white habitation till the first permanent settlement was made by Governor Pownall, of Massachusetts, on Penobscot Bay, in 1759. At that time, hardly six hundred of the once dreaded Penobscot Indians remained. Belfast was first settled by Scotch Presbyterians from Londonderry and Antrim, in Ireland, in 1769.

Lieutenant-governor Wentworth.

The counsel of Wentworth, the Lieutenant-governor of New Hampshire, through these years of border warfare, was as sagacious as were his measures for defence. The province prized his executive ability, and gladly voted him grants of money. During his administration, New Hampshire first acquired the royal assent to an act establishing a limited local self-government. He favored the popular movement for triennial Assemblies, for fixing the qualification of an elector at real estate worth £50, and of a representative at a freehold estate worth £300, though he was not bound to be a resident in the town which voted for him. The selectmen and the moderator of the town meeting were to decide if a candidate were properly qualified, but their decision was subject to an appeal to the House of Representatives.

Questions of New Hampshire government.

The controversy between Shute and Vaughan, on the question of absentee governors, had widened till it divided the province into two parties: one proposing that New Hampshire should be absorbed by Massachusetts; the other, that it should have a governor and administration of its own. But the province was still poor. Its export trade was chiefly confined to fish and lumber, and though that in lumber was profitable, it was small and precarious, and trammelled ever by royal regulations. An independent administration could not yet be maintained, but the provincial politics tended decidedly in that direction. It was partly from this motive that New Hampshire steadily pushed its claim to townships over which its neighbor had pretensions. A great deal of acrimony attended this controversy over the boundary-line. New Hampshire sent its agents to England, who well knew how to inflame the jealousy which continually existed between the Crown and Massachusetts. Belcher, who succeeded Burnet in 1730, was especially anxious to preserve harmony between his two provinces, each of which was a desperate claimant for territory. It might have



Governor Benning Wentworth.

Territorial claims.

been foreseen that the Privy Council would favor New Hampshire. In 1740, its final decision took from Massachusetts a tract of territory fourteen miles in width and fifty in length, which was more than New Hampshire had ever asked for. The persistent effort of one province to have this decision modified, and of the other to have it maintained, bore such fruits of ill-feeling, and of embarrassment to the Crown, that it yielded to the party which desired a separate administration, at the same time reaffirming the decision of the Council.

Thus New Hampshire at length took the administration of affairs into her own hands, and attained to the dignity of a Governor of her own. Benning Wentworth, a son of the Lieutenant-governor, was the first incumbent of the office, and in his hands it lost none of the importance attached to a thing so long

Governor Benning Wentworth.

Wentworth's House.

and so earnestly desired. The Governor was fond of display. His splendid coach, surrounded by a troop of guards, became a feature of Portsmouth; and in the panelled rooms of his ample house he affected an almost vice-regal state. There were not wanting, however, those who charged corruption upon his administration, and accused him of appointing his own relatives and friends to office, with little regard to their qualifications.[1]

[1] In his domestic service was a pretty girl, the daughter of one Shortredge, whom he desired to marry after the death of his first wife. When her father objected to the match, the Governor had him press-ganged and sent to sea. When Shortredge returned, he told

Lieutenant-governor Dummer.

When Shute retired in disgust from the perplexities and dissensions which had beset his term of office — leaving Boston for England almost in secrecy — the administration of affairs devolved upon William Dummer, the Lieutenant-governor. Of a more conciliatory temper than some of his predecessors, he had less trouble with the General Court, and the more leisure, therefore, to devote to that Indian warfare upon the Eastern border, the main incidents of which we have just related. Burnet, who relieved him in 1728, was less fortunate. If he indulged in illusions fed by his flattering reception, they were dissipated when he came into collision with the House upon the old variance respecting a permanent salary.

Governor Burnet. His controversy with the General Court.

The House steadily adhered to its policy of voting an annual grant, of a sum strictly calculated upon the Governor's popularity. Burnet refused to accept the first grant which was voted by the House; whereupon that body expressed its regrets and quietly dispersed at the end of the session. Then a formidable meeting of the citizens took place, and Boston approved the act of the Assembly. This so nettled Burnet, that when the next House assembled, whose members manifested an increased aversion to fixed salaries, he did not dissolve it, but resorted to a measure which he thought would bring it less dangerously to terms; he adjourned it to Salem, and then refused to sign a warrant for the payment of its expenses there. This did not improve its temper. The expenses were paid by private subscriptions, and Burnet wrote to England he could do nothing with the representatives. They retorted that Burnet's measures were arbitrary and unconstitutional, and that he was eager to extort money. He was, indeed, deeply in debt when he first left England, and was always scheming how to repair his broken fortunes. When the next House assembled, he recurred to his last unfortunate expedient and adjourned it to Cambridge.

But the disposition of the General Court was not affected by this change of place. The House at length sent two agents to explain its attitude to the King. Frederick Wilkes, a merchant, and Jonathan Belcher, hardware merchant and member of the Council, were selected. But when the House voted a grant to defray the expenses of its agents in London, the Council refused to concur, so that resort was had again to a private subscription. When the agents arrived in London they found, of course, that the Board of Trade supported the Gov-

the odious story of his disappearance, and it was remembered against Wentworth in the dawning of the Revolution. The girl persisted in saying No for the three years of her father's absence, having left the Governor's service. Finally she married him. Mr. Longfellow's charming poem celebrates the circumstances of the wedding. Shortredge was captain of the first company raised at Portsmouth for the Continental army. — Hayes's *MS. Traditions.*

ernor's measures, particularly in that matter of the salary. The House was not discouraged, but stood out obstinately for the policy of annual grants. So this opposition to the Governor went on till he died, September 7, 1729.

Dummer became again the acting Governor till the appointment of Jonathan Belcher, who was a Boston man and personally popular. He arrived in August, 1730, with the old instructions to insist upon the salary, which he did most faithfully. The House, with equal pertinacity, proposed its annual grant. Belcher refused to accept it, and dissolved the House. The next one which assembled proved so refractory that Belcher resorted to bribing the more accessible members, and succeeded by various influences in getting a measure of compromise introduced, to the effect that a bill for an annual grant of £1,000 sterling, or some fixed sum, should pass, with the understanding that it should continue annually, provided that no future House should be bound to the bill as a precedent. The friends of the Governor were not powerful enough to secure the passage of this bill. The King had instructed Belcher to leave the province and return to London in case of the failure of the House to vote the required salary; but he preferred to remain and exercise what influence he could command, till he succumbed at the failure of his last measure, when he addressed the King with a frank statement of the difficulties of his situation, explained the temper of the people, and said the resolution of its representatives would never, in his opinion, be overcome. He asked for a modification of his instructions. The House backed his solicitation with an address, drawn up at his own request, praying the King to permit the Governor to accept such grants of money as might be voted. This the Court prudently yielded. It was an important victory for Massachusetts, involving graver interests than that of payment of money, because it threw the administration of the royal governors more directly upon the appreciation or dislike of the people, and secured a measure of deference. On the other hand, it confirmed a spirit of liberty; distance and the difficulties of intercourse alone postponed the epoch of the Revolution.

Governor Belcher.

Settlement of the salary question.

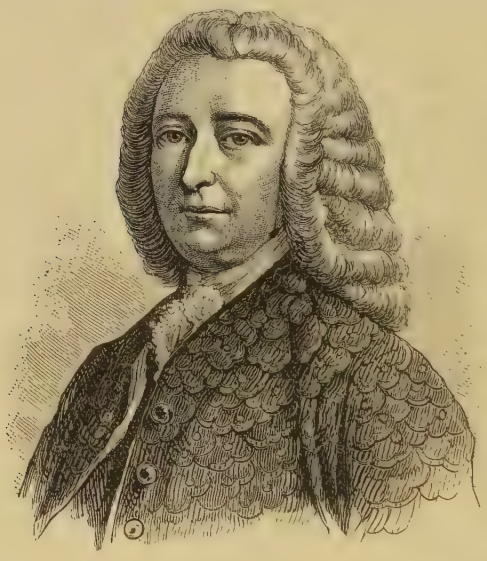
The conciliating action of Governor Belcher in the contest upon the salary procured for him a considerable degree of popularity, until he began to oppose the financial scheming which broke out in 1739. He had received strict instructions to permit no further issue of bills of credit for any term beyond 1741, which was the limit in time for those already in circulation. The Land Bank, which was started in 1739, was a scheme of speculators to evade this prohibition of the Crown. The Governor's hostility to their proj-

Financial schemes in Massachusetts.

ect threw many of them into the arms of his old enemies, who were secretly plotting for his removal. Conscious of the general excellence of his administration, which he had conducted without one sordid motive, and in a spirit of as much impartiality as any man at the time could exercise between an obstinate Crown and an unconciliating province, he took no measures of defence, but relied upon his record. Certain intrigues among the dissenters in England who had been led to believe in his hostility to Congregationalism, in connection with other grievances, procured his recall in 1741. He went to England, and completely reinstated his character, but it was too late to receive the thorough vindication of a return to his government, for another person had been appointed, the Court not being willing to face his provincial unpopularity. But he was made Governor of New Jersey in 1747, where his administration was prosperous.

Belcher recalled Governor Shirley.

He was succeeded in Massachusetts by William Shirley, an English lawyer who had lived eight years in Boston. One of his earliest measures, which at least showed a prudent and adaptive policy, was to neglect the royal instructions forbidding any issue of fresh bills of credit after 1741. This he was constrained to do by the evident reluctance of the General Court to tax the province in order to take up the old bills of credit. Perhaps he was flattered by the action of that body in voting that his annual grant should never fall below a thousand pounds sterling. He was the first of the royal governors who established a fair understanding between himself and the province, helped in this by a spirit of moderation and a just estimate of the old difficulties which might recur.



Governor Shirley.

George Whitefield in New England.

The great religious awakening which began in 1740 with the labors of George Whitefield in New England, continued into Shirley's administration. The most brilliant events of the reign of George II., whether of war or of peace, yield in importance, some wise men think, to that religious revolution in England, begun by the preaching of

the Wesleys and of Whitefield.[1] But except that the preaching of Whitefield laid the foundations of a sectarian Church, to become, in the course of a century, the largest in the United States, this revival was less remarkable and of less moment in this country than in England. It was not compelled to encounter that frank skepticism which, Priestley says, was so prevalent in France that every philosophical person he was introduced to in Paris was an unbeliever in Christianity, or even an atheist, some of whom told him that he "was the only person they had ever met with of whose understanding they had any opinion, who professed to believe in Christianity." This want of religious faith prevailed hardly less in England, at that period, but it was the result of indifferentism rather than of philosophy. John Wesley and his followers appealed to men dissatisfied with negations, weary with the coldness of unbelief, eager to welcome any reaction, even one which would dispel doubt by mere force of bold and fervid assertion. They preached also to hearts numb and almost desperate and dead with suffering, arousing a sense of a divine love and care, and holding out a promise of compensation for the utter wretchedness of this life. But in America there was little absolute infidelity, and there was not then, any more than now, that brutish lower order so wretched from poverty, so degraded by the want of any social consideration, so cut off from all opportunity of intellectual culture, as to be hardly responsible for its ignorance of moral law, and its insensibility to any obligation of religion. In New England Whitefield had only to breathe upon the slumbering fires of Puritanism to fan them into a flame; and in the middle colonies, and, to a certain degree, farther south, he was sure of ready and sympathizing listeners among those whose religious life was a protest against the formalism, the worldliness, and the want of spiritual emotion in the Established Church. Successful as that remarkable religious movement was in England, it was accomplished through enormous exertion, much tribulation, and many perils, which it was not compelled to encounter in America. No wonder that Whitefield loved to return again and again to that comparatively peaceful field of evangelical labor, as he did more than a dozen times, where at length his brief and eventful life ended.

A religious revolution.

There had been, nevertheless, a great falling off in New England from the rigid religious discipline of the earlier times, which punished in this world, as well as threatened punishment in the next, for any departure, mental or material, from an established rule of faith and conduct. Generations had come and gone since the ministers of the

[1] See the admirable chapter on "The Religious Revival" in the second volume of Lecky's *England in the Eighteenth Century*. Also Gledstone's *Life and Travels of George Whitefield*.

churches had ceased to be the chief power in the State, and since only church-members in good standing were thought worthy of political enfranchisement. Diverse sects had crept in with every wave of emigration, and had established the right to freedom of opinion. Of later years many new comers from England had brought with them the laxity of thought and observance upon religious subjects which were there so general. Godliness had been displaced by indifference, or at least by a worldliness which was more concerned with present prosperity than so to live and believe as to prepare for and deserve a life of eternal happiness in the world to come. This unregenerate condition was observed and lamented as almost hopeless. When, "on the night after the Lord's day, October 29th, 1727," says Trumbull, "the Almighty arose, and so terribly shook the earth through this great continent," though many men sought the ministers and the meeting-house, it was more "from fear than conviction, or through change of heart." Six and seven years later, when an epidemic, called the throat distemper, prevailed throughout the colonies, — though most severely in New England, — even the frightful ravages of that disease, carrying off, sometimes, whole families of children in a few days, produced, it was remarked, no religious change in the people.[1] Professors continued lukewarm, young people were so "loose and vicious" as to seek amusement in social intercourse on Sunday evenings and the evenings of lecture-days; the Thursday lectures were thinly attended; there was great want of strictness in the keeping of the Sabbath, neighbors greeting each other and indulging in conversation upon worldly matters in the intermissions of divine service; many of the clergy were known to be content with inculcating from the pulpit the duty of leading pure and virtuous and unselfish lives, while they neglected to enforce the inherent depravity of all born of women, and salvation by the grace of God.[2] The good time had passed away when all things were subordinated to religious belief; when life hereafter was surely eternal damnation, and life here was hardly worth having, and hardly permitted, to him convicted of heterodox notions upon sanctification, justification, and a covenant of works.

Irreligion in New England.

It was believed that the Lord had permitted the sowing of such seed

[1] The throat-distemper, as it was called, prevailed as an alarming epidemic in many places, at intervals of about thirty years, throughout the last century. The modern diphtheria is unquestionably the same disease, as the characteristics, course, severity, and age most liable to attack, are precisely the same in both. So far as the few bills of mortality of those periods show, the disease is quite as fatal now as it was then. Medical science, however, has discovered that it is the result of bad drainage, and not a special evidence of divine wrath. (See Belknap's *History of New Hampshire.*)

[2] Edwards's *Narrative*, and Prince's *Christian History*, as cited in Trumbull's *History of Connecticut.*

that there should be a harvest of revivifying grace. For such a harvest the laborers were ready. For the first quarter of the eighteenth century, Northampton in Massachusetts had been, under the ministry of the Rev. Solomon Stoddard, a central point of occasional revivalism. Moved by the influence of that example, the flame of religious excitement broke out at times in various places in New England, like signal-fires, to warn the church of its lukewarmness, and to arouse its zeal. Not long before the death of Mr. Stoddard, his grandson, Jonathan Edwards, became his colleague. The mantle of the older prophet fell upon the younger and stronger shoulders, and in 1733, and the two following years, a revival, more remarkable than any that had preceded it, came — in the language of that time — as in "a rain of righteousness," and as "the dews of heaven" upon Northampton and the neighboring towns. A "Narrative of Surprising Conversions," written by Mr. Edwards, and published both in Boston and London, was widely read, arousing everywhere a deep religious fervor, and preparing the way for a fresh revival in 1740. Even sober Rhode Island did not escape the universal excitement. As, for example, it is related that in Westerly, where "there was not one praying family," where they treated "even with scorn and ridicule" the doctrines of the total depravity of the human heart, of regeneration, and of justification by faith, there was soon gathered a church of thirty or forty members. So in other places the tranquillity of all alike, whether devout or indifferent, was broken up, sometimes to good purpose, sometimes to not so good. The churches were stirred as they had never been before, and have never been since; new ones were gathered; old ones were increased, and the pious rejoiced that though New England was the centre of this movement, its influence extended even to the remotest southern colonies.

Religious revivals.

But this rejoicing had its limit. There were some who indeed from the beginning had questioned the healthfulness of this emotional outbreak; had doubted whether, in the long run, the cause of religion did not receive more harm than good from sudden conversions brought about by sympathetic and uncontrollable excitement rather than by calm appeals to reason and conscience. These, however, were a small minority, and they were silenced, if they were not convinced, by being denounced as enemies of the true faith, and as Arminians, — a term then so obnoxious as to be almost a sentence of banishment from the society of pious people. But events justified the judgment of these doubters in some degree, even with many of the most zealous of the revivalists. The movement at length got beyond the control of the more rational of the clergy in many places, and its progress was marked with extravagances and excesses, over which

Reaction follows.

the judicious grieved and the scoffers triumphed. Not only were the phenomena of uncontrollable emotion, of bodily contortions, of epileptic prostrations, of hysteric weeping and wailing, common in this as in all epidemics of religious revivalism; but there came divisions in the churches. Lay preachers, men and women, took the work of grace out of the hands of ordained ministers. Fanaticism and extravagance sometimes crept out of the pews, and up the pulpit stairs, and clergymen led their parishioners into the devious ways of the "New Lights." To the churches of Connecticut, where the movement spread the widest, and struck its roots the deepest, it was a time of peculiar trouble. Ecclesiastical trials divided ministers and peoples, and social relations were disturbed past all patience and forbearance. It came at length to be questioned more and more by many good people whether this work was the work of God or of the devil.

George Whitefield.

The influences which had such consequences were already at work when Whitefield arrived, in the autumn of 1740, at Boston. There were at that time, in the town, nine Congregational churches, three Episcopal, one Baptist, one French, and one Scotch Presbyterian. The stated lectures were thinly attended, and the ministers generally complained of the lukewarmness of their congregations. Whitefield, whose fame as a preacher had preceded him, was warmly welcomed. His power of oratory has probably never been surpassed in the world; not so much for what he said, as for the way in which he said it. He had strong emotional force, and marked dramatic ability, which some training as a strolling actor in early life had, no doubt, helped to perfect. Over his voice, which was rich and musical, he had perfect command; his gestures were frequent, but always graceful, and every

Whitefield's preaching.

motion of the head, every sway of the body, was a gesture. His imagination, probably, was rather redundant than rich, for his imagery seems commonplace, and his thoughts do not appear to have been either profound or original. His mastery was a mastery over words and the way of using them. Garrick used to say that he could plunge an audience into tears by merely varying his pronunciation of Mesopotamia. Chesterfield, decorous, self-possessed, cynical, skeptical, — as he heard Whitefield describe a sinner as an old man, blind, trembling, staggering upon the brink of a precipice, over which in a moment he would be dashed into pieces, — was so lifted out of himself and out of reality, that he sprang forward with the cry, "Good God! he is gone!" When he preached on Boston Common, it was to audiences of fifteen to twenty thousand people. Franklin was once cool enough, as he listened to him in Philadelphia, to walk backward till he was out of the reach of distinct hearing, and then, by calculation of distances and the number of persons who could stand in the given area, he came to the conclusion that that rich and powerful voice could be made to penetrate through the open air to thirty thousand persons. Nor was the philosopher himself proof against its persuasive tones. His judgment did not approve of that Orphan House in Georgia which was so dear to Whitefield, and he went to a meeting where its claims were to be urged upon the audience, determined to give nothing. His pocket was full of money — copper, silver, and gold. His determination soon yielded so far as to gain his own consent to give the copper; then, as the preacher went on, he was willing that the silver should follow the copper; before the sermon was over, copper, silver, and gold were all emptied into the contribution-box. But Franklin thought it was a mistake to publish Whitefield's sermons. They were nothing if not heard.

Wherever Whitefield preached, he aroused the deepest feeling. As he went through New England, he did not hesitate to proclaim that many of the ministers were unconverted men, and ought to be deserted; yet they flocked to hear him nevertheless, and he found no such admiration from clergymen in any part of the country as in Boston. But at the annual convention of the clergy of Massachusetts in 1743, the tide turned, and a "Testimony against the Disorders in the Land" was framed and printed. The revivalists rallied at a meeting of their own in Cambridge, and issued a counter-testimony, which declared that the converts were "epistles of Jesus Christ, written not with ink, but by the Spirit." In 1744, Harvard College appeared with a testimony against the errors of Whitefield, signed by every member of the Faculty. When, in 1745, the ministers who still supported the revival called another meeting, only twenty-eight were

present. The result of so decided a reaction in the public mind was to strengthen the uncalvinistic tendencies, against which the clergy hoped to make Whitefield their instrument.

War between France and England.

The Peace of Utrecht, which had been continually disturbed in the colonies by French Canadian intrigue, was definitely broken by a declaration of war in the spring of 1744, resulting from the hostile continental politics of France and England. The news of this reached Duquesnel, the Governor of Cape Breton, before it was known in the colonies, and he took advantage of it to strike an unexpected blow. The French viewed with jealousy the settlement of fishermen on the island of Canso, whose small garrison might be captured by a surprise, and perhaps the fishing interest of the English in those waters might be broken up by attacks on other places. The undertaking was intrusted to Duvivier, who was sent from the fortress of Louisburg with nine hundred men. He was successful at Canso, captured all the inhabitants, and sent them to Louisburg, but he failed at Placentia; and at Annapolis, after a desperate fight, he was forced to retreat, for Shirley had reënforced the garrison just in time. Although the French were not yet in condition to follow up the first attacks, their privateers took many prizes, especially of fishing vessels, all of which were brought into Louisburg, and the fishing business was completely paralyzed.

These operations of the French roused the indignation and alarm of New England, and a corresponding zeal for war animated the inhabitants. Governor Shirley was found to be adequate to the emergency. First taking vigorous measures to protect the frontier, he sought to organize and direct the earnest popular conviction that Louisburg, a formidable neighbor and perpetual threat to the interests of New England, must be captured. From fishermen who had been released, and from other sources, he drew sufficient information about the fortress to perfect a plan for taking it; but as the success of it depended upon secrecy, he desired the House then in session, January, 1745, to receive a private message from him, under an oath not to divulge it. Fully confiding in Shirley's patriotism, the House consented.

Shirley's proposal.

The plan was of such magnitude, involving so many difficulties and such expense, that the members at first brought little but amazement to its discussion. It was considered to be an undertaking beyond the means at their command, even if all the provinces should unite. The information which Shirley communicated, regarding its feasibility, did not seem to the House so conclusive as it did to the ardent Governor. It was discussed for a few days, then referred to a committee, who reported adversely, and the report was accepted. One of the mem-

bers who favored the enterprise was a bold deacon who made it a subject of family prayers. His startled and curious listeners gave him no peace till he explained the design for which he invoked the divine blessing, — waiving his oath as a legislator to his peace as a family man. The Governor's purpose was soon made known to everybody, and received the popular approbation. Petitions, signed by prominent merchants and ship-owners, were sent in to the House from various places. The public opinion thus bearing on the members, they became more evenly divided, and a resolution in favor of the enterprise passed by the casting vote of Speaker Hutchinson.

The expedition against Louisburg decided on.

In some respects, the time was favorable. Duquesnel, an officer of great ability, had died, and his successor was old and a man of mediocrity. The officer who captured Canso had returned to Europe to solicit help for the garrison in troops and supplies. It had been reported to Shirley that the men were ill-fed and in no temper to make a protracted defence. The winter was unusually mild ; the harvest had been abundant, and provisions were plenty ; the unemployed fishermen were eager to enlist. In the autumn, a French ship, that was hastily fitting out to relieve the starving and discontented garrison, was broken in launching. Shirley also counted upon the coöperation of the English fleet in the West Indies. He had petitioned the ministry, without broaching to them his scheme, to send Commodore Warren to Boston to protect the fisheries and the general interests of England. He had, in the mean time, solicited the Commodore for aid, who declined for want of orders; but the day after this refusal, instructions from the ministry to repair to Boston reached him. On his way a vessel gave him the news that the provincial ships had sailed for Canso, whither he shaped his course, and arrived just in time.

But Louisburg, under every temporary disadvantage, was a formidable place, and was styled the Gibraltar and the Dunkirk of America. A much stronger power than a dependent colony might well hesitate to attack it. Shirley's secret, though well kept from France, was scented by the Indians, who communicated it to the French in Canada, where it was received with ridicule and general incredulity, so confident were the people that the fortress was impregnable. The place had been twenty-five years in building, and had cost France thirty millions of livres. In 1713 a walled town was begun at the southeastern extremity of Cape Breton, two miles and a half in circumference, with a stone rampart over thirty feet high behind a ditch that was eighty feet wide wherever the place was liable to an attack. The entrance of the harbor was defended by a battery of thirty twenty-eight-pounders upon a small

The defences of Louisburg.

island. Just opposite, on the harbor's inner edge, was a formidable battery of twenty-eight forty-two-pounders, and two eighteen-pounders. The entrance to the town was over a drawbridge which a circular battery of thirteen twenty-four-pounders commanded. The batteries and six bastions could mount one hundred and forty-eight cannon: sixty-five of this number were mounted, and sixteen mortars. The town was laid out in squares, and contained valuable magazines of naval stores. Many of the houses were substantially built of stone. This was the rugged nut that Shirley meant to crack.

Defences at Louisburg, from a contemporary French Plan.

He addressed circulars to every American province, asking for its aid. Every one out of New England shrunk from the formidable enterprise. But New England possessed fourteen armed vessels mounting two hundred and four guns, and nearly a hundred sail of transports. The quota of troops was 3,200 for Massachusetts, including 150 New Hampshire men; 300 for Rhode Island; 350 for New Hampshire, and 500 for Connecticut. The New Hampshire regiment, under Colonel Samuel Moore, sailed in transports belonging to that province, directly for the rendezvous at Canso. They were under convoy of an armed sloop carrying thirty men, commanded by Captain John Fernald, and this vessel afterward did good service as a cruiser. The Rhode Island troops did not reach Boston till after the fleet had sailed, but they arrived in Louisburg in July, just in time to relieve those who by that time had captured the place.

The New England forces.

Colonel William Pepperell, a merchant of Kittery, New Hampshire, was appointed to command the expedition, but he naturally hesitated.

He sought counsel of Whitefield, who was then lodging at his house, and who told him that the scheme did not look promising; if it should not succeed, the widows and orphans of the slain would reproach him, and if it should succeed, he would become an object of envious hostility. He must therefore undertake it with a motive so pure and strong as to deserve success. When Pepperell yielded to the solicitations of Shirley's messengers, Whitefield gave him as a motto for his flag, NIL DESPERANDUM, CHRISTO DUCE. The great revivalist was urged to countenance the enterprise, that his followers might be encouraged to enlist; accordingly a great enthusiasm arose among them at this dedication of a standard, and the expedition put on something of the aspect of a crusade. One clergyman armed himself with a hatchet wherewith to smite the Romish images. Old Parson Moody, the famous preacher of York, — whom Pepperell made chaplain, — when there was a call made in that place for volunteers, stepped to the drum-head and put down his name. None held back after that example. From Berwick and Kittery the male inhabitants, almost to a man, followed Pepperell. Besides his services he gave to the expedition £5,000.[1] His second in command of the expedition was Roger Wolcott, the Lieutenant-governor of Connecticut.

Sir William Pepperell.

It is remarkable that the French should not have suspected the purpose of all these preparations. But every province refrained from sending vessels in the direction of Louisburg. Not a copy of Shirley's order to the captains of train-bands was allowed to be taken. In eight weeks four thousand three hundred men were enlisted, and all

[1] Governor Wentworth of New Hampshire was ambitious and did not relish Governor Shirley's preference of Pepperell for the command of the troops destined for Louisburg. After Pepperell had accepted, Shirley sought the coöperation of Wentworth by writing to him a politic letter to the effect that it would have been a great satisfaction to all, and a great advantage to the expedition, had not the gubernatorial gout prevented him from taking the command. Whereupon Wentworth denied the gout and offered his services. Shirley was then compelled to acknowledge that he had given the command to Pepperell.

the preparations were complete, New York loaning a few cannon, and New Jersey and Pennsylvania contributing some provisions and clothing.

The rendezvous at Canso.

The fleet collected at Nantasket Roads; a day of fasting and prayer was ordered through the province, and one evening each week for special prayer. Then the Massachusetts vessels sailed, March 24, for Canso. The New Hampshire troops were already there; those from Connecticut arrived about April 10. The ice around the shores detained the fleet till April 29, when it weighed anchor for Cabarus Bay at Cape Breton. Not a French vessel of observation was encountered; the appearance of a numerous fleet, the following morning, was actually the first advertisement of Pepperell's destination which reached the garrison. This element of surprise was very effective. A feint of landing at one place favored the putting ashore of a detachment at another, where a tardy attack was easily repulsed. The French retreated within their lines; half the troops were landed, and the rest upon the two following days. Some large warehouses filled with inflammable stores and spirits were set on fire, the smoke of which as it drifted inland so alarmed the French that they spiked the guns of the powerful battery at the bottom of the harbor, threw the powder into a well, and retreated in boats to the town.

The next morning Colonel Vaughan, a soldier of admirable conduct, reconnoitering with thirteen men, discovered that the battery was deserted, took possession, and sent to Pepperell for reënforcements and a flag. Meantime a soldier went up the flagstaff with a red coat in his teeth, and nailed up the symbol of possession. The French soon attacked Vaughan with a hundred men under cover of a fire from the city, but his thirteen held out till reënforcements arrived, and the French gave up the attempt. Ample war material was found in the battery; the guns were unspiked and did good service against the town during the siege.

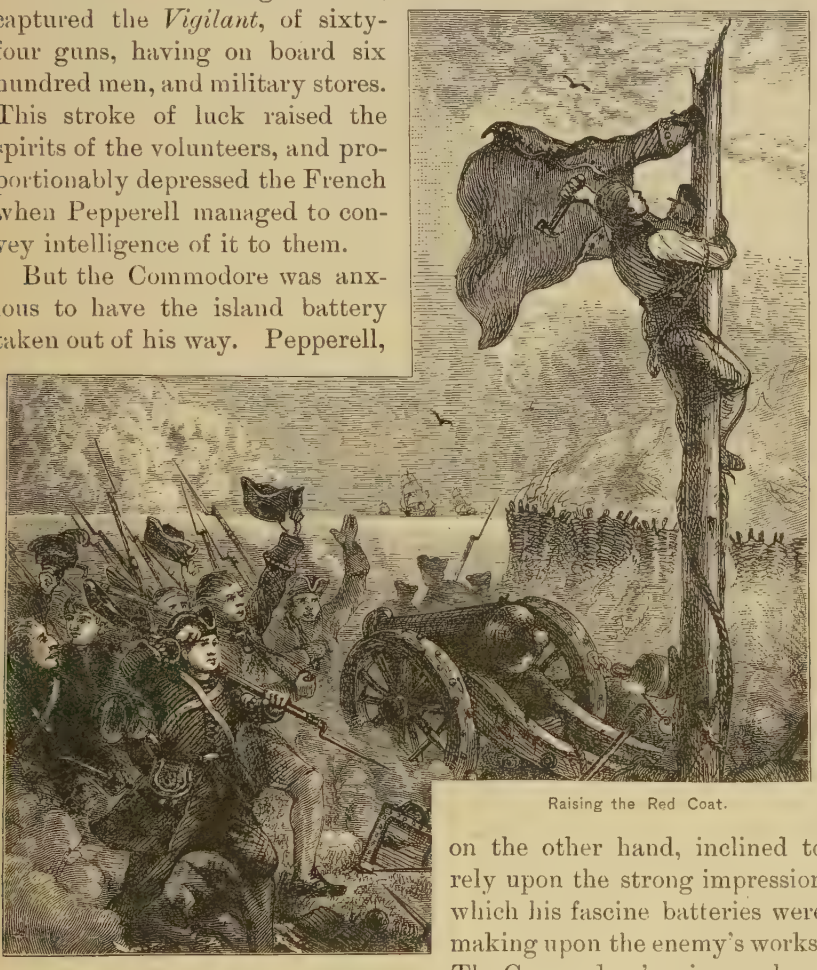
The siege.

By May 5, Pepperell had thrown up three batteries by night, the third being only seven hundred yards from the city.[1] The labor of bringing up guns and munitions was great; everything had to be dragged by hand through morasses, consuming fourteen days. A fourth fascine battery was thrown up within two hun-

[1] It is worth noting that the man to whom Pepperell entrusted the planning of his batteries was the Colonel Gridley who marked out the lines of the redoubt on Bunker Hill in which Warren fell. Many of the bravest officers of the Revolution served under Pepperell at Louisburg, where New England men began to have a salutary contempt for their enemies' lines. "When Gage was erecting breastworks across Boston Neck, the provincial troops sneeringly remarked that his mud walls were nothing compared with the stone walls of old Louisburg." — Parsons's *Life of Pepperell.*

dred and fifty yards of the drawbridge. It was evident that to capture the island battery the fleet must come into the harbor. This dangerous movement was not popular among the volunteers; and so much dissatisfaction reigned that a council of war thought best to postpone it. On May 20, Commodore Warren, who, under great discomforts, was cruising outside, captured the *Vigilant*, of sixty-four guns, having on board six hundred men, and military stores. This stroke of luck raised the spirits of the volunteers, and proportionably depressed the French when Pepperell managed to convey intelligence of it to them.

But the Commodore was anxious to have the island battery taken out of his way. Pepperell, on the other hand, inclined to rely upon the strong impression which his fascine batteries were making upon the enemy's works. The Commodore's prisoners happened to let out the fact that a number of war vessels were nearly due; his crews were falling sick, and no fresh provisions could be procured. So Pepperell consented to a night attack, which was made by four hundred men with scaling-ladders; but the boats were observed and fired upon, the muskets of the men were wetted in landing, and the attack was repulsed with the loss of sixty killed, and one



Raising the Red Coat.

hundred and twelve, with the wounded, taken prisoners. Amid considerable depression the regular business of the siege was resumed, under volleys of cheering from the French which were more galling than their fire.

Pepperell maintained a constant communication with Governor Shirley, from which we learn that he was frequently short of ammunition, and there were not trained gunners enough to man his batteries. He borrowed powder of the Commodore, hoping to turn against the enemy several French cannon, found under water; but these, for want of balls corresponding to their calibre, were useless. His largest mortar and one or two cannon burst. He could do little, for want of ammunition. By the first week in June fifteen hundred men were on the sick list, and a call for reënforcements followed that for powder.

Meantime, while French war ships were expected, the garrison kept vigorously pounding away at the works of the besieging forces. The fog also settled down upon the batteries and disturbed the effective use of their guns and communication with the fleet outside.

Yet even in June the French in Quebec were utterly incredulous as to any expedition against Louisburg; so uncertain was the water intercourse of those days, and so watchful were the English cruisers. But the Commodore's fleet, though strengthened by the arrival of several ships, could not venture past the island battery to make with the land forces a joint attack upon the town. During the siege the provincials were shelterless, and many died of fever, while the French were snugly ensconced beneath their roofs. The French, however, who were trained soldiers and began by underrating this little army of tradesmen, fishermen, backwoodsmen, and mechanics, had omitted from their reckoning one element of the temper of a New Englander, — that when he is the worst baffled he is the most obstinate and dangerous. So Pepperell grimly held on to all his positions, and threw up another battery, which got the range of the dreaded island battery and seriously annoyed it. He had also succeeded in silencing all the guns except three in the drawbridge battery, and that was nearly a heap of ruins.

Under these circumstances a combined attack seemed to the Commodore more practicable. Every arrangement to that effect had been made, his fleet was drawn up in line, eleven ships of forty guns each; the land forces were in position to attack, and Pepperell and the Commodore, and no doubt Parson Moody also, were stirring them up with appeals to their courage and sense of duty. It was the fifteenth of June, 1745. Governor Duchambou rapidly surveyed his prospects. No French vessel could enter the harbor; his

The surrender.

THE SURRENDER OF LOUISBURG.

island battery was dominated; several breaches had been made in his bastions; his soldiers, worn out by the incessant strain by night and day for seven weeks, could only feebly stand to their guns. Pepperell's forces outnumbered by five times his own.

In the afternoon he concluded to ask for terms of capitulation. During a suspension of hostilities the island battery was delivered up to the Commodore, and his fleet entered the harbor. Honorable terms were offered and accepted by the Governor, and although the articles of capitulation were not signed till the 19th, Pepperell disregarded the formality, as if to anticipate a memorable date. On the seventeenth of June he entered the fortress at the head of his volunteers. Shirley's nut was cracked, and the troops who did it were astonished to discover the strength of the shell. Shirley soon arrived, and received the keys from Pepperell. Six hundred and fifty regular troops, thirteen hundred militia-men, six hundred sailors, and two thousand inhabitants were sent to France. Cannon, stores, provisions, and property to an enormous amount were taken, for which the English paid by the death of only 130 men. The French lost 300. All the bells in the provinces rang their joy-peals when the event was known; all England broke into illuminations and bonfires; and Europe, not excepting France, was astonished. General Pepperell became the first American baronet; he and Shirley were commissioned as Colonels in the British army; Warren was promoted to be an Admiral. Still further honors awaited Pepperell; within the next three years the city of London presented him a silver table and a service of plate, and the King made him, at Pitt's suggestion, a Lieutenant-general.[1]

Surprise in Europe.

While Louisburg was garrisoned for a year by New England troops, the other provinces, which had declined to share in the expedition, manifested a noble spirit of gratitude and admiration towards those who had taken the place, and sent abundant store of necessaries to the troops. The news of its fall was carried to France by Duvivier, who was on his way in July, with a squadron of seven ships, for the recovery of Nova Scotia. When in mid-ocean he learned from a captured vessel — on board which was ex-Lieutenant-governor Clarke of New York — that Louisburg was in the hands of the English. He

[1] After the surrender, Mr. Moody preached a sermon in a Jesuit chapel. At a dinner given by Pepperell, Moody was the senior chaplain, and therefore entitled to say grace. The officers dreaded to annoy the guests with one of his long-winded addresses, but no one dared to counsel the rather irritable parson. He seemed on this occasion to be anxious for his dinner, and the grace was simply, "O Lord, we have so many things to thank thee for, that time will be infinitely too short to do it; we must therefore leave it for the work of eternity. Bless our food and fellowship upon this joyful occasion, for the sake of Christ our Lord. Amen."

returned to bear the evil tidings to France, abandoning his design against Nova Scotia, which now seemed hopeless.

Vigorous measures of the French.

France was aroused to fresh and more extensive preparations to recover all it had lost, and to add to its dominion in America. It contemplated the possibility even of conquering the whole country from Maine to Georgia, and the utmost alarm spread through the colonial seaports as rumors reached them, from time to time, of the designs of the French. The next summer a fleet of eleven ships of the line, with thirty smaller vessels of from ten to thirty guns each, and transports carrying over 3,000 troops, sailed from Rochelle. To these were to be added four ships from the West Indies; and an army of nearly two thousand Canadians and Indians was already in arms to join the land force on its arrival.

Their failure.

The colonists trusted to the fleet at Louisburg and to reënforcements from England — which did not come — to meet the French on the coast. On land, preparations were made, under the energetic leadership of Shirley, to counteract the French invasion by a fresh attempt upon Canada, and troops were collected from the several provinces to that end. But the naval expedition of the French was from the beginning attended with disaster. The ships were separated at sea by storm; some were disabled and abandoned, or returned to France. The Admiral, the Duke d'Anville, soon after his arrival in the bay of Chebucto, in Nova Scotia, suddenly died. The Vice-Admiral, D'Estournelle, worn with anxiety at the non-arrival of many of the fleet, and by a fatal sickness which broke out among the men, himself fell ill of fever, and in a fit of delirium ran his sword through his body. Jonquiere, the Governor of Canada, who had joined the expedition, succeeded to the command, and set sail for an attack upon Annapolis, though half the men were already dead. But a storm overtook and dispersed his fleet; the enterprise was abandoned, and the ships made their way back to France.

The treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle. — Cape Breton restored to France.

More than a year had passed, and with the signs of approaching peace, there was relaxation of effort on both sides. The one brilliant result of the war in America was the capture of Louisburg; but it was after all a barren victory to the provinces, save that it taught them a well-remembered lesson, — that the rough colonial life was no bad school for the training of soldiers who would be a match for the best of regular troops. No share of the prize money of £600,000 from captured French ships, which the expedition threw into the hands of the English fleet, fell to the army on shore. Notwithstanding Pepperell's just claim, Warren and his sailors took the whole of it. When peace was made between England and France, in April, 1748, Cape Breton was restored

to France by the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle. The people of New England had expended costly lives and much treasure in the capture of Louisburg, and they saw with disgust this cession, for which no equivalent was received that benefited either England or the colonies. Pepperell had hoped that Cape Breton and its dependencies would be annexed to the Crown, and converted into an American colony.

When the New England regiments which garrisoned Louisburg were disbanded in consequence of this peace, Sir William was obliged to send money to the troops for the payment of debts and to transport them to their homes. He forwarded 1,420 silver dollars, and silver was so scarce that he could only procure it by paying from fifty to fifty-two shillings in currency for each dollar. But the Provinces, who saw the dearly bought Cape Breton taken from them, could now demand more earnestly, and with the more reason, the reimbursement of their expenses. In the summer of 1749, Parliament voted the sum of £183,649 sterling to liquidate this demand. In consequence of the urgent representations of prominent merchants who were opposed to the existing paper currency and desired to retire it, that sum was transmitted in metal. Six hundred and fifty-three thousand ounces of silver and ten tons of copper were landed at Long Wharf, in Boston, — more coin than was ever seen there before. It was divided between the four New England Colonies. Massachusetts received the greatest share, and that of New Hampshire amounted only to $16,000. Before this arrival the paper currency of Massachusetts stood at the rate of eight to one in silver; it was now redeemed at one fifth less than the current value. The colony had learned from hard experience that a promise to pay was not paying; that the increment of promises was only an increment of debt. It profited by that lesson, and now proposed to make real money, not a fluctuating paper substitute for money, the measure of values. To this end it prohibited the circulation, within its own jurisdiction, of the paper currency of neighboring provinces, while it redeemed its own. The wholesome result of this wise policy was the sound financial condition and consequent prosperity of Massachusetts till in the struggle for independence she again resorted to a paper currency and accepted bankruptcy as a part of the price to be paid for civil liberty.

New England finances after the war.

The colonies were compelled, at this period, almost to exhaust their resources and energies to defend themselves and to secure to England her American possessions. They were left, for the most part, to fight their own battles, to work out their own safety, with little or no aid from the parent government. American affairs were, not altogether without reason, of secondary importance

Relations of England and the colonies.

to England. Deeply involved in a war in which all Europe was engaged, and harassed by the machinations of the Pretender, Charles Edward, — whose claim to the throne was a perpetual menace to the peace of the kingdom, till his disastrous campaign in Scotland, in 1745, — the difficulties and the dangers of the distant colonies were of comparatively small moment. The sense of neglect and the feeling of resentment — though often from opposite causes — were not new moods in the colonial temper; but they were strengthened quite as much by indifference to the welfare and safety of the colonies as they had ever been by any seeming or real attack upon them. With this discontent, however nurtured, grew the spirit of independence, ready to show itself on any provocation.

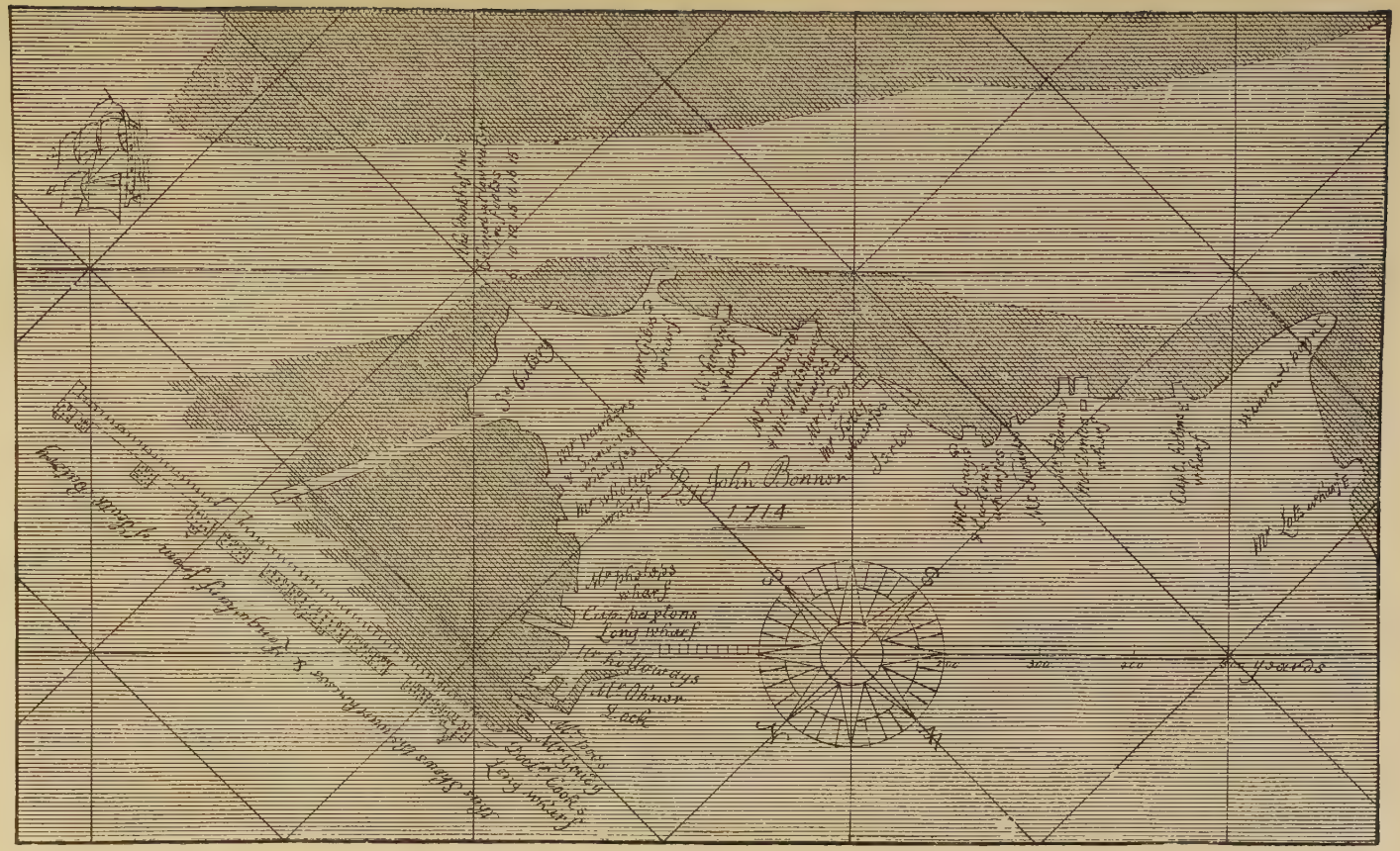
A provocation came in Boston in 1747. A number of sailors had deserted from some English men-of-war, then in that harbor, under the command of one Commodore Knowles. To supply their places the Commodore ordered, as he would have done in England, that a press-gang should take from merchant vessels and on the wharves of Boston, as many men as were needed. He did not know, perhaps, or, if he did know, did not care that a law of the realm, passed in the reign of Anne, forbade impressment in the colonies, except of deserters from naval vessels. But certainly he could not have understood that no man in Boston, however humble, could be made against his will to serve even the King.

An English press-gang in Boston.

When it was known, one day in November, that Knowles's boats had come up early in the morning from the fleet in Nantasket Roads, had visited all the vessels in the harbor, had taken the crews even of those just ready for sea, had swept the warehouses and the wharves of laboring men and mechanics, — then the town broke out into a blaze of excitement and fury. A mob armed with clubs and stones, and whatever other weapons they could suddenly lay their hands upon, filled the streets. The Governor's house, where some of the officers of the English ships happened to be, was soon surrounded by an angry crowd. An assault was threatened, and the officers armed themselves to defend their lives. Influential citizens mingled with the mob, exhorting them to refrain from violent measures. A deputy sheriff, more courageous than prudent, ordered them, in the name of the law, to disperse. Him they seized, bore off in triumph, and set in the stocks. The ludicrous spectacle of his discomfiture turned angry oaths and cries, for a while, into jibes and laughter, and served to lure the crowd from the Governor's house.

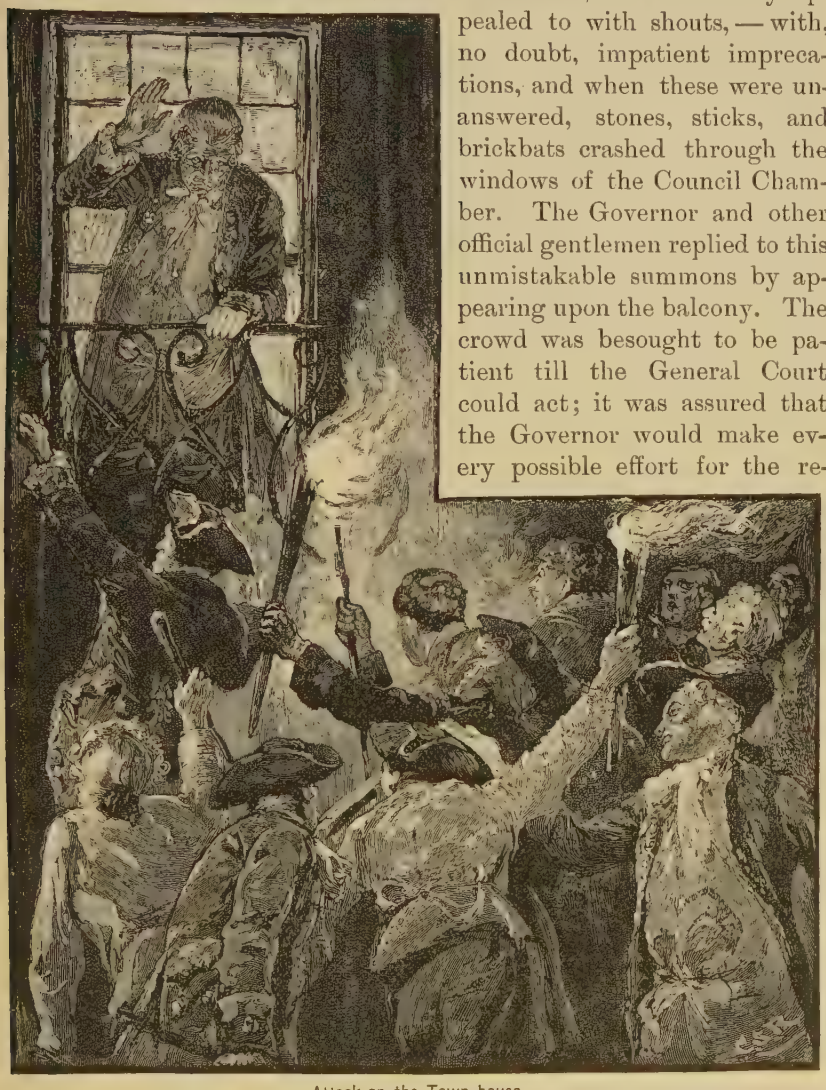
Tumult in the city.

But it was only a diversion. When evening came, the people swarmed into King (now State) Street from all parts of the town, defiant, irresistible, determined that the wrong should



BOSTON WATER-FRONT.
[From an Old Print.]

be righted. The Town-House at the head of the street, where the General Court was in session, was surrounded, and that body appealed to with shouts, — with, no doubt, impatient imprecations, and when these were unanswered, stones, sticks, and brickbats crashed through the windows of the Council Chamber. The Governor and other official gentlemen replied to this unmistakable summons by appearing upon the balcony. The crowd was besought to be patient till the General Court could act; it was assured that the Governor would make every possible effort for the release of the men, whose kidnapping he disapproved of, while, at the same time, he deprecated these violent outbreaks. But even so popular a man as Shirley talked in vain; deeds, not words merely, were wanted; "it was thought adviseable," says Hutchinson, "for the Governor to withdraw to his house.'



Attack on the Town-house.

The citizens demanded that every officer in town, belonging to the

fleet, should be seized and held till the kidnapped men were released. In the course of the evening a rumor that a barge had come up the harbor from the fleet spread through the crowd. A rush was made to the waterside, a boat was seized, — only it happened to be the wrong one, — dragged to the front of the Governor's house, then to some more open place, and burnt. The blood of the town was up, and it was fearfully in earnest.

Serious aspect of affairs.

The next day the Governor ordered out the militia by beat of drum; but the drummers were silenced by orders more potent than the Governor's, and the militia-men refused to appear. This was giving to affairs so serious an aspect, that Shirley retired to the Castle in the harbor, not, probably, in fear, but as the most serious and dignified protest he could make against the riotous subversion of civil authority.

From the Castle he appealed to Commodore Knowles, protesting against the outrage which had been perpetrated by his orders and had thrown the town into a state of insurrection. The Commodore would accept no terms and offer none, except this: that unless his officers, who had been arrested and detained in Boston, were set at liberty, he would bombard the town. Whether he would really have proceeded to that extremity, or thought the threat would be enough, he was supposed to be in earnest, and several of his ships weighed anchor and sailed up the bay.

Things had come to that pass that a settlement of some sort was inevitable. Though the General Court continued in session, for three days the naval officers had been held in custody, or on parole, by no other authority than that of rioters. Though these rioters were laboring men and mechanics, it was thought that they were instigated and upheld by many influential people. It was seriously discussed whether the Governor's retreat to the Castle was not an abdication; whether Massachusetts Bay had any longer a government.

Thereupon the General Court passed a series of Resolutions. These tumultuous and riotous proceedings, they declared, tended to the destruction of all government and order; it was incumbent on the civil and military officers to suppress them "whensoever they may happen;" and that the house would "stand by and support with their lives and estates his excellency the Governor and the executive part of the government;" but they were also careful to add that "this house will exert themselves by all ways and means possible in redressing such grievances as his Majesty's subjects are and have been under," which were the cause of those recent disturbances. A town meeting was also held, where it was resolved that the General Court should be sustained.

All this, of course, was eminently proper; and care had been taken that it should also be eminently safe. The militia were now again called out, and the summons was obeyed with great alacrity. Governor Shirley, under the assurance that government was to be supported, returned from the Castle in great state and dignity, and was received with military honors. The British naval officers were released, and permitted to return to the fleet unmolested. Had there been then, after all, only a riot of depraved and misguided persons, demanding an unreasonable thing in an outrageous manner, who were only to be put down? Negotiations of state are not always recorded, and history is left to guess from events by what solemn agreements they may have been brought about. The peace and order which had fled before riot, were restored with much ostentation; but at the same time the sailors, the ship-carpenters, the sail-makers, and the laborers, who had been seized and carried on board the British vessels, quietly returned to their homes with none to hinder. All Boston hurried down to the wharves to huzza lustily as Commodore Knowles's fleet got under way and sailed out of Nantasket Roads for England, for there was not one Boston boy on board. The General Court ordered the windows of the Council Chamber to be mended, and asked no further questions. Commodore Knowles, no doubt, made due report at the Admiralty Office in London of the indignity put upon the King's colors and uniform; but evidently it was thought best not to reopen a dispute with a people who had not been moved in the least by a threat to knock their town about their ears, had abated nothing of their assertion of the sacredness of personal liberty, had gained all they asked for, and in return had given nothing.

Order restored.

Significance of the incident.

CHAPTER IX.

NEW YORK.

Governor Cosby's Administration. — Controversy with Van Dam. — The Zenger Libel Suit. — Struggles of Political Parties. — George Clarke, Lieutenant-governor. — The Negro Plot of 1741. — Growth of the Colony in a Half Century. — Early Settlements on the Mohawk and Susquehanna. — The City of New York at several Periods. — King's College established. — Position of the Colony by the Middle of the Eighteenth Century. — Appointment of Governor Clinton. — The Perplexities of his Administration. — Preparations for a Double Expedition against Canada. — The Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle. — Sir Danvers Osborn's Inauguration and Death. — Chief Justice De Lancey succeeds as Lieutenant-governor.

Arrival of Governor Cosby.

Colonel Cosby, who arrived in New York in August, 1732, came, like others who had preceded him, to make a fortune from official service. He entered at once into a controversy with Van Dam, the acting Governor, demanding an equal partition of the salary and perquisites received by that gentleman in the interval between Cosby's appointment and arrival. The result was a suit in equity, in which not only all the lawyers of the colony, but most of the people, were deeply interested. The popular party sympathized with Van Dam; the aristocratic party, with the Governor. Out of this suit grew that trial of John Peter Zenger for libel, which is so distinctive a mark in the history of American jurisprudence.

The Zenger libel suit.

Zenger was the publisher of a newspaper, — "The New York Weekly Journal," — and he made it the mouth-piece of the opposition to the Governor and his supporters. It was ordered by the Council that four obnoxious numbers of the paper, together with two printed ballads which were considered libellous, be publicly burned by the common hangman, or the whipper at the pillory; and the magistrates of the city were required to preside at that ceremony. The magistrates refused, but the order to burn the papers was, nevertheless, obeyed. Zenger was afterwards arrested and brought to trial.

His counsel, at a preliminary hearing, filed objections to the legal-

ity of the warrant, and to the trial of the case before Judges De Lancey and Philipse, inasmuch as they held their places by appointment from the Crown. "You have brought it to that point," said Chief Justice De Lancey, "that either we must go from the bench or you from the bar." And the lawyers were dismissed from the bar, the court assigning in the case before them counsel of their own choosing.

Rip Van Dam.

The defendant, however, engaged Mr. Andrew Hamilton, an eminent lawyer of Philadelphia, to appear on his behalf. The case came before a jury. Hamilton boldly took the ground that the defence might prove the truth of the libel in justification, and that the jury were to determine both the law and the fact. The publication was acknowledged; but "you will have," said Hamilton, "something more to do, before you make my client a libeller; for the words themselves must be libellous, that is, false, scandalous, and seditious." "Our constitution," he said, "gives us an opportunity to prevent wrong by appealing to the people." The jury followed this reasoning, and responded to the appeal. The prisoner was acquitted; the people approved the verdict; the corporation presented Hamilton with the freedom of the city in a gold box, and when he left the town, to return home, a salute was fired in his honor. The trial gave the last blow, in public estimation, to the Exchequer Court, and objections were again raised, such as had been made against Montgomerie, to the Governor's sitting as Chancellor.

Cosby died in March, 1736, soon after his defeat in this memorable trial. Van Dam, who had given him so much trouble, claimed by right to be his temporary successor as the oldest member of the Council. He had, however, absented himself for some time from the meetings of that body, a majority of which were the partisans of the Governor. It was declared, moreover, that Cosby, not long before his death, had removed Van Dam from the Council, and the Board thereupon recognized George Clarke as the old-

Death of Governor Cosby.

est member, and appointed him Lieutenant-governor. The popular feeling was warmly in Van Dam's favor, and nothing was expected from his opponent but a continuation of the arbitrary and selfish policy which had made Cosby's administration so obnoxious to the people.

George Clarke appointed Governor.

The contest was warm and bitter; both men assumed the functions of the office, and Clarke, who held the Fort, took measures for its defence. The struggle, which seems to have risen nearly to the dignity of a rebellion, was only ended when Clarke's claim was confirmed by a commission from England.

Character of his administration.

The political tranquillity of his seven years' government shows that, if there was not much to blame him for, so there was little reason for praise. Perhaps he had less disposition than some other colonial rulers to encroach upon the rights of the people; perhaps he was only wise enough to understand that the people would not tolerate encroachment. "We beg leave to be plain with your honor, and hope you will not take it amiss," said the first Assembly he met, "that you are not to expect that we will either raise sums not fit to be raised, or put what we shall raise into the power of a Governor to misapply, if we can prevent it." They assured him further that they would only make up such deficiencies as seemed to them just; that such revenue as they thought fit to raise would be provided from year to year, and that they did not "think it convenient to do even that, until such laws are passed as we conceive necessary for the safety of the inhabitants of this colony."

Each successive Assembly showed a similar spirit, which was not to be shaken by the remonstrances of the Governor, even when he warned one of them of "the jealousy prevailing in Great Britain that the colony wished to be emancipated from the Crown." Perhaps it was because he knew what serious ground there was for that "jealousy," that he was so careful not to try the impatience of the people by any other provocation than reproaches, and sometimes by an adjournment of the Legislature.

The Negro Plot of 1741.

During his administration, however, occurred an event which marks an era in the history of New York, as sombre with tragic interest as that given to the annals of Massachusetts by the Quaker and witchcraft persecutions of the previous century. But New York went mad in a senseless panic, and burned negroes at the stake eighty years after the last Quaker was hanged on Boston Common, and half a century after it was believed in Massachusetts that an old woman, accused of witchcraft, would drown when thrown into a pond, if she was innocent, but would float like a cork, if she was guilty, to be saved only to suffer death at the hands of the public executioner.

The origin of this tragedy was almost contemptible. In February, 1740–41, one Mrs. Hogg, who kept a small shop in Broad Street, was robbed of some goods and money. A few days before, she had heedlessly opened a drawer containing some silver coin, in the presence of a young sailor of the name of Wilson. This Wilson was in the habit of frequenting a low ale-house on the North River, kept by one John Hughson, a place of resort, probably, of dissolute persons of all sorts, but especially of idle servants among the negro slaves. To three of these, Cæsar, Prince, and Cuffee — they had no other names, but were known as Vaarck's Cæsar, Auboyneau's Prince, and Philipse's Cuffee — to these three Wilson told how he had seen the money in Mrs. Hogg's drawer, how easily the shop could

Its origin.

View in Broad Street, about 1740.

be entered in a way he knew of, and the prize secured. On this hint, the burglary was committed; but, whether Wilson repented of his share in it, or whether he hoped to secure impunity for himself by betraying his comrades, he, a few days afterward, assured Mrs. Hogg that he had seen a square piece-of-eight, described as among the stolen coin, in the hands of Cæsar, at John Hughson's dram-shop.

This evidence was confirmed by Mary Burton — an indented servant of John Hughson's, a girl of fifteen years — who confessed to a neighbor that she knew who committed the robbery, and showed a piece of the stolen money, which she said the negro Cæsar had given her. On further examination, she implicated one "Margaret Sorubiero, *alias* Salingburgh, *alias* Kerry, commonly called Peggy, or the Newfoundland Irish beauty," a disreputable young woman of one or two and twenty, who lodged at

Mary Burton's evidence.

Hughson's house, and was reputed to be the kept mistress of Vaarck's Cæsar. Then some of the goods were found under the kitchen floor of Vaarck, the baker — Cæsar's master — to which access could be had from a low drinking-place, next door, kept by John Romme. Romme fled on this discovery, and the assumption was, that he was an accomplice in the burglary. The other persons accused, including Hughson and his wife, were arrested, Hughson acknowledging that he had received and concealed some of the stolen goods. It was a commonplace crime, and there was no lack of evidence to convict the criminals. The incident would have been soon forgotten, had not unexpected events presently given historical interest to the dram-shops of Hughson and Romme, to the negroes Cæsar, Prince, and Cuffee, and to the young white women of questionable character, Mary Burton and the Irish beauty, Peggy.

Arrest of Hughson and his family.

A fortnight after the accused persons were committed to prison, a fire broke out in the roof of the Governor's house, within the Fort, about one o'clock in the afternoon. The house, the adjoining chapel, the barracks opposite, and the secretary's office over the gate of the fort, were all burned to the ground. The furniture of the government house and the colonial records, kept in the office of the secretary, were saved; and it was thought most fortunate that the fire occurred in the daytime, as therefore, probably, it did not spread beyond the walls of the fort. There was naturally for a few days a good deal of excitement in the town, rather, however, from the character of the buildings burned, than from the extent of the fire or any doubt about its origin. A plumber had been engaged upon the roof of the Governor's house during the morning, in soldering the leaden gutter between it and the chapel, carrying with him from place to place a furnace of hot coals. The wind was very high; the roofs of the two buildings were covered with wooden shingles; with such a concatenation of circumstances, the result was almost inevitable. At first there was no thought of any other than this obvious explanation; and again, but for subsequent events, an incident of no great moment would have soon ceased to be of the slightest interest to anybody.

Fire in the fort.

About a week afterward, also in the middle of the day, a fire broke out in the roof of Captain Warren's house near the bridge in the southwestern part of the town. Sparks from a foul chimney had caught upon old and dry shingles. It was put out with little difficulty, and there was no doubt about the cause of it while men's minds were cool.

Other fires in the town.

On the East River side of the town, was an old wooden storehouse, belonging to Mr. Van Zandt. It was filled with boards and hay, and

was burnt down about a week after the fire at Warren's. This also happened in the daytime. The proximity to the river made it easy to prevent the flames from spreading; and everybody believed that the carelessness of a smoker, known to be within the building, who dropped sparks from his pipe among the hay, was the origin of the fire. These two fires, following within a week of each other, kept up the excitement which that at the Fort had caused. The town, which contained about twelve thousand people, was compactly built, still covering only that end of the peninsula below Wall Street. Three fires, two of which were serious, within so short a period, were, no doubt, unusual, and prepared the way for the panic that presently followed.

Ferry House on East River, 1746. — From an Old Print.

The day after the burning of Van Zandt's warehouse, some hay was found to be on fire in a cow-stable, belonging to one Quick, on the east side of the town. This was easily suppressed; but it was scarcely done, when another alarm was sounded from the west side, where smoke was seen coming from the kitchen-loft of Ben. Thomas's house near the city market and "next door to Captain Sarby." It was traced to two beds between which fire had been put, and which was the sleeping-place of a negro.

Early the next morning — on Sunday — some coals were found under a hay-stack near John Murray's stables in Broadway. But they had gone out without doing any damage. The next forenoon an alarm came from Serjeant Burns's house, opposite Fort Garden; but if there was any cause for it, it was only the burning of a foul chimney. An hour or two later it was discovered that the roof of Mrs. Hilton's house — which adjoined Sarby's on the east side, as Thomas's

did on the west — was on fire. Here was pregnant matter for suspicion, and it grew into fury when some flax was found near by, which, it was thought, was used to kindle the flames. Then a cry arose in the streets — "The Spanish negroes! the Spanish negroes! Take up the Spanish negroes!"

Spanish negroes apprehended.

There was, as it happened, a Spanish negro in Captain Sarby's house, whom he had recently purchased, and who was one of nineteen belonging to a Spanish vessel taken at sea and brought not long before into New York as a prize. A Court of Admiralty had condemned them as slaves, in spite of their protest that they were freemen in their own country. It is evident that these unfortunate blacks had not quietly submitted to their fate; had probably complained angrily, and perhaps threatened; for, this first public outbreak of panic pointed to them as men who had a motive for some signal act of vengeance. Sarby's servant was at once seized, and orders were given for the arrest of all who came in the same ship.

In hot haste the magistrates came together at the City Hall. Sarby's negro was still under examination when again the alarming cry of fire was heard. Looking from their windows, Mayor Cruger and the rest saw a streak of flame running up the roof of Colonel Philipse's storehouse — the work, this time, possibly of an incendiary, for there was no chimney in the building. It was hardly extinguished — which was done speedily — when the crowd was turned in a new direction by a fresh alarm, which seems, however, to have been groundless. But soon after some chips were found burning in a baker's cellar; and trifling as this common incident was, it served to feed the popular excitement.

Fears of insurrection.

A negro was seen to jump from a window of Philipse's warehouse. He may have been there for no unlawful purpose — certainly not to kindle a fire that was already extinguished. But frightened men do not stop to reason. A shout arose — "The negro! the negro! the negroes are rising!" — then, "Cuff Philipse! Cuff Philipse!" A frantic rush was made for Philipse's house, where Cuff was found quietly sitting in the kitchen. He was seized upon, nevertheless, and hurried to jail; an order was issued that all negroes in the streets should be arrested. There were many about who had been diligently assisting in passing buckets of water in the line with the whites; but this circumstantial evidence of the absence of any evil purpose among them seems not to have been thought of. To be black was *prima facie* evidence of being a conspirator.

The air was heavy with rumors. Only the day before Mrs. Earle had seen, from the window of her house in Broadway, three negroes on their way to Trinity Church. As they passed, one of them ex-

claimed: "Fire, Fire! Scorch, Scorch a little! damn it! By and by!" then he "threw up his hands and laughed." At these terrible words and alarming gestures, "the woman conceived great jealousy," and repeated them to her next-door neighbor, Mrs. George. They watched for the return of the negroes from church, and Mrs. George recognized the man whom Mrs. Earle pointed out, as Mr. Walter's Quaco. The two women went to an alderman, and the alderman went to the other magistrates, and Quaco was soon under lock and key.

Mrs. Earle and the Negroes.

Quaco said on examination — and brought the other negroes to prove it — that they were talking of Admiral Vernon's capture of Porto Bello — the news of which had just been received — and what he would do by and by to the Spaniards. The man's explanation, confirmed by his companions, was accepted then, and he was released, — though he was hanged not long afterward. But the story, nevertheless, flew like wild-fire about the town. The magistrates as yet had not taken leave of their senses, but everybody else believed that it was New York Quaco was talking about; that it was only "scorched" a little now, but "damn it by and by" it was to be laid in ashes; with other dreadful things, as it appeared later.

The jail — a part of the City Hall — was soon full of terrified negroes, and among them were Hughson with his wife and daughter, Mary Burton his servant, Peggy the prostitute, who had lived in his house, and one Arthur Price, a thief, under arrest for stealing at the fire in the Fort, who was to play an important part in the coming tragedy. The Governor issued his proclamation offering rewards for

any disclosure that should lead to the detection of incendiaries — to whites, money; to free negroes, money and pardon; to slaves, money, pardon, and freedom. On a day appointed, the troops were called out to patrol the city, while the aldermen and councilmen, attended by constables, ransacked every house of their respective wards for stolen goods and concealed strangers. Neither were found in a single instance. Yet, it was confidently said, that the panic-stricken people, as they moved from place to place to escape the neighborhood of threatened fires, had been plundered without mercy of their household goods. The goods, it was plain, were not in the possession of the negroes, but there was no pause to consider of how much weight that fact was worth, nor whether the stolen property could be anywhere else than in the houses of the blacks. Mercy had already fled; men had lost their reason.

The Supreme Court was convened;[1] a grand jury was summoned; every member of the bar, without a single exception, volunteered his services on behalf of the government, leaving the accused, — who, from their ignorance and friendlessness, were peculiarly in need of counsel, — without the possibility of making a defence.[2] As we have said, the first outbreak of frenzy was directed against the Spanish negroes, — the few poor fellows whom the Admiralty Court had reduced to slavery. Next came the vague, thoughtless, but terrible fear of a negro insurrection, — terrible in the dread of vengeance for the innumerable and unutterable wrongs suffered by a slave, but of which the slave himself is so often less conscious than he who inflicts them. Not only did the negroes in prison deny all knowledge of any plot, — that they would have done in any case, — but there seems to have been a destitution of any evidence against them, in their conduct at home or abroad, — an absence of all signs of any unusual consciousness of discontent, — a want of any appearance of exaltation as at some coming, longed-for period of freedom and happiness. They huddled together in the jail, appalled, despairing, helpless; outside of it,

Signature of Horsmanden.

[1] It is to a Justice of this court, — Daniel Horsmanden, — that we are indebted for a complete and curious record of these events. He sat on the bench at most, if not all of the trials, — a position for which he was eminently unfit, from his ludicrous narrow-mindedness, timidity, and want of sound judgment. His book is entitled *The New York Conspiracy, or History of the Negro Plot.* It is a scarce work, of nearly four hundred pages; minute, entirely one-sided, and reflects faithfully the credulity and abject fear which, for months, overcame the common sense and manliness of the people.

[2] New Yorkers will be interested to know the names of the lawyers of the city a hundred and thirty-eight years ago. They were Messrs. Bradley, — who was Attorney-general, — Murray, Alexander, Smith, Chambers, Nichols, Lodge, and Jameson.

they were in continual dread of accusation which might fall anywhere, and against which innocence was no defence.

The robbery of Mrs. Hogg's shop had occurred on the last day of February; but it was not till toward the end of April that the case came on for trial, at the moment when the town had gone wild with affright at the repeated fires and rumors of insurrection. There was an interval of weeks between the robbery, concerning which Mary Burton was the principal witness, indeed the only witness, — for Wilson seems to have disappeared, — and

Commencement of the trials.

Mary Burton before the Grand Jury.

the first fire. In all this time Mary had given no hint of any knowledge of a plot. But now, whether instigated by others, or impelled by the hope of a reward of £100, and release from her term of servitude, she insinuated that she could tell as much about the fires as about the burglary. Of course she was urged to tell the truth; but the truth assumed was, that the negroes had entered into a horrible conspiracy to burn the city, to rob and to murder the inhabitants, and to commit any other atrocities that the most heated imagination could conceive of. "The grand jury," says Judge Horsmanden's narrative, "was very importunate and used many arguments with her,

in public and private, to persuade her to speak the truth, and tell all she knew about it." When she hesitated, apparently from fear of evil consequences to herself, she was promised protection; she was reminded of "the heinousness of the crime she would be guilty of if she was privy to, and could discover so wicked a design," and would not; that "she would have to answer for it at the day of judgment," and that "a most damnable sin would be at her door."

Mary Burton as a witness.

No wonder that an ignorant child of fifteen years yielded, at last, to such importunities and arguments, in the official and solemn presence of seventeen of the most respectable gentlemen of the town. On the one hand, her gain would be great; on the other, she had little to fear now from her late master and mistress, John Hughson and his wife, or from her late companion, Peggy, whose certain punishment, even she could see, was a foregone conclusion.[1]

The Meal Market. — From an Old Print.

The wonder is, rather, that seventeen sensible and sober men could heed her story. Even on the robbery, her testimony conflicted with that she had at first given, and if either statement were true the other was false. But the stealing of Mrs. Hogg's spotted linen and pieces-of-eight was of trifling moment compared with the revelations of a conspiracy that the witness now made.

She said that Cæsar, Prince, and Cuffee were not merely thieves but arch-conspirators, and their common talk was of burning the Fort, and of going to the Vly and burning the whole town. They were to do this in the night, and as the white people came to put out the fires, the three negroes were to put them all to death. To this plot John Hughson and his wife assented and

The evidence of the plot.

[1] The Grand Jury was composed of seventeen gentlemen, all designated as merchants. Among them are names well known at this day in New York, and held in the highest esteem. They were: Robert Watts, Jeremiah Latouche, Joseph Read, Anthony Rutgers, John McEvers, John Cruger, Jr., John Merritt, Adoniah Schuyler, Isaac De Peyster, Abraham Keteltass, David Provoost, Rene Hett, Henry Beekman, Jr., David Van Horne, George Spencer, Thomas Duncan, and Winan Van Zandt.

promised to give their aid. It was "in their common conversation" that when all this was done, Cæsar was to be Governor, and Hughson was to be King. Sometimes, she declared, there were large meetings of twenty or thirty negroes at her master's house, who would not dare, the three leaders declared, to disobey their orders. But there were no white people — she said then — except the Hughsons and Peggy at any of those consultations; and the preparations made for the insurrection were eight guns and some swords, — three pistols and four swords, she added afterward.

All this, meagre, inconclusive, and absurd as it was, we are told by Judge Horsmanden, "was most astonishing to the grand jury," and "could scarce be credited." It was not that so incredible a tale should be invented, and men in their sober senses be asked to accept it as true, that astonished them; but that "white people could confederate with slaves in such an execrable and detestable purpose." The gross absurdity of the story, — that three black men and one white, with a doubtful following of about twenty more, without even arms enough for the leaders alone, had conspired to destroy a city of twelve thousand inhabitants, only a sixth of whom, bond and free, were negroes, that one of the conspirators might be made a Governor and another a King, — the absurdity of such a story told by a child of fifteen years, whom seventeen grave gentlemen had alternately tempted by rewards, and frightened by threats of terrible punishments in this world and the next, seems to have occurred to nobody.

Causes of the panic.

But the fear of insurrection is an ever-present terror wherever slavery exists. This dread had been touched to the quick by the rapid succession of alarms of fire; rumors, none too absurd for belief, fed the popular excitement. There was war with Spain, and in the town were a score of Spanish negroes held as slaves, but who claimed to be freemen; the jail was full of blacks, arrested, not because they were, but because they might be, dangerous; fear was lashed into frenzy, and demanded victims; here at hand was a band of thieves; what more likely than that they should be a band of conspirators also, contriving riot and arson, murder, rape, and all conceivable atrocities, proposing the conquest of a province and to make of their leaders kings, and governors, and captains? The Grand Jury believed in all this wickedness and folly, from the tale of a foolish or a cunning child, and went with it to the grave judges of the Supreme Court. They also listened and believed. The whole bar of the city was summoned in consultation in so serious an emergency; it was determined that the trials should be conducted in the highest court, and the Governor was asked for a special order to prolong the session, about to close, for that purpose.

There came forth presently another swift and artful witness — Price — under indictment for stealing goods saved from the Governor's house at the fire in the Fort. He was right if he believed that his own crime would soon be forgotten, could he help fix the far more monstrous crime of premeditated insurrection upon any of his fellow-prisoners. It was easy for the inmates of the ill-contrived and over-crowded jail to hold intercourse with one another, and Price was soon ready to repeat real or invented conversations.

The witness Price.

The first of these was with Peggy, Hughson's lodger; the second, a few days later, with Sarah, Hughson's daughter. These people were absolute strangers to Price, yet Peggy — if he was to be believed — had twice come voluntarily to the wicket in his door, and, in the most extraordinary way, reposed in him entire confidence. Except that the language, which he said the woman used, was to the last degree profane and vile, and might, therefore, well have been hers, the internal evidence in his statement shows its falsehood. But it was ingenious; as in Mary Burton's testimony, there was the innuendo indirect about the fires, substituted for the proof direct about the robbery; and while it was assumed that this was true, it was suggestive of the wildest suspicions of the truth of the other. He made no pretensions of having obtained any information from Sarah Hughson by voluntary confession; on the contrary, she denied, he said, all knowledge of any plot; but in the expression of her fears of what might befall her parents and herself, and in her comments on the fires, when induced to talk of them, she betrayed — or was represented as betraying — how intimate her knowledge of a plot was.

If Mary Burton had told the truth, here was the most remarkable confirmation of her story, coming at exactly the right time; on the other hand, if the imagination of the child had been stimulated by persuasions the most tempting, and by threats the most appalling, this suspicious story was clearly an invention, suggested by hers and told with a selfish purpose. It was certainly clumsy, contradictory, and incredible; it was related by a thief who, unless he could commend himself to mercy in this way, was certain of heavy punishment; was certain, if he could so commend himself, of reward as well as pardon.

From so slight a beginning of wrong-doing, first made fortuitously conspicuous, then tortured into something that it was not by low cunning, transparent falsehood, and intense credulity, there grew a strange scene of terror and outrage. For its disregard of all rules of legal evidence, for its prostitution of the forms of law for the perpetration of cruelty, for popular credulity and cowardice, for the abnegation of all sense of mercy, for the oppression of the weakest and most defenceless, it was without precedent, and has had no parallel in

any civilized community. There were, indeed, Judge Horsmanden acknowledges, "some wanton, wrong-headed persons amongst us, who took the liberty to arraign the justice of the proceedings, and set up their private opinions in superiority to the court and grand jury," and who "declared with no small assurance (notwithstanding what we *saw* with our eyes, and *heard* with our ears, and every one might have judged of by his intellects, that had any) *that there was no plot at all!*" But these were only a wretched minority. The popular mind was not in a state to weigh nice points of evidence, or even points that were far from nice, to detect motives in cunning and interested witnesses, to consider probabilities calmly. Except by the few, the tales of Mary Burton and Price were caught up with avidity and accepted without question. The man Hughson, Peggy, and the three

The Negroes Sentenced.

negroes were speedily brought to trial, convicted, and sentenced to be hanged. They were tried, indeed, for the robbery — the negroes for committing the act, the whites for receiving the stolen goods; — but when Cæsar and Prince were brought up for sentence, the judge exhorted them to discover their confede-

Execution of Cæsar and Prince.

rates "in designing or endeavouring to burn this city and to destroy its inhabitants," as he was "fully persuaded" it was in their power to do if they would. But there was no delay in their execution, in the hope that their speedy punishment might bring others to confession. To the last they denied that they knew of any conspiracy.

The Hughsons and Peggy were spared a little longer, to be indicted for the plot. Peggy had stoutly and indignantly denied, up to this time, that there was any truth in Price's story. But now, in the hope of saving her life, she made a pretended confession. If what she said was true, Mary Burton's tale was false, for she shifted the headquarters of the plot from Hughson's to Romme's, charging him with being a receiver of goods stolen by negroes, with inciting them to insurrection, and promising to take them all, when enough had been stolen, to another country. She said nothing of the two negroes who had just been hanged, but she implicated a number of others, all of whom were immediately arrested.

Peggy's confession.

The 13th of May, designated a month before by Lieutenant-governor Clarke as a day of public fasting and humiliation, was so observed with great solemnity. The excitement grew more intense, sanctioned thus by religious observance, and the highest example in the State, and fed with constantly new revelations. At Hackensack, on the other side of the Bay, in New Jersey, some barns had been burnt, and suspicion fell, of course, upon the negroes. Two were apprehended and tried, confession was extorted from one of them, and both were burnt at the stake.

A public Fast ordered.

The Burton child was equal to any demands that could be made upon her. With that "remarkable glibness of tongue," which even Judge Horsmanden — who, no doubt, would have cheerfully burned any negro in the colony — was compelled to acknowledge, distinguished her, she could confirm any accusation brought against anybody. Romme, she now remembered, was intimate with Hughson, and often conferred with him; the negroes whom Peggy accused, Mary had frequently seen at Hughson's house. When, soon after, with Hughson and his wife, Peggy was hanged, declaring, with her last breath, that there was not a word of truth in her previous confession, and that she was totally ignorant of any plot, having hoped only to save herself by accusing others, Mary's testimony — which that pretended confession had suggested — was still held as conclusive by the Court.

And so in all subsequent proceedings, the trembling slaves — wild with fright — sometimes when arrested on mere suspicion, or when standing at the foot of the gallows, or about to be bound to the stake where the ready fagots were piled to consume

Character of the evidence.

presently their living flesh, — were only too eager, as the frenzy grew, to confess to anything, to avow the wildest and most improbable designs, to impute to others the most horrible purposes, that so they might appeal to the mercy of the Court, and save their own wretched lives. To Mary Burton any new revelation was a fresh impulse to her own recollections, and her evidence was always forthcoming in proof of anything that needed confirmation. Price, within the walls of the jail, was equally useful, so long as the unsuspicious negroes would consent to hold intercourse with him. That he might lead his victims into unwary talk, to be turned against them, the authorities furnished him with liquor, that he might first make them drunk.

No stories, however absurd, were held by the Court or by the people as incredible. None of these confessions extorted by fear, sometimes at the gallows' foot, or at the stake in the hope of reprieve, and often recalled when hope was no longer possible, — none of these pretended to any concerted plan, which could secure success to an insurrection, or prevent its immediate suppression by the most ordinary method of preserving the peace. There was only the vague purpose of burning and killing, for which the provision of arms was the eight guns, three pistols, and four swords which Mary Burton declared were concealed at Hughson's.

Trinity Church, 1741.

This baldness of detail, and the evident poverty of imagination which gave no heed even to probabilities, showed that the mere abjectness of fear prompted these confessions, while no outside evidence supplied the essential element of proof. It was accepted as true that there was an understanding between Hughson and Romme — who supplied negroes with liquor and received their petty thievings — and the Spanish Government for the capture of the city, and this ridiculous supposition was suggested no doubt by the presence of the score of Spanish negroes probably held unlawfully

Character of the alleged plot.

as slaves. It was seriously believed that a few negroes meant to watch at the doors of Trinity Church with the expectation that the congregation, as it came out from service some Sunday morning, would quietly submit to be killed one by one; that a handful of discontented blacks meant to murder their masters and take their mistresses for their wives, in the expectation that their fellows would at once follow their example when a few should begin the work of murder and rapine — that thus a small minority of the population, ignorant, degraded, unorganized, and unarmed, could compel the most servile submission from a community, intelligent, well-ordered, strong in civil and military government, outnumbering these besotted insurgents — even if they were joined by every negro in the city — five to one; and that in such a community there could be grave reason for fearing that one of the vilest of the lowest class of whites had seriously proposed to make himself King, his wife Queen, the slave Cæsar Governor, with the prostitute Peggy as the head of a governor's household.

In the great dread that all these absurd and impossible things were impending, the Supreme Court, countenanced and aided by the whole bar of the city, applauded and urged on by the most enlightened and influential citizens, in the course of two or three months, imprisoned more than a hundred and fifty negroes — four of them women; convicted over a hundred of these as conspirators; burnt twelve of them alive at the stake; hanged eighteen, and transported seventy-two — some of whom were probably freemen — to be sold as slaves in other countries. The accused were in all cases without counsel; whenever their masters appeared on their behalf to give testimony as to their good character, or to show by alibi, or other circumstances, that the accusations were necessarily false, the evidence was disregarded. That a conspiracy existed, was assumed to be true; accusation was accepted as proof, and this was held to be none the less conclusive although the so-called confession on which it rested was subsequently declared to be false by him who had made it with the hope of saving his own life, because he repented of having borne false witness against the innocent.

Quack's confession and execution.

One instance may be given of the method pursued in the trials and the character of the confessions that obtained credence. Roosevelt's Quack was charged with being one of the conspirators, and with having set fire to the Governor's house. When bound to the stake, the hope of a pardon was held out to him, if he would tell all he knew. With the fagots piled about the wretched negro, what else could he do but confess anything that was charged against him? The essential point was, did he set fire to the Gov-

ernor's house? He declared that he did; that the night before, he took a brand from the kitchen fire and placed it on a beam beneath the roof. But as nothing came of it, he, the next day — twelve or thirteen hours afterwards — went again to the garret, quickened the still burning brand with his breath, and the fire caught the roof. The confession was accepted as true, nobody, apparently, observing its

The Mob demanding that Quack be burnt.

evident absurdity, and nobody remembering that on that morning a plumber had been employed upon the roof in a high wind, with an open furnace of live coals. But it was too late to save his life; the mob howled for his execution, and the fagots piled about the stake to which he was bound were soon ablaze.

But among the accused were some who were not black, besides the Hughson and Romme families. As the panic spread, there sprang up the fear of Papacy. The town was searched for Catholic priests; none were found; but an obscure schoolmaster, one John Ury, was arrested on suspicion. Extorted confessions, after his arrest, were made to implicate him as one of the con-

Arrest of and accusations against Ury.

spirators at John Hughson's house. Sarah, Hughson's daughter, who was repeatedly reprieved and finally pardoned, had become a swift and willing witness against any prisoner whose conviction was determined on. Ury, hitherto unheard of, and about whom many who had gone to their deaths had said no word, appeared now as a chief instigator of the plot. It was he who presided at banquets at Hughson's; he who kept a list of the conspirators; he who swore them to secrecy by drawing a circle on the floor with chalk, into which each negro put his foot as he took the oath; he who administered the sacrament and absolved from all sins — confessing Peggy among the rest, who was often, it was said, his bed-fellow. Mary Burton, who was never wanting, who at first swore she had seen no white persons at Hughson's house, except themselves, but who remembered Romme as soon as he was arrested, now also remembered Ury. She had witnessed these ceremonies; had seen the chalk-circle, and "black things" — the negroes' toes, it was conjectured — going in and out; had been offered absolution by Ury. All this, forgotten before, was now recalled vividly by this swift and willing witness.

Ury was hanged. All testimony from those who knew him well, and who showed him to be a harmless and humble teacher, was rejected. He protested, on the gallows, with an appeal to God, that he "never knew Hughson, his wife, or the creature that was hanged with them;" that he "never saw them living, dying, or dead;" that he "never knew the perjured witnesses but at his trial;" that he "never had any knowledge or confederacy with white or black as to any plot;" and he declared that he was not a Catholic, but a non-juring minister of the Church of England.

Governor Oglethorpe's letter.

On his trial was produced a letter from Governor Oglethorpe to Governor Clarke, in which the writer said he had received "some intelligence of a villainous design of a very extraordinary nature and, if true, very important." It was that "the Spaniards had employed emissaries to burn all the magazines and considerable towns of North America," and that for this purpose "many priests were employed who pretended to be physicians, dancing-masters, and other such kinds of occupations." It was thought certain that Ury was one of these priests. Then there was one Corry, a dancing-master, already in custody, suspected of being a Catholic — whom Mary Burton, of course, recognized at once, as one of the company at Hughson's, when Corry "stoutly denied it and declared he had never seen her before, at which the girl laughed." There was also great search for one Holt, another dancing-master and supposed Catholic, but he, fortunately for himself, had left the town. Oglethorpe's letter produced a profound sensation, though it

does not seem to have been observed that he closes it by saying that he had no faith in these rumors and failed to find any confirmation of them from Spanish prisoners. They firmly believed, in New York, in pretended schoolmasters and dancing-masters, who were Catholic priests in disguise, and who were conspiring with slaves to burn American cities.

Some soldiers stationed at the Fort were also taken into custody, apparently on no other ground than the suspicion that they were Papists. One of them was frightened into a confession, and his testimony was much relied upon to convict Ury. The Burton child professed to know all about these men also — to know so much, indeed, that she had often been sent, she said, to bring a dozen soldiers at a time to Hughson's house.

Arrest of supposed Catholics.

But it seems to have been suspected, at last, that these stores of knowledge, held in reserve by this ingenious young person, might become embarrassing. She talked of many white persons coming to Hughson's house, and "some in ruffles;" that these ruffled gentlemen would often send letters to Hughson, with money in them, which she judged, by the feeling, to be "milled Spanish pieces-of-eight;" she gave "the names of several white persons beyond the vulgar who sometimes resorted at Hughson's;" and she said that attempts had been made to bribe her to silence by offers of silk dresses and promises of gold. Of all this, Judge Horsmanden, who sat upon all the trials, says, "the Recorder did not care to be over-solicitous, for some reasons."

But Judge Horsmanden was himself the Recorder. His solicitude for the extreme punishment of negroes and obscure Catholics had been intense, and there can be little doubt as to his reasons for hesitating to enter upon the wider field of exploration to which Mary Burton was ready to lead the way. The fervor of the persecution was burning itself out; the opinion of those "wanton, wrong-headed persons" who, as Judge Horsmanden said, always declared "there was no plot at all," was making its way among sensible people; the testimony of the infatuated and evil-minded child — whose story had grown so rapidly from the imputation of some vague talk of insurrection by two or three thieves and the receiver of the stolen goods, to a plot including gentlemen of standing, with wealth at their command, and in which soldiers by the score had already enlisted — such testimony would prove too much, if accepted, and would presently make everybody ridiculous who lent an ear to it. The natural revulsion of a panic came at last. Of the twenty white persons committed, four were hanged and others banished from the colony. But with Ury the tragedy ended; the town

Revulsion of popular feeling.

recovered from its insane and cowardly terror by the end of summer; though for months timid people heard in every alarm of fire a threatened conflagration, and so long after as March of the next spring, a futile attempt was made to revive the belief in insurrection by hanging a negro idiot accused of arson. As the proceedings began with a Fast, so now the Governor and Council appointed the 24th of September as a day of public Thanksgiving to God for his mercies in delivering the colony from "this horrible and execrable conspiracy." To many persons the presence of an avenging Providence had been visible in a miraculous manner, in that the body of Hughson, which had been hung in chains, was believed to have turned black, and the body of Cæsar — also hung in chains on Ellis's Island, in New York harbor — to have turned white.

A day of Thanksgiving.

Ellis's Island.

This melancholy exhibition of the unmanly and abject fear which may seize upon an intelligent and vigorous community in the presence of a servile race, ignorant and powerless, seems to have been confined chiefly to the city. There were two or three cases of the punishment of blacks for some alleged connection with the plot — one we have already mentioned on the Jersey side of the Hudson — in the vicinity of New York; but everywhere, except in the town, the proportion of blacks to whites was probably too small to admit of any serious apprehension of a negro insurrection.

The population of this province had increased, in the half century between Leisler's death and the accession of Clinton, who succeeded Clarke as Governor, from ten thousand to more than sixty thousand people. "We are," said a memorial of the Council to the Govern-

ment at home in 1692, "the key and centre of all their majesties' plantations in this main." Although, as the memorial complained, "the East and West Jerseys, Pennsylvania, the lower counties on the Delaware, and that part of Connecticut which is to the westward of the Connecticut River, were lopped off," [1] the province was large enough and its advantages obvious enough to attract emigrants. Presbyterians from Ireland, and Protestants from France, came in considerable numbers towards the end of the century. In 1710 three thousand of the Protestants who had fled to England at the invasion of the Rhenish palatinate by Louis XIV., crossed the ocean, and many of them planted new homes along the upper waters of the Mohawk and Schoharie Creek. In 1737 several hundred Dutch families made their way to the valley of the Mohawk. Within the next two years Scotch and Scotch-Irish, under the leadership of John Lindesay, pushed over the hills which border the Mohawk on the south, and settled on the banks of Cherry Valley Creek upon a grant of land made by Governor Clarke to four associates — among them his own representative.[2] These hardy pioneers brought with them the best elements of civilization, and were as robust and vigorous of character as they were strong to encounter the hardships of the wilderness. By them were built the first church and school-house in which the English tongue was spoken and taught west of the Hudson.[3] Among the earlier settlers in the Mohawk Valley was William Johnson — afterward Sir William — who came as the manager of his uncle, Admiral Sir Peter Warren, to whom a large land-grant had been made in that region. So along the Susquehanna and the Mohawk and their tributaries was scattered from time to time through the first half of the eighteenth century, the seed that was to bloom in later years into the rich harvest of Central and Western New York.

Growth of the province.

In the interminable records of disputes which royal governors maintained with their councils and assemblies, the reader vainly searches for some glimpse of the life of the men and women who were unconsciously building up an empire through the uneventful detail of their daily duties and pleasures. But a bit of a journal from the pen of an adventurous woman who went on horseback from Boston to New York in 1704, to collect some debts due to the estate of her husband, supplies a little picture of domestic life in that prosperous hamlet by the seaside, which has now become a city of a million inhabitants. "The City of New

Life in New York early in the eighteenth century.

[1] See *Documents Relating to the Colonial History of the State of New York*, vol. iii., 836.

[2] *New York Colonial Documents*, vol. vi.

[3] *Central New York in the Revolution*. By Douglass Campbell. 1878.

York," she says, "is a pleasant, well-compacted place, situated on a Commodious River which is a fine harbor for shipping. . . . . The Bricks in some of the Houses are of divers Colors, and laid in Checkers; being glazed, look very agreeable. The inside of them are neat to admiration, the wooden work, for only the walls are plastered, and the Lumoners and Joist are planed and kept very white scoured, as so is all the partitions if made of Boards. . . . . The hearths and staircases were laid with the finest tile that I ever see, which is ever clean, and so are the walls of the kitchen, which had a Brick floor. . . . . They are Generally of the Church of England, and have a New England Gentleman[1] for their minister, and a very fine church, set out with all Customary requisites. There are also a Dutch and Divers Conventicles, viz.: Baptists, Quakers, &c. They are not strict in keeping the Sabbath as in Boston and other places where I had been, But seem to deal with great exactness, as far as I can see or Deal with. . . . . The English go very fashionable in their dress. But the Dutch, especially the middling sort, differ from our women in their habit, go loose, wear French muches, which are like a Cap and head-band in one, leaving their ears bare, which are set out with Jewels of large size and many in number, and their fingers hooped with Rings, some with large stones in them of many Colors, as were their pendants in their ears, which you should see very old women wear as well as young.

The houses described.

Female costume.

"They have Vendues very frequently, and make their Earnings very well by them, for they treat with good Liquor Liberally, and the Customers Drink as Liberally and Generally pay for it as well, by paying for that which they Bid up Briskly for, after the sack has gone plentifully about, — though sometimes good pennyworths are got there. Their Diversions in the Winter is Riding Sleighs about three or four Miles out of Town, where they have Houses of entertainment at a place called the Bowery, and some go to friends' Houses, who handsomely treat them."

Vendues.

In 1724, when Benjamin Franklin was returning from his first visit to Boston, after he had made his home in Philadelphia, the captain of the sloop which brought him to New York spread the intelligence that his passenger had "a trunk full of books." So large a cargo of an article so rare excited surprise, and in consequence the printer lad received a message from Governor Burnet that he would be glad to see him, and Franklin accordingly waited on the Governor. A long narrative of the interview is preserved, which closed with a cordial invitation from the Governor to Franklin to visit him again. This incident is valuable as showing the utter sim-

Anecdote of Franklin.

[1] Mr. Vesey.

plicity of life in the colonial seaport, where books and men who had read them were so few that the King's representative was glad to hold an hour's literary conversation with a printer's boy.

The Governor lived within the lines of the Fort, near the upper end of what is now the Battery, and his official residence was called Fort George. It was burned down, with tragic consequences, as we have already related, in the fire of 1740. The Governor's report of that date shows that it was roofed with cedar shingles. Most of the large buildings at that time were covered with tiles, and it is said that no roof in New York was slated till after the beginning of the nineteenth century.

The Governor's house.

Fort George in 1740.

An amusing passage in one of Governor Clarke's despatches shows how far the city, in 1738, had drifted from the decorous pretences of loyalty. He complains that many of the principal people of the town refused to follow his example in putting on mourning for the death of Queen Caroline, "pretending that they had made themselves the joke of the town for doing it on the late king's death."

Decay of loyalty.

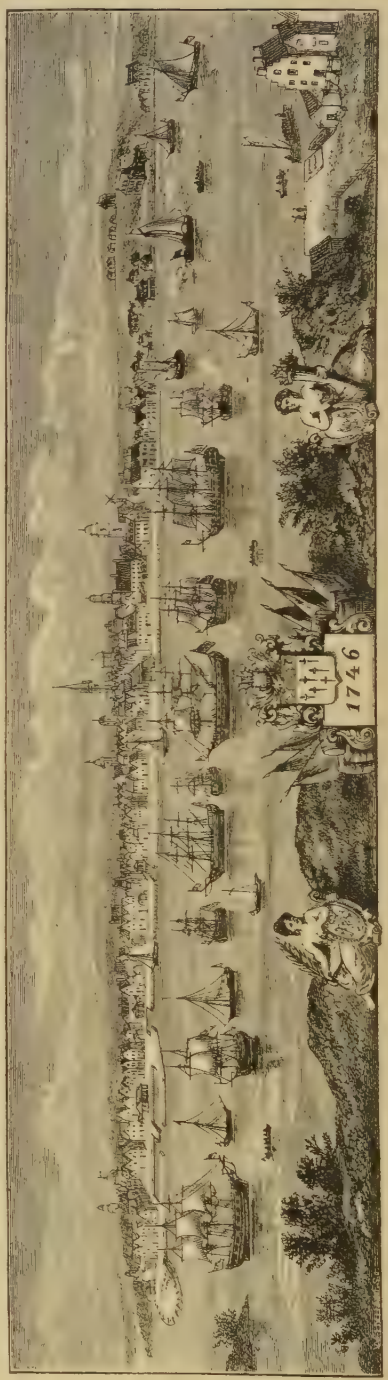
The population of New York city, which was hardly 3,000 in 1689, was about 12,000 in 1756. In the face of the perpetual difference, common to all the colonies, produced by the desire of the governors to make their own salaries a permanent charge on the colonial revenue, the matchless advantages of the seaport asserted themselves

in a growth so quiet and steady as to be hardly noticed. Their complaints that their territory had been diminished, to the advantage of Connecticut and the Jerseys, showed their ignorance of the laws of trade; for the products of those provinces came to New York as steadily as ever. New Jersey, as we have seen, hoped to make of Perth-Amboy the most important provincial seaport. But natural laws are stronger than legislation, and it is difficult now to believe that the pretty seaside village on the Jersey coast could ever have been supposed to be a formidable rival to the great commercial city of our time.

Growth of the city.

As the trade in furs became less important, the exportation of naval stores increased. But down to 1740 the attempts to manufacture potash — now one of the products most readily furnished by forest regions in America — had not been successful. Dreams of making a wine country of the valleys of the Hudson and Mohawk appear in some of the governors' despatches. Some iron was made from the rich bog ores; but neither the people of New York nor the grantees of Pennsylvania knew the value of the coal which was yet to be found on the upper waters of the Delaware and Susquehanna. In general, it may be said that the manufactures of the province were unimportant. That colonial policy of England which Chatham succinctly stated when he said he would not have a hob-nail made in

Manufactures.



New York. East Side.

the colonies, had full sway. In 1700 "a coarse pair of yarn stockings," which cost 9*d.* in London, cost 3*s.* 6*d.* English in the city of New York; and a pair of shoes which cost 3*s.* 6*d.* in London, cost 7*s.* 6*d.* in New York. But ship-building flourished steadily, and vessels were sent abroad loaded with provincial products, and sold at once in foreign harbors.

Colden's navigation scheme.

Cadwallader Colden, the Surveyor-general, who was one of the few American men of science at that time, in attempting to show the existence of a feasible route for trade to the Mississippi, finds it by the upper waters of the Susquehanna, which he proposed to reach by Cayuga Lake, thence through the Juniata by portages to the Alleghany River, and so through the Ohio.

Talk of a college.

As early as 1703 a delegation waited on Lord Cornbury to ask in what part of the "King's farm" he wished to have the college [King's, now Columbia] built. The King's farm included all the region west of Broadway, and north of Cortland Street. But no happy answer of Cornbury founded a university by a grant out of that princely domain. In 1738 Lieutenant-governor Clarke sent home "an act for the further encouragement of public schools for the teaching of Latin, Greek, and mathematics." The encouragement was the appropriation for this purpose of a tax on peddlers and hucksters.

Healthy growth of the colony

From a perusal of council records, or governors' reports, of the condition of the colony during the first half of the eighteenth century, one would suppose it was shaken by disease in every limb, and only preserved each year from instant death by the most heroic stimulants. But in truth it was gaining with that sturdy health which a temperate climate, a matchless system of water communication, boundless forests, fertile soil, and a frugal, religious, and industrious people almost compelled. Before the half century was over, which began when Sloughter, in a drunken fit, hanged Leisler, the representative of popular rights, the people of New York had discovered their own real power, and in their own quiet way had asserted it. The misdeeds of the King's governors did little toward arresting the healthy growth of material prosperity. Education and the ornaments of civilization followed, perhaps with somewhat unequal step, on the accumulation of wealth, and before the middle of the century the province had established itself as "the key of the system of American colonies." Though it did not know it, New York was already well forward on the path of empire.

Since 1737 Lord Delaware had held the sinecure office of Governor-general over New York and New Jersey; but in 1743 a separate jurisdiction was established in each, George Clinton being appointed

Governor of the former, and Lewis Morris of the latter province. Clinton was the second son of the Earl of Lincoln, and an admiral in the British navy. He remained in office ten years; and if, as has been charged against him, he carried back to England eighty thousand pounds as the fruit of his ten years' service, he may have thought himself sufficiently compensated for an official career of more than ordinary trials and vexations. If the post was bestowed upon him through family influence, rather than because of any personal fitness, he served his royal master at least with zeal, even if he gained small credit for ability.

George Clinton Governor.

His administration was one long struggle in defence of the royal prerogative. The result was an enforced concession to the colonists of rights for which they had long contended, but which by previous governors had been in some measure successfully withstood. Clarke, the late Lieutenant-governor, had retired from office worn out with contention with the popular party, and the most influential leader of that party was James De Lancey, the Chief Justice. This able man Clinton, nevertheless, at his accession took for his adviser, and for the rest of his term repented of his weakness. It had long been a vital point with the party which De Lancey represented, that the Governor should be under the control of the Assembly, by making his salary depend upon an annual appropriation. Hunter had in his time defeated this policy, by inducing or constraining the Assembly to extend the limitation to five years, and this had held good through the administrations of successive governors to the time of Clarke, Clinton's predecessor. In the contest with Clarke the popular party had been successful; the rule was changed, and the salaries of the Governor and other official persons were to be determined from year to year by the will of the Assembly.

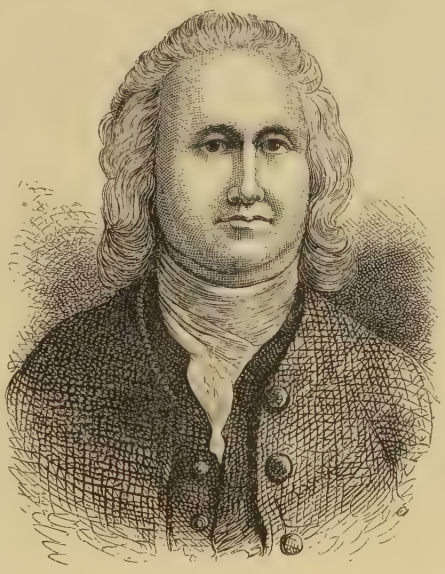
Influence of De Lancey over him.

De Lancey persuaded Clinton to continue this concession; to accept, that is, the precedent lately established under Clarke, and not to insist upon that which several preceding governors had made the rule. He took a still greater advantage afterward of the Governor's ignorance of civil affairs, by persuading him to consent to another and more serious innovation. The Assembly sent the Governor an appropriation bill, in which, instead of appropriating certain sums for the salaries of incumbents of certain offices, they provided that those salaries should be paid to certain persons named who then held those offices. The Governor signed the bill, and the advantage once gained the Assembly never relinquished. They had reduced him at the outset to pecuniary dependence, by getting into their own hands the power of making his salary what they pleased from year to year, or even of withholding it altogether; and

Advantages gained by the Assembly.

he practically surrendered the appointing power when he permitted them to bestow a salary upon a person named in the appropriation bill; for the pay expired with his term of office, and the next incumbent was without pay till the Assembly saw fit to provide it. It was a short step from refusing to pay anything to an officer nominated by the Governor, to dictating whom they chose to have him nominate.

Experience soon taught the Governor how skillfully he had been led to put himself almost entirely under the control of the Assembly. His letters to the Government at home are filled, from the first year of his administration to the end of it, with complaints of encroachments upon the royal prerogative by an insolent, malicious, and flagitious "faction," which aimed at getting the whole power of government into its own hands, and would be satisfied with nothing less than making the colony independent of the Crown. Whether from want of regard to the man, or indifference as to the affairs of the colony, and incredulity as to the growth of this popular spirit, the Board of Trade and the Secretary of State seem to have given little heed to these constant and bitter complaints of the Governor. He soon quarrelled with De Lancey, and took Cadwallader Colden as his chief adviser; the result was only to add to the hostility of the Assembly the hostility of the Council. When the war with France was over and the public exigencies were lessened, he attempted to retrieve his early errors, by refusing to sign money bills till the Assembly would consent to make the support of the Governor permanent, and to attach salaries to offices and not to officers named. But the Assembly was quite as firm as he, and could afford to refrain from appropriating money much longer than he and the Government could afford to do without it. A dead-lock of two years ended in his unconditional submission, and he signed the bills at last with their objectionable features unchanged. He prorogued Assemblies and removed councillors, but the faction did not abate in the slightest degree its opposition to him and his plans and policy. The Government at home



Cadwallader Colden.

Clinton's weakness.

paid so little heed to his complaints, that it sent out to De Lancey a commission as Lieutenant-governor. Clinton put it in his pocket and kept it there for a year or two, making the while pathetic appeals to Government that he might not be compelled to submit to the humiliation of appointing his bitterest enemy to a place of trust second only to his own, — a humiliation, nevertheless, which he was compelled to submit to when he left for England, and was constrained, on the eve of departure, to install De Lancey as his successor.

This bitter contest between Clinton and the Assembly, underlies all the public events of this period of ten years in the history of New York, — a contest not merely personal, remarkable as it was in that respect, but between the incongruous forces of arbitrary rule and the rights of the people.[1] The renewal of war between France and England was known in New York in July, 1744, and Clinton was at that time in Albany making preparations in expectation of that event. The treaty with the Six Nations was renewed; circular letters were sent to the governors of the other provinces, that measures might be concerted for the common defence, and the Governor some time before had ordered a double garrison to Oswego, which the traders had deserted, to hold that important post. He was already face to face with the difficulties which were for years to perplex and harass him. The Assembly was urged by repeated messages to provide for the safety of the province, but he writes to the Duke of Newcastle, Secretary for the Colonies, — to whom he sends his messages and the replies, — "Your Grace will see how backward they are in their deliberations, and that it is with the utmost difficulty to bring them to any tolerable resolution for the service of the publick." The Assembly chose to judge for itself, of the necessities of the occasion; the treasury was under their control; they would not submit to dictation from the Governor, and they were largely influenced by the jealous caution, — common to all the colonies, — lest their expenditure for defence should be of more benefit to some other province than their own. It was a question, moreover, with many persons whether the wiser policy was not for the colonies to maintain neutrality in the war, and thus be safe from attack from either French or Indians; and from this came the most serious accusation which Clinton made, as year by year the difference between him and his opponents grew wider and deeper, that there was a strong party at Albany with whom the trade in peltries and rum was of far more moment than their allegiance to the King or the safety of the colony, — an accusation which was hardly thought worthy of contradiction.

War with France.

Independence of the Assembly.

[1] *New York Colonial Documents*, vol. vi.

The next year Governor Shirley, of Massachusetts, asked for aid in his proposed expedition against Louisburg. It was, Clinton thought, of quite as much importance to New York as to New England that this attempt should be successful. But the Assembly did not agree with him. They refused to send men, and in money appropriated only £3,000. Even this was done with great deliberation and evident reluctance, while they were not in the least moved to emulation when the Governor sent off at his own expense some cannon to assist in the siege. They turned a deaf ear to his earnest demands for active measures of defence and offence, till at length, wearied with a hopeless struggle, he dissolved the House, and ordered a new election. Though the news of the probable success of the siege of Louisburg induced this body to vote £5,000 additional in aid of that enterprise, it soon showed itself as uncompliant as its predecessor. "The dispatch of business," wrote the Governor, is

Aid to expedition against Louisburg.

Smith's Vly. — From an Old Print.

"greatly neglected by the Assembly." "They are selfish, and jealous of the power of the Crown, and of such levelling principles that they are constantly attacking its prerogative." That his complaints were not altogether unreasonable, is plain enough.

In November of this year the fort and twenty houses at Saratoga were destroyed, thirty persons killed, and sixty made captives by the Indians.

Crown Point on Lake Champlain was a position of great importance to both French and English, as it commanded the frontier line and the ordinary road of communication between Canada and Albany. In 1746 orders came from England for the capture of Canada, in ac-

cordance with Shirley's plan, to follow up the taking of Louisburg; and all the colonies, as far south as Virginia, were to furnish troops for that purpose. An advance was to be made from Louisburg against Quebec, and another from Albany towards Montreal by way of Crown Point. The Six Nations again promised to take up the war hatchet against the French, and that they would not permit their priests to come among them any more, declaring, "on the contrary, should any now dare to come, we know no use for him or them but to Roast them." As the rendezvous of the troops was at Albany, within the jurisdiction of Governor Clinton, the command devolved upon him, when Lieutenant-governor Gooch, of Virginia, who had been appointed to that position by the commissioners of the several provinces, declined to accept it.

Proposed invasion of Canada.

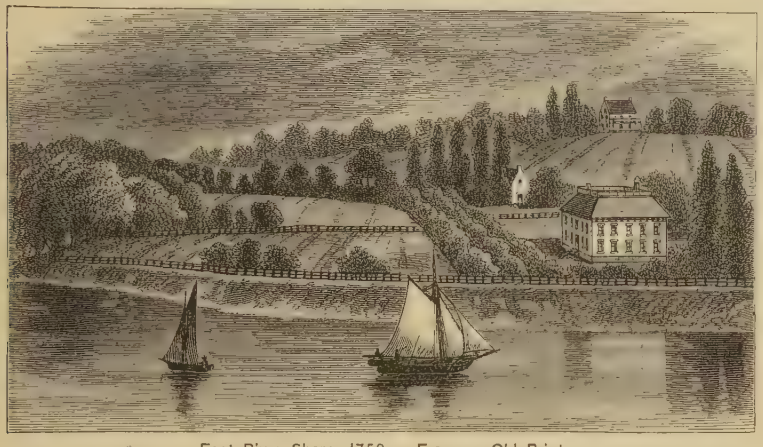
Clinton called to his aid William Johnson, who was already well known for his knowledge of the Indians and his influence over them. The Mohawks made him one of their chiefs, and he had married an Indian woman, the sister of Joseph Brant, who was the head of that tribe. Through Johnson's efforts the alliance with the Six Nations was confirmed, and other tribes in Pennsylvania and New England had promised to go upon the war-path. But all these formidable preparations were destined only to involve the unfortunate Governor in fresh difficulties. D'Anville's fleet off the coast of Nova Scotia arrested the movement from Louisburg. General St. Clair, who was to be commander-in-chief of the expedition against Canada, did not come with the promised reënforcement of British troops. Delay was inevitable; the Indians, disgusted with inactivity, began to disperse. The colonial troops remained idle, without pay, and poorly fed, at Albany, through the autumn and winter. The Assembly, in spite of Clinton's appeals and protests, refused to make any appropriation for their pay, and the Council, with the exception of Mr. Colden and one or two other members, sustained the Assembly. The troops clamored and broke out at last into open mutiny, and the Governor was only able to extricate himself from serious difficulty by drawing upon England for large sums. Johnson attempted to take Crown Point with an inadequate force and failed, and then came advices from England that the expedition against Canada was abandoned, to be followed soon after by a general peace and the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle.

William Johnson.

When the news reached the Governor that the offensive movement against the French was given up, and that the troops were to be disbanded, he proposed to put his own province upon the defensive. He deemed it necessary that a force of eight hundred men should be retained and sent to the frontier, but the Assembly refused to provide

the means, and declined to do anything further for the support of the Indians. The Governor thereupon ordered the colonels of the militia of the several counties to hold themselves in readiness to march at a moment's notice. He called out the regiment and independent companies of the city of New York to parade, and his order was read at the head of the ranks. "But," he writes to the Duke of Newcastle, "every man unanimously refused to obey any orders from the Crown, unless an Act of Assembly

Disregard of Clinton's orders.



East River Shore, 1750. — From an Old Print.

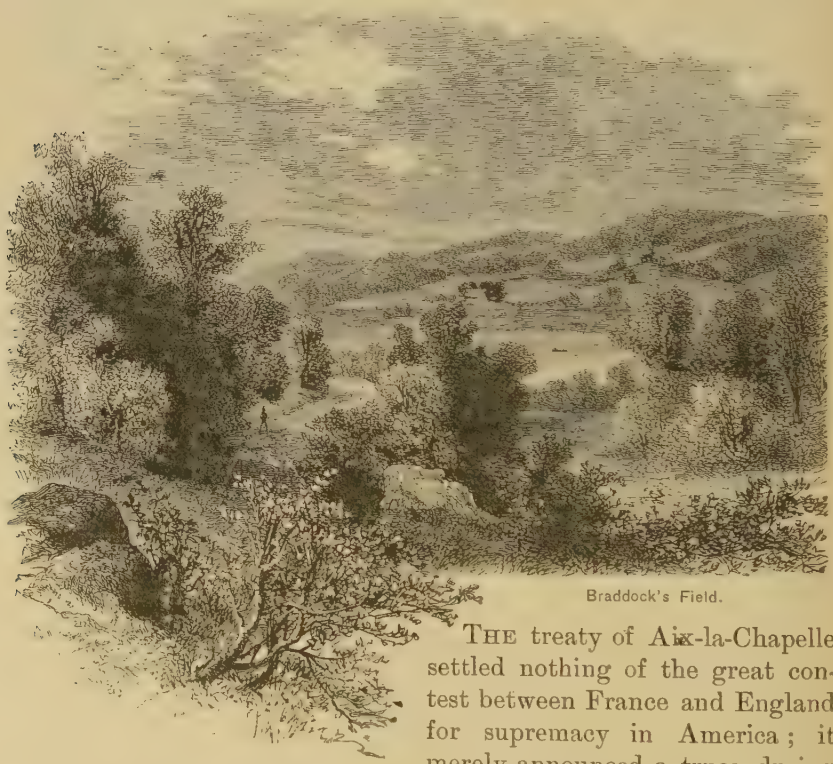
was passed in the Province for that purpose; which shows how well my opinion of their levelling, and the republican principles, has been grounded from time to time." And he adds pathetically in a postscript — "nothing has encouraged y^e^ faction so much as this, that I have not been able to obtain any thing to show to them, signifying His Majest^s^ approbation of my conduct, or displeasure of theirs." It was not his fault that he was compelled for several years longer to endure these humiliations, for he asked repeatedly, but in vain, to be recalled; and the final mortification — the necessity of giving to De Lancey his commission as Lieutenant-governor — was, no doubt, the keener that he had hoped to escape it when Sir Danvers Osborn arrived in 1753, to supersede him as Governor. But that gentleman, who was in a condition of morbid mental depression, took his own life two days after his inauguration; and Clinton had then no alternative but to deliver formally to De Lancey the commission which he had so long withheld, and had so repeatedly urged the Government in England to recall.

Suicide of Sir Danvers Osborn.

CHAPTER X.

OPENING OF THE FRENCH WAR.

Contest between England and France for Territory in America. — French Movements into the Valley of the Ohio. — Line of French Forts at the West. — Progress of English Settlement Westward. — The Ohio Company. — Major Washington. — His Fight with Jumonville. — Surrender at Fort Necessity. — Convention at Albany and Plan for Colonial Union. — Arrival of General Braddock. — His Expedition. — Franklin's Advice. — Braddock's Defeat and Death. — Operations in Nova Scotia. — The Question of Boundaries. — Settlement of Halifax. — Exile of the Acadians.



Braddock's Field.

The treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle settled nothing of the great contest between France and England for supremacy in America; it merely announced a truce, during which both parties, recovering from their exhaustion, made provision against an inevitable and decisive conflict. In America petty hostil-

ities on the border were scarcely interrupted between the date of the treaty (1748) and the resumption of open war in 1755. As we have seen, Governor Clinton, of New York, thought it absolutely necessary, — though the Assembly did not agree with him, — that on the disbanding of the troops in 1748, a force of eight hundred men should be in readiness to march at a moment's warning to the defence of the frontiers. The Governors of other provinces sympathized with Clinton's apprehensions, and not without reason.

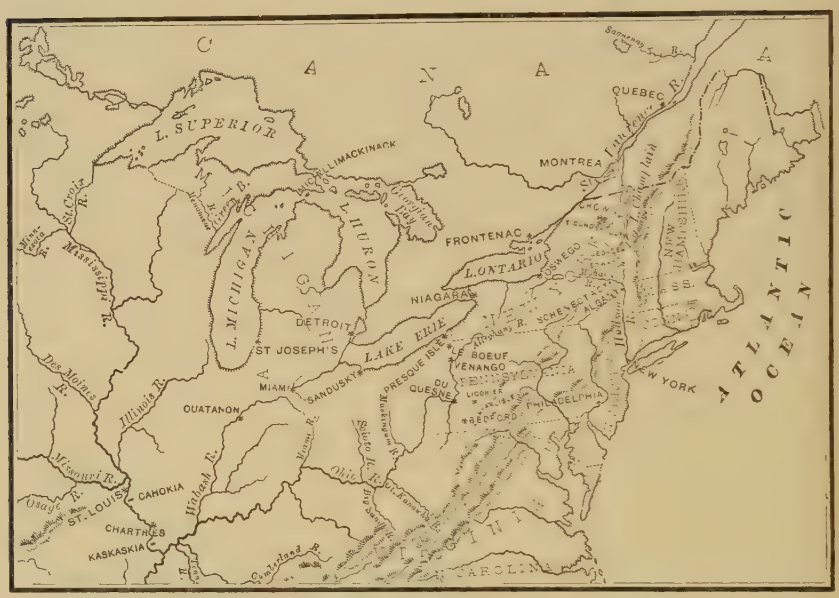
The two centres of interest for both nations were the country about the Gulf of St. Lawrence, and the valley of the Ohio. In 1749, De Celoron, the French commander at Detroit, made an expedition to the Ohio River, claimed the country as belonging to the French King, commanded all English traders to leave it, and wrote to the Governor of Pennsylvania that if such "traders should thereafter make their appearance on the Beautiful River, they would be treated without any delicacy." Some who did not obey were afterward arrested near the lake of Otsanderket (Sandusky) and were detained as prisoners. A few months later, several Mohawk chiefs assembled at the house of Colonel Johnson, and asked of him an explanation of a leaden tablet which was to have been buried on the banks of the Ohio, but had been taken by some of their tribe from a French interpreter. It bore a Latin inscription claiming ownership of all that region of country for France.[1] The French built a fort at a commanding point above Niagara Falls, the Governor of Canada maintaining their right to encroach thus upon the lands of the Iroquois, who, he declared, were not subjects of England, but, if subjects at all, of France. There were constant alarms of bodies of Frenchmen making their way southward from the lakes to the Ohio valley; and of their determination to possess and hold that region, there was no room for doubt. The aim of both nations was the same, to be compassed, however, for different purposes and in different ways. The French meant, by a series of fortifications, to connect the St. Lawrence with the Gulf of Mexico; the English proposed the establishment of colonies westward of the Alleghanies, which should be outposts of defence for the seaboard settlements, and bases for

French and English plans in the West.

[1] Translation: In the year 1749, during the reign of Louis XV., King of France, we, Celoron, commander of a detachment sent by Monsieur the Marquis de la Galissoniere, commander-in-chief of New France, for the restoration of tranquillity in some villages of Indians of these districts, have buried this plate at the confluence of the Ohio and Tchadakoin, this 29th July, near the River Ohio, otherwise Beautiful River, as a monument of the renewal of possession which we have taken of the said River Ohio, and of all those that therein fall, and of all the lands on both sides, as far as the sources of the said rivers, as enjoyed or ought to be enjoyed by the preceding kings of France, and as they therein have maintained themselves by arms and by treaties, especially by those of Riswick, of Utrecht, and of Aix-la-Chapelle. — *Documents Relating to Colonial History of New York*, vol. vi.

further advances into the unknown western country. Each put forth claims resting upon discovery or purchase, but each knew also that possession was the strongest title, and it was inevitable that the struggle for possession should come first upon those who actually stood upon the disputed territory.

The course of the French can be traced by the successive posts which they established along the chain of great lakes and upon the



Map showing the Positions of French and English Forts and Settlements about the beginning of the French War.

highways of the river system. As early as 1670 and 1671 the Jesuits established missions at the outlet of Lake Superior, at the head of Green Bay, and upon the northern shore of Lake Michigan; and the Sault Ste. Marie, La Baye, and Michilimackinac became centres of Indian trade, rendezvous for the *coureurs de bois*, and garrisons for French troops. A little later, a line of forts was established, guarding the passages of the great lakes, Frontenac, — where the St. Lawrence issues from Lake Ontario, — Niagara, and Detroit. These places became by degrees the centres of little settlements that grew up under the protection of their walls, but military occupation continued to be the chief aim. Then the access to the Mississippi was controlled by Fort St. Joseph near one of the sources of the Illinois, and still more by the older fort at Green Bay, on the Wisconsin River. The valleys of the Miami and the Wabash were held by Fort Miami and Fort

Ouatanon, a little below the present site of Lafayette, Ind., while the southern shore of Lake Erie was guarded by Forts Presqu' Isle, Le Bœuf, and Sandusky. Along the natural highways to the Mississippi and the Ohio were stockade settlements at Vincennes, at Kaskaskia, at Cahokia; and on the banks of the Mississippi were solitary stations marking the course of French arms and trade. Coming closer to the frontier of British settlements, communication was open from Fort Niagara to Presqu' Isle, on the site of the present town of Erie, thence to Fort Le Bœuf on a branch of the Alleghany, from which there was direct passage by water to Venango, and to the entrance of the Alleghany into the Ohio, where stood the farthest outpost of the French, in this quarter, Fort Du Quesne. It will thus be seen that the French could march their troops by natural highways from the stronghold in Canada, at the back of the New York, Pennsylvania, and Virginia settlements, and were rapidly getting control of that great artery, the Mississippi itself.

The English, on the other hand, were pushing their colonies from the Atlantic coast westward, by irregular lines, across the rugged Alleghanies, with little help from river courses. From those mountains and from the country on the farther side, incursions from Indians were always threatened, and it was early seen that there was need of establishing settlements upon that frontier country which should serve as a protection to the thinly scattered homes lying between the mountains and the sea-coast. But the English life was that of settlers, not of traders and hunters, and the measures taken were for occupation of the country, not for simple military control. It was partly the movements of the French that suggested to Spotswood of Virginia the extension of the Virginia settlements westward, to intercept the communication between Canada and Louisiana; and three years later Governor Keith of Pennsylvania urged upon the Lords of Trade the erection of a fort on Lake Erie. From time to time, during the next thirty years, warning voices were raised by sagacious observers, and plans suggested for the systematic action of the government.[1]

The first organized attempt at possession, was the formation of the Ohio Company in 1748, by an association of gentlemen in Virginia and Maryland, with a representative in London. Thomas Lee, one of his Majesty's Council in Virginia, was the original projector; and Lawrence and Augustine Washington, elder brothers of George, were largely interested in the enterprise. Five hundred thousand acres of land were granted to the Company by the King, to be

The Ohio Company.

[1] These considerations, with others, were set forth at a later date by Franklin in his defence of the Walpole Grant, which asked for an immense tract of country south of the Ohio, for purposes of settlement.

taken chiefly on the south side of the Ohio, between the Monongahela and Kanawha rivers, and west of the Alleghanies. One of the principal objects of the Company was to make use of the river communication by the Potomac and the eastern branches of the Ohio, and thus connect the new country with Virginia and Maryland, rather than with the rival colony of Pennsylvania. The road over the mountains from Cumberland to what is now Pittsburg, was laid out by Colonel Cresap, one of the Company, chiefly through the agency of a friendly Indian, Nemacolin. Exploring parties were sent out in 1750 and 1751 under Christopher Gist, and Gist himself, who had been appointed surveyor of the Company, formed a settlement, with eleven other families, in the country between the Monongahela and Youghiogheny rivers.

But the country which the Ohio Company proposed to occupy, though granted by George II., had other owners. When Penn made his first settlement, he found on the banks of the Delaware the Lenni Lenape (Original Men), known by the English then and afterward as the Delaware Indians. They had been reduced to submission by the Iroquois, and they afterward sold their lands to Penn, and lived amicably by the side of the settlers. But little by little the whites crowded back the Indians, Penn's successors not always dealing with them according to his precept and example, till the Delawares were driven to the western slopes of the Alleghanies and the adjacent valleys. The Shawnoes, who had also been subdued by the Six Nations, were their neighbors.

The Company's plans of settlement.

The Ohio Company petitioned the government of Virginia to invite the Indians to a treaty. A meeting was called at Logstown, a trading-post about seventeen miles from the present site of Pittsburg, on the north side of the Ohio. The traders and the French alike threw obstacles in the way of a good understanding between the government and the Indians, and it was not until a second call was given in 1752, that Mr. Gist, as agent of the Company, Colonel Fry, and two other commissioners from Virginia, met the Indians and effected a treaty, by which the Indians agreed not to molest any settlements that might be made on the southeast side of the Ohio. But the Indians were careful even now to refuse to recognize any English claim to the land. The Company constructed a fort, built some roads, and brought goods for trading; a few families settled about Gist's place, but before the country had been fairly occupied, their vigilant adversaries, the French, had pushed southward from Lake Erie by the highway of the Alleghany, and were preparing to establish themselves, not by colonies, but by forts, in the heart of the disputed territory. In the autumn of 1753 they had intrenched

themselves at Venango (now Franklin, in Venango County, Pennsylvania). When this was known in Virginia, it was determined to send a commissioner to investigate the proceeding, since Venango was on territory claimed by that colony. Governor Dinwiddie selected for this duty a Virginia surveyor, about twenty-two years of age, who had already shown a marked capacity for dealing with Indians and for backwoods life, and whose brothers had been closely identified with the movements of the Ohio Company, — Major George Washington. The young commissioner, accompanied by Mr. Gist and a few attendants, set out from Fredericksburg, October 30, 1753, and making friends at Logstown with some Delaware chiefs, took them with him to Venango, which he reached early in December. The officers whom he found there sent him on to the

George Washington appointed commissioner for the Company.

Washington on his Journey to the French Forts.

commander at Fort Le Bœuf, to whom he delivered the letter of Governor Dinwiddie. He brought back an evasive reply, but the object of his expedition was really accomplished in his observations of the movements and plans of the French and their dealings with the Indians.

The report made by Washington on his return, January 16, 1754, led to prompt action on the part of Virginia. The Assembly voted £10,000 for fitting out an expedition, which was to erect necessary fortifications at the confluence of the Alleghany and the Monongahela to protect the Ohio Company in its operations. The provinces of North Carolina, Pennsylvania, and Maryland were called upon for aid, but the jealousy between the provinces, and the disputes between the people and Proprietary in Pennsylvania, prevented any very vigorous

assistance, so that the main burden fell upon Virginia. Washington was made second in command, under Colonel Joshua Fry, and the active work of organizing the little army at Alexandria was mainly his. Meanwhile, in advance of the action of the Burgesses, a company of men under Ensign Ward had been sent forward in haste to secure the position. Washington, in command of the main body, had reached the camp at Will's Creek, near Cumberland, when he learned that the French under Contrecœur had appeared in force before the works which Ward and his men had begun, and had demanded an immediate surrender. On the 17th of April, 1754, Ward surrendered, and that date has been taken as the beginning of actual hostilities in this final struggle of the French and English for supremacy in America. Ward himself brought the intelligence to Washington, who at once sent expresses to the Governors of Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia, asking for reënforcements, and then pressed forward with his men, without waiting for Colonel Fry, who had not yet arrived. Contrecœur proceeded, after Ward's surrender, to complete the works which the English had begun, and named the place Fort Du Quesne, in honor of the Governor of Canada.

Hostilities begun by the French.

Plan of Fort Du Quesne.

It was Washington's plan to proceed to the junction of Red Stone Creek with the Monongahela, thirty-seven miles from the French position, and there intrench while waiting for reënforcements; but before he reached that point he learned, at a place called Great Meadows, not only that the French force had been increased, but that a party was in the woods approaching him. He took advantage of the night to surprise the scouting party in advance of the main body, and captured more than half their number. In the attack M. de Jumonville, the commander, was slain. Washington then hastily erected earthworks at Great Meadows, naming the place Fort Necessity, and waited anxiously for the reënforcements which he had been told were on the way. Before these came, however, on the 3d of July, he was attacked by a large body of French and compelled, after a gallant struggle, to capitulate, upon

Washington's surrender.

terms which, through the ignorance or duplicity of the interpreter, proved to be less favorable than was at first supposed.

The French seized upon this affair as a pretext for diplomatic negotiation, behind which they concealed more active measures. The English pushed forward their preparations with less diligence. The government had already sent instructions to the colonies not to permit encroachments by the French, — which was precisely the course Virginia had been pursuing, — to form a confederacy for mutual support, and directed the Governor of New York to call a Council of Indian chiefs, to conciliate them by presents, and win them to the British interest. The imminent peril in which the colonies found themselves was a powerful auxiliary to these instructions, and on the 19th of June, 1754, twenty-five delegates from seven northern colonies assembled at Albany, and there met delegates from the Six Nations.

Rapid progress toward war.

Franklin, who was sent from Pennsylvania, relates, in his "Autobiography," that, on the way to Albany, he drew up a plan for a union of all the colonies under one government, and found, on his arrival, that several of the commissioners had done the same thing. There was a general belief in the necessity of such a union for the better defence of the colonies, and the subject was discussed with great deliberation. The plan finally adopted, based upon that proposed by Franklin, provided for a federal government, consisting of a President-general and a Grand Council. The President was to be appointed by the Crown, with a veto power over the acts of the Council; the Council was to be a popular Congress, composed of a designated number of delegates chosen by the Assembly of each colony. The Congress was to meet annually, and oftener if summoned by the President, and the term of service of members was to be three years.[1] This constitution of government was submitted in due time to the Board of Trade in England, and to the Assemblies of the several provinces, but was rejected by both. In England it was thought to give too much power to the people; in America the fear was that too much was granted to a royal President.

Proposed union of the colonies.

[1] The delegations of the several provinces were fixed as follows, and they show the relative importance of each at that time: —

Massachusetts Bay	7	Pennsylvania	6
New Hampshire	2	Maryland	4
Connecticut	5	Virginia	7
Rhode Island	2	North Carolina	4
New York	4	South Carolina	4
New Jerseys	3		

Nova Scotia and Georgia were not included in the plan. For a full report of the Convention, see *New York Colonial Documents*, vol. vi.

The Convention, however, devoted itself with great zeal to strengthening the alliance with the Indians, and impressing upon them how disastrous it would be to their welfare, should they permit the French to build forts upon the Ohio. The Indians replied: "The Governor of Virginia and the Governor of Canada are both quarrelling about lands which belong to us, and such a quarrel as this may end in our destruction."

Arrival of General Braddock.

In September, 1754, Edward Braddock was commissioned as Commander-in-chief of all the forces in North America, and with him, as next in command, were associated Governor Shirley and Sir William Pepperell of Massachusetts. It was the design of the government to make a fourfold movement against the French possessions. The French forts in Acadia were to be taken; expeditions were to proceed against Crown Point and Niagara; and Braddock himself was at once to dislodge the French from Fort Du Quesne and the other forts in the Ohio valley. After reducing those places, he was to move on to Niagara and join the expedition which was at the same time to attack that stronghold. The provision made for this comprehensive plan was liberal. Six thousand troops were provided by the Crown, equipped for service, and large sums were placed at the disposal of the provinces, which were encouraged to raise a provincial army. Braddock himself arrived with his expedition in Hampton Roads, in February, 1755. The French, after reënforcing Fort Du Quesne, in expectation of an early attack, had withdrawn their troops during the winter, and there were now not over two hundred men, French and Indian, in occupation. But the movements of the English were speedily known, and the commander of the fort, on guard against surprise, was able to summon something less than a thousand men from the neighboring forts. Two months after Braddock landed in Virginia, a formidable squadron sailed from Brest, carrying three thousand men to Canada. It seems almost as if the English had become befogged by their own diplomatic manœuvres, when, instead of attacking at once an armament whose destination and purpose were unequivocal, they sent Admiral Boscawen, with a force half that of the enemy's, to lie in wait for the squadron off the Banks of Newfoundland, and some time after sent an insufficient reënforcement to support him in the face of another powerful detachment of the French fleet. Mirepoix had declared that the first gun fired at sea in a hostile manner should be taken as a declaration of war. Boscawen captured only two French ships, and war was now opened in dead earnest.

War begun.

The Commander-in-chief of the British forces in North America was a soldier of acknowledged training and personal bravery, but a self-

confident and obstinate man, a martinet who held in high esteem the traditions of the Coldstream Guards, of which he had been Lieutenant-colonel. Upon his arrival he called a convention of the Governors of the different colonies to meet him for conference, and urged upon them, in the same letter, the formation of a common fund with which to assist in carrying on operations. The convention met on April 14, at Alexandria, and the intervening months were spent by the General in discovering the difficulties which lay in his way. He found himself representing the British power, but unable to overcome the obstinacy or indifference of Assemblies and Governors. The affair of the Ohio lands had been taken up by Virginia, and Virginia, therefore, showed most alacrity in supporting the English General; Pennsylvania was dilatory, not from want of interest, but because of the interminable quarrel between the Governor and the Assembly as to the amount of money to be raised and the best way of raising it. The most direct road led through that province, and contemporary as well as later judgments unite in deploring the error which led Braddock to make Virginia, rather than Pennsylvania, his starting-point;[1] but the choice was not singular, when Virginia had been all along the moving colony, and the previous expeditions had followed the road that had been blazed from Hill's Creek.

Braddock's expedition.

At the meeting of Governors, General Braddock earnestly urged those points in the campaign which formed the basis of his instructions. He called for the establishment of a common fund; but they replied that they had in vain endeavored to persuade the several Assemblies to take measures for this. He proposed that a treaty, with presents, should be made with the Six Nations, and that Colonel Johnson should negotiate it. They assented to this, promised to raise eight hundred pounds for presents, and also agreed to place the expedition against Crown Point under Johnson's command. He proposed the reënforcement of the fort at Oswego, and the building of two vessels on Lake Ontario, to which they also agreed; and after full instructions to Johnson, — who was at first reluctant to accept his trust as plenipotentiary to the Six Nations, because of the lack of faith heretofore shown toward the Indians, but finally was persuaded to accept in consideration of Braddock's known integrity, — the council broke up, and the army began its movements.

On the 24th of April Braddock was at Frederick, Maryland, impatiently awaiting the arrival of the wagons which he had ordered for

[1] Entick, i. 142. Franklin's *Autobiography*, in Bigelow's *Life of Benjamin Franklin, written by himself*, i. 317. *The Olden Time*, ii. 540. "It was computed at the time that had he landed at Philadelphia, his march would have been shortened by six weeks, and £40,000 would have been saved in the cost of the expedition. — Sargent's *Braddock*, pp. 161, 162.

transporting his stores. In the old barracks, still standing, he received Washington, whom he had invited to join his military family as aid-de-camp, and Franklin, who at this time was Postmaster-general of the colonies. Franklin gave him immediate and important aid. When the efforts to procure wagons had signally failed, he came forward with a proposal to obtain them from Pennsylvania, and by a most adroit advertisement and address, added to his personal influence, the necessary conveyances were promptly secured. He might have been of far greater service if Braddock could have been prevailed upon to take warning from the words of this shrewd American. The English General, who had already discussed with the naval commander the best course to be pursued with the French whom he should capture at Fort Du Quesne, and had laid out his journey through the backwoods as confidently as if expecting to march from London to Greenwich, said to Franklin, in an off-hand way, that he should only stop a day or two at Fort Du Quesne, and then go on to Niagara and Frontenac. Franklin ventured only to say: "To be sure, sir, if you arrive well before Du Quesne with these fine troops, so well provided with artillery, that place, not completely fortified, and, as we hear, with no very strong garrison, can probably make but a short resistance. The only danger I apprehend of obstruction to your march is from ambuscades of Indians, who, by constant practice, are dexterous in laying and executing them; and the slender line, near four miles long, which your army must make, may expose it to be attacked by surprise in its flanks, and to be cut like a thread into several pieces, which, from their distance, cannot come up in time to support each other." "He smiled at my ignorance," adds Franklin, "and replied: 'These savages may, indeed, be a formidable enemy to your raw American militia, but upon the King's regular and disciplined troops, sir, it is impossible they should make any impression.' I was conscious of an impropriety in my disputing with a military man in matters of his profession, and said no more."[1]

Braddock's plans.

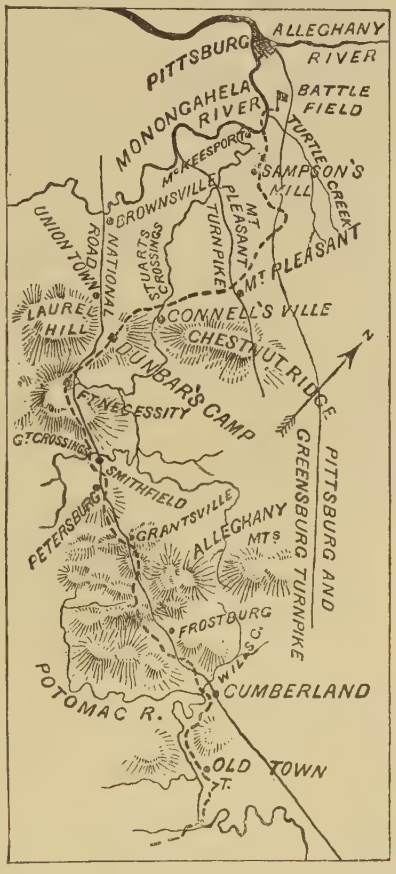
Old Barracks, Frederick.

[1] Bigelow's *Life of Franklin*, i. 324, 325.

The same fatuous reliance on "regular troops" led Braddock to receive so coldly and disdainfully the overtures of Croghan, the interpreter, and his hundred Indians, that they fell off from him. Washington knew the value of these men, and urged them upon the General; but though he seems to have been drawn to the young Virginian, he was incapable, as Washington himself says, "of giving up any point he asserts, be it ever so incompatible with reason or common sense."

The rendezvous for all the forces was at Fort Cumberland on Will's Creek, and here, on the 7th of June, Franklin's wagons and horses having been gathered, the expedition made its final start. It consisted of 1,000 regulars, brought over by Braddock, 30 sailors, and 1,200 provincials, besides a train of artillery, and with them, at the start, were a number of friendly Indians. The road followed was that originally made by Nemacolin, over which Washington had passed, now slowly widened by the axes of the advance guard. On the third night after starting, the encampment was only five miles beyond Fort Cumberland. A week later, when they had effected the crossing of the Great Savage Mountain, they entered upon the gloomy tract known as the Shades of Death. Dense woods of enormous white pines covered this region, and the stillness of the forest only sharpened the ear more intently for the sudden crack of the Indian's rifle.

His forces.



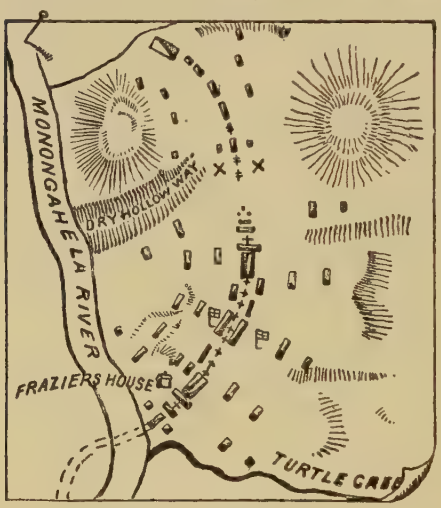
Braddock's Route.

When the expedition emerged from this, at Little Meadows, where an advance detachment had thrown up some rude fortifications, a council was held, to consider how best to meet the growing difficulties. Washington's urgent advice was, to push on with twelve hundred men, lightly equipped, leaving about half the men and all the baggage and horses that could be spared. His advice was taken, and again the army

moved forward, now more compact, but growing worn and exhausted by the unwonted labors.

His march.

Now began also, as they plunged deeper into the wilderness, desertions of the Indian allies, the picking off of stragglers by hostile savages hovering on the flanks of the train, and sudden apparitions of dusky forms at night. The tactics of the army were still those of European warfare. They halted, as Washington impatiently declares, "to level every mole-hill and to erect bridges over every brook, by which means we were four days in getting twelve miles." It was with difficulty that Braddock could persuade any of the Indians still remaining with him, to act as scouts, while his own movements were constantly watched and reported to the French commander. At length on the 8th of July the army encamped two miles from the Monongahela, near what is known as Crooked Run. They were on the same side of the river as the Fort, but the passage for two miles was by a narrow defile, having the river on the left, and a high ridge on the right. It was determined, therefore, to take advantage of two fords on the Monongahela; to cross at the first ford not far from the camp; then, proceeding along the south side, to recross at the other, at the mouth of Turtle Creek, distant, as the crow flies, from Fort Du Quesne, only about eight miles; thence to march upon the fort and invest it.



Map of Braddock's Field.

Action of the French.

The progress of Braddock's march had been reported from day to day to Contrecœur, the commander at the fort. The number of the army, whose line extended sometimes four miles, was greatly exaggerated, and Contrecœur, looking upon his feeble garrison, not a thousand in number, of which four fifths were Indians encamped about the walls, resolved not to hazard a battle, but to seek an honorable surrender. The Indians shared his apprehensions; but one of the captains of the regulars, De Beaujeu, well versed in Indian warfare, begged to be allowed to lay an ambuscade and intercept the British on their march. To do this, the consent of the Indians had to be obtained, and it was only upon the morning of the 9th, when a runner brought word that the army was in

motion again, that Beaujeu could bring them to resolution. Appearing at their council, he burst out, "I am determined to go out and meet the enemy. What! will you suffer your father to go out alone?" From timidity and unfeigned reluctance they passed suddenly to fierce confidence and headlong haste. In a moment the war-paint was on, and the whole body of French and Indians were frantic for action.

Braddock broke camp early on the morning of the 9th, and having sent detachments to hold both fords, moved his army across the river. He ordered the march to be made as if on dress parade, and in this manner, with splendid uniforms, colors flying, and martial music, the soldiers eagerly looking forward to the end of their toil, the whole army passed along the southern bank from the first ford to the second, the sunlight falling on the brilliant colors and gleaming steel.[1] Washington and Gates, Gage, Morgan, and Mercer, — names that were to be famous in another war, — were there.

By two o'clock most of the troops had crossed the second ford. From the gentle slope of the river bank, covered with an open wood of walnut trees, the land rose abruptly into high hills from which fell off three deep ravines, dense with a rank growth of trees and underbrush. The march was over these rounding hills and diagonally to the ravines which now began to disclose themselves. Suddenly, when the troops were separated by the nature of the ground, one of the engineers, who was marking out the road, looked up and saw a man, gayly dressed in a fringed hunting-dress, wearing a silver gorget on his breast, come leaping down the hill-side. It was Beaujeu. Behind him, following with bounding steps, the motley array of French and Indians came pressing on. He stopped, and swung his hat about his head, when suddenly the savages disappeared, the French only remaining in sight and pouring a murderous fire upon the English. In a moment from the ravines on either side came volleys accompanied by unearthly yells and shrieks such as never before had saluted the ears of the regulars. Gage's men, who held the advance, stood their ground and were presently reënforced by St. Clair's working party. They returned the fire of the French, and Beaujeu fell dead. The ambuscade.

The Indians began to fly, but Dumas and De Ligueris, companions of Beaujeu, rallied the savages, and from their posts behind the trees rapidly picked off the regulars, who continued to fire with great noise and fury into the forest, which now seemed transformed into a

[1] "Washington was often heard to say, during his lifetime, that the most beautiful spectacle he had ever beheld was the display of the British troops on this eventful morning." — Sparks's *Washington*, ii. 469.

troop of devils, each tree sending its murderous bullets into the ranks of the regiment. Scarcely a man was to be seen, but the deadly fire was unerring and incessant. Braddock, who was with the rear still at the river bank, hearing the engagement, sent forward the bulk of his forces, leaving four hundred to protect the baggage at the river. They had formed and were advancing, when Gage's party fell back upon the advance, and the mass of men, struggling in confusion, became almost a mob, into which the French and Indians, hovering about as if in the branches of the trees, plunged their deadly fire. In vain Braddock, rushing hither and thither, sought to rally his

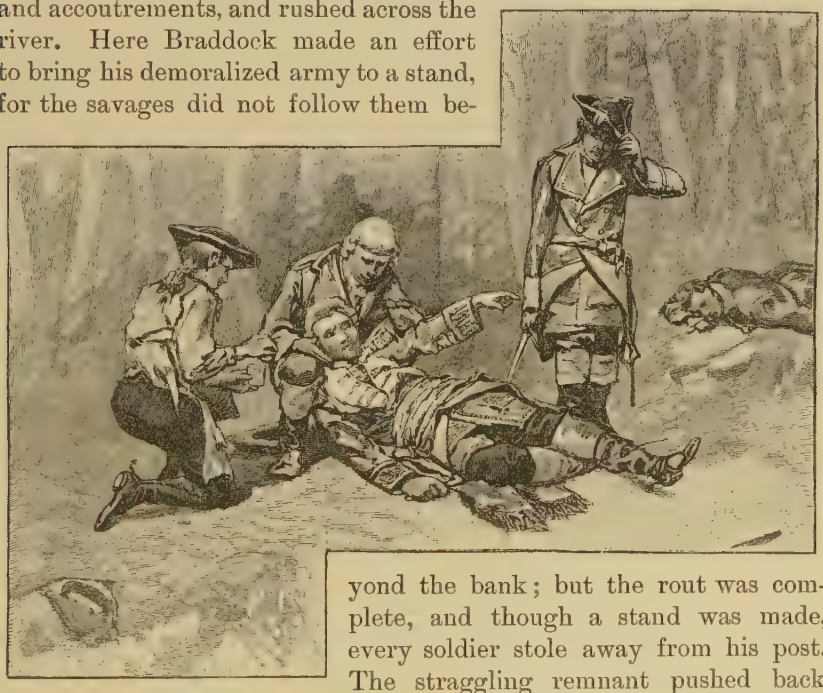
Beaujeu's Advance.

men and form them; in vain he urged them forward. Four horses were shot under him; he mounted a fifth, and with his officers flung himself in advance to inspirit his men. But they could not be rallied. The provincials, indeed, who throughout maintained more coolness than the regulars, better understanding the nature of the warfare, quickly took positions behind trees. Washington urged Braddock to

give the word for the men to adopt this method, but instead, the infatuated commander himself drove men from out of their skulking-places, as he thought them, and insisted that the battle should be waged according to established rules. In the confusion the men fired upon their own comrades. Braddock himself was wounded, but while lying upon the ground he continued to give orders, and the army, trained to obedience, while it could not advance, could at least stand and be shot down.

At length, when they were surrounded and even the baggage was attacked, and all hope of victory was gone, he ordered the drums to beat a retreat. In a moment, the retreat became a panic, and it was only by the bravery of a few devoted men that Braddock himself was borne off the field. The men threw aside guns and accoutrements, and rushed across the river. Here Braddock made an effort to bring his demoralized army to a stand, for the savages did not follow them beyond the bank; but the rout was complete, and though a stand was made, every soldier stole away from his post. The straggling remnant pushed back over the road by which they had so lately advanced, and on the 11th the camp of reserves was reached. The army was utterly disorganized, and no effort was made to save anything. The stores were destroyed, and the straggling troops fell back at last to Fort Cumberland.

The panic



Braddock wounded.

Braddock continued giving orders so long as strength remained to him, but kept utter silence otherwise. On Sunday, the 13th, as the shattered army lay at Great Meadows, he gave his final orders, and

committed affairs to Washington, for whom he had formed a strong attachment. During the retreat he is said to have spoken only to give his commands. Now, his sole allusion to the terrible discomfiture which had broken up his army and destroyed his military reputation, was in the half-muttered words, "Who would have thought it! Who would have thought it!" He turned to Orme, his faithful lieutenant, and said, "We shall better know how to deal with them another time." But Braddock's one chance had been lost through his own obstinacy and wrong-headedness. He died, and was buried at Great Meadows, where his grave is still pointed out. The army, under Dunbar, finally reached Philadelphia at the end of August.

Results of Braddock's defeat.

The miserable conclusion of an expedition which had set out so vaingloriously, brought a train of evils in the devastation of the back country of Virginia and Pennsylvania by the Indians, who had no fear of this defeated enemy; it brought also one unsuspected good in the knowledge that regulars were not invincible, and the British power not blindly to be relied upon. The conduct of the provincials in the fight, showed clearly the mettle of the country troops, and their superiority in fighting methods. The breaking down of the foreign army led at once to the creation of a militia organization, and out of Braddock's defeat grew that confidence in themselves which sustained the Americans in the subsequent conflict with Great Britain. The immediate effect, nevertheless, upon the minds of English and Americans was one of bitter chagrin and disappointment.

In Nova Scotia, the news of the disaster was received at a moment so critical to operations in that quarter, that imperative orders were given to prevent its reaching the French inhabitants. The English occupation of that province since its cession by France in the treaty of Utrecht, in 1713, had been very meagre, and such population as the peninsula held was mainly French, while the boundaries of the province were the subject of long and minute controversy, a controversy only ended by the conquest of Canada itself.

Boundaries of Nova Scotia.

The question of boundaries was considered for more than three years at Paris by a Board of Commissaries. The range of the discussion included the consideration of ancient limits and the identity of Nova Scotia and Acadia, and conclusions differed widely. But both governments practically recognized the popular understanding that Nova Scotia or Acadia corresponded with the present limits of the peninsula. The French acknowledged that the people about the Basin of Minas were British subjects, and the English confined their efforts at colonization to Nova Scotia proper.

The importance of the peninsula, and the necessity of planting it

with Englishmen, if it was to be anything more than nominally English, were beginning to be seen. Scarcely any organized effort had been made by the English to occupy the country, while the French settlements about Annapolis Royal and the Basin of Minas had grown into compact communities who were rapidly accumulating wealth. Not the nationality only, but the religion of these French settlers held them together and made them a foreign body, all the more dangerous in the eyes of Englishmen that they were both French and Roman Catholic. "The zeal and attachment of these Nova Scotians to the Romish faith," writes a vigorous pamphleteer of that day,[1] "will always prevent the settlement of Protestants in the country, unless it be done in compact bodies and under the cover of fortifications; but till this is accomplished, it can no more be said that the Province belongs to the Crown of Great Britain, because it is possessed of Annapolis Royal, than of the kingdom of Spain from our possession of Gibraltar. It is therefore absolutely necessary for the safety and interest of the Northern colonies that some speedy and effectual measures are taken to put these Nova Scotians on a definite footing, or to remove them; the last cannot well be done, and the first in nothing better than by encouraging a considerable number of foreign Protestants and others to settle amongst them."

Condition of the Acadian Peninsula.

This encouragement was soon given. An advertisement in the London "Gazette," dated at Whitehall, 7th March, 1749, was issued by the Lords Commissioners of Trade and Plantations, offering special inducements to recently dismissed officers and privates of the army and navy, as also to carpenters, shipwrights, smiths, masons, joiners, brickmakers, bricklayers, "and all other artificers necessary in building or husbandry," by which passage was given to Nova Scotia, grants of land made, and subsistence promised for a year. So popular was the enterprise and so prompt the movement that, early in May of the same year, Colonel Edward Cornwallis — uncle to that Lord Cornwallis whose name occupies so conspicuous a place in the annals of the American Revolution — led an expedition of about twenty-five hundred persons into Chebucto Harbor in Nova Scotia.[2]

Inducements to English settlers in Nova Scotia.

The name of Halifax was given to the settlement which was then begun, in honor of the President of the Lords of Trade and Plantations, Lord Halifax, who was exceedingly interested in the success

[1] *The State of Trade in the Northern Colonies considered: with an Account of their Produce, and a particular Description of Nova Scotia.* By Otis Little.

[2] Haliburton's *Historical and Statistical Account of Nova Scotia* makes the number much larger; but Akins's *Selections from the Public Documents of Nova Scotia* gives a list of those who came with Cornwallis.

of the enterprise. The country about Chebucto Harbor was densely wooded, and the nearest settlement was that of the French about the Basin of Minas, twenty miles distant, but a cattle-path already connected the two points. Cornwallis at once set his colonists to work, clearing the ground in preparation for the winter, and at the end of four months could report "there are now three hundred houses covered in at Halifax, which I hope will be tolerably comfortable for the winter." The removal of the garrison from Louisburg added both to the force and to the stores of the young colony, and French and Indians were hired to labor upon the public works.

Halifax founded.

Earl of Halifax

Cornwallis had the poorest possible opinion of the military resources at Annapolis. "My Lord," he writes to the Duke of Bedford, who had now become Secretary for the Colonies, "these Companies are as prepared for service as a Regiment raised yesterday. The whole management in this Province, both with regard to the Inhabitants and these Companies, has been such that 't is scandalous the Crown should be so served. It has been called an English Province these thirty-four years, and I don't believe that the King had one true subject without the Fort of Annapolis. I cannot trace the least glimpse of an English Government." He wrote repeatedly of the way in which the French were inciting the Indians to make war upon the colony, openly and by stealth: "The French have not only set on the Indians, but have acted in conjunction with them; they have entered and took possession of part of the Province, drove off the Inhabitants, forced them to swear allegiance to the French King, and in short acted with as much vigour and done as much harm to us as they could have done in open war."

Relations of the English colonists with the French.

There was hardly a pretence, indeed, of a cessation of hostilities. A French settlement had recently been made at the mouth of the St. John, and an expedition had been sent to occupy the isthmus between Nova Scotia and the mainland. Throughout the whole win-

ter Halifax was in constant apprehension of attack, and was incessantly annoyed by predatory bands of French and Indians. To strengthen the Province, Cornwallis believed first of all in military measures; but he recommended also the introduction of foreign Protestants, especially from among the Swiss, whose influence over the French Catholics, he hoped, would be beneficial.

The problem of dealing with the French inhabitants.

But some more direct interference with the inhabitants seemed necessary. The troubles of the colonists could be traced directly to the machinations of certain priests and intriguing men amongst them; and in event of an open war with France, which was steadily becoming more probable, there could be little doubt that the French settlers would, openly or secretly, side with the French cause. To banish them from the Province was only to turn them into open enemies and increase the strength of Canada and Cape Breton. That peril had been early foreseen, and repeated allusions to it recur in the correspondence between Cornwallis and the home government. On the other hand, there was no time, in the face of the gathering storm, to make English citizens of them. The introduction of French Protestants was an experiment which might easily work in the opposite direction from what was intended, and fan the flame of religious hatred.

Difficulties of the question.

In tracing the relations between the English and French which led to the deportation of the Acadians, it becomes necessary to note how constantly the English government, both at home and in the Province, were reminded that the persons with whom they were dealing held but a paper loyalty to them. By the terms of the treaty of Utrecht, in 1713, the French residents in Acadia, then ceded to the English, were allowed a year in which either to take the oath as British subjects, or to leave the country. But while the French in Canada urged them to remove, and threatened them with the fate of rebels if they did not, the English were aware that not only would their removal greatly increase the importance of the rival colony of Cape Breton, but leave Nova Scotia almost entirely depopulated. It was hoped, moreover, that in process of time the descendants would become Anglicized by intercourse with English emigrants. But English emigrants came slowly, while the French remained, assuming the position of Neutrals, a name, indeed, which was frequently applied to them. They claimed that to the oath of allegiance, which they finally took, there was a reservation which exempted them from taking up arms against their own blood. Like all neutrals, they were suspected by both sides — by the French, because they owed allegiance to the English; by the English, because their blood, their sympathies, and their religion were French.

From the settlement of Halifax in 1749, to the outbreak of the war in 1755, the French Acadians, either personally or by delegates, were repeatedly summoned to meet the English authorities, and the one condition imposed upon them, of taking the oath of allegiance without reserve, was evaded or refused with an ingenuity which confirms the common judgment of the English at that time — that behind these simple people were French emissaries, especially the priest Le Soutre, who used them with great dexterity for their own purposes. When every other argument failed, the Acadians would announce their resolution to leave the country; but that was precisely what the English were bent on preventing, although the project of removing them began to present itself as the only satisfactory method of solving the problem. The position which the English claimed for themselves is very forcibly set forth in the reply which Cornwallis made to the deputies of the French district, when, at the beginning of his rule as Governor, they appeared before him and presented a letter signed by one thousand persons, having in it this clause: "The inhabitants in general, Sir, over the whole extent of this country, have resolved not to take the oath which Your Excellency requires of us; but if Your Excellency will grant us our old oath which was given at Minas to Mr. Richard Phillips,[1] with an exemption for ourselves and for our heirs from taking up arms, we will accept it. But if Your Excellency is not disposed to grant us what we take the liberty of asking, we are resolved, every one of us, to leave the country." In his reply, Colonel Cornwallis said, with great emphasis: "Gentlemen, you allow yourselves to be led away by people who find it to their interest to lead you astray. They have made you imagine it is only your oath which binds you to the English. They deceive you. It is not the oath which a king administers to his subjects that makes them subjects. The oath supposes that they are so already. The oath is nothing but a very sacred bond of the fidelity of those who take it."

Cornwallis's statement of the English position.

The crisis seems to have been reached in the summer of 1755, when memorials were presented from the people of Minas and Pisiquid (now Windsor), praying for the restoration of the arms which had been

[1] This oath, given in 1727–28, was the oath of allegiance, qualified by the insertion of a clause in the margin that the Acadians were not to be obliged to take up arms against France. There is no evidence that Governor Phillips tendered such an oath, but it does appear that Governor Armstrong in 1727 allowed the modification in certain cases, and was severely reprimanded by the home government for so doing, and that Ensign Wroth repeated the blunder the next year in other cases. He also was summoned before the Council and reprimanded, on the ground that "the articles and concessions" granted by him were "unwarrantable and dishonorable to H. M. government and authority, and consequently null and void." See *Akins*, p. 78. The Acadians clung to this modified oath with the greatest persistency.

taken from them, and for exemption from the required oath. These memorials were offered at a time when it was rumored that a French fleet was in the Bay of Fundy, and the commander in charge at Minas reported an immediate change of temper in the people from submission to insolence. The deputies who presented the memorials were brought before the Council, July 3, 1755, and a long conference was held, at the close of which the deputies asked permission to return and consult the body of inhabitants; but the request, clearly to gain time, was refused, and they were required to give a definite answer to the demands of the Council the next day. The crisis.

The next day came, and the deputies refused to take the oath, whereupon they were ordered into confinement. The Governor [1] now issued an order for all the French inhabitants to send at once to Halifax new deputies with the "general resolution of the said inhabitants in regard to taking the oath, and that none of them should for the future be admitted to take it after having once refused so to do, but that effectual measures ought to be taken to remove all such recusants out of the Province." Two hundred and seven inhabitants of Annapolis River sent thirty deputies, with instructions to contract no new oath; one hundred and three inhabitants of Pisiquid, Minas, and the river Canard, presented a memorial by deputies, utterly refusing to take any but the reserved oath, and asking that those who had been detained at Halifax be set at liberty; two hundred and three inhabitants of Minas and the river Canard clung to the oath which they believed they had taken under Governor Phillips, and called for the release of the prisoners in Halifax. The deputies presenting these memorials appeared before the Council and refused the oath. "Whereupon," says the record of the Council, "they were all ordered into confinement. As it had been before determined to send all the French inhabitants out of the Province, if they refused to take the oaths, nothing now remained to be considered but what measures should be taken to send them away, and where they should be sent to."

The force requisite for this purpose was at hand. Besides the small body of troops in the Province, a regiment of two battalions, consisting in all of two thousand men, had been enlisted in Massachusetts by Lieutenant-colonel John Winslow, of Marshfield, great-grandson of Edward Winslow, one of the founders of the Plymouth settlement. This expedition, sailing from Boston on the 20th of May, had arrived at Annapolis Harbor five days later, and on the 1st of June moved forward in a fleet of forty-one vessels A force sent to Acadia.

[1] Cornwallis had been succeeded by Peregrine Thomas Hopson in 1752, and he by Charles Lawrence, as Lieutenant-governor, in 1754, and Governor-in-chief in 1756.

to Chiegnecto, the district now known as Cumberland, where a narrow isthmus separates the waters of the Bay of Fundy from Northumberland Strait, and connects the peninsula of Nova Scotia with the continent. Here the French had established themselves in three fortified places, with a view to command the land connection and give free passage into the district occupied mainly by the French Acadians. Winslow's force was enlarged by the addition of three hundred regulars, with a small train of artillery, and the whole expedition was under the command of Lieutenant-colonel Monckton. The success of the expedition was unequivocal. The French fortifications were taken; the garrison of Fort Beau Séjour were sent to Louisburg on condition of not bearing arms in America for six months; the Acadians and Indians were disarmed, the Acadians being pardoned, in one instance at least, as having been pressed into the service.

Lieutenant-colonel Winslow.

It was this force on which Governor Lawrence now relied for the deportation of the Acadians. The whole number for which provision was to be made was about three thousand.[1] In a letter to Colonel Monckton, Governor Lawrence had already advised that the whole affair should be conducted as a stratagem: "It will be necessary to keep this measure as secret as possible, as well to prevent their attempting to escape, as to carry off their cattle, etc.; and the better to effect this, you will endeavor to fall upon some stratagem to get the men, both young and old (especially the heads of families), into your power, and detain them till the trans-

Measures for carrying away the French colonists.

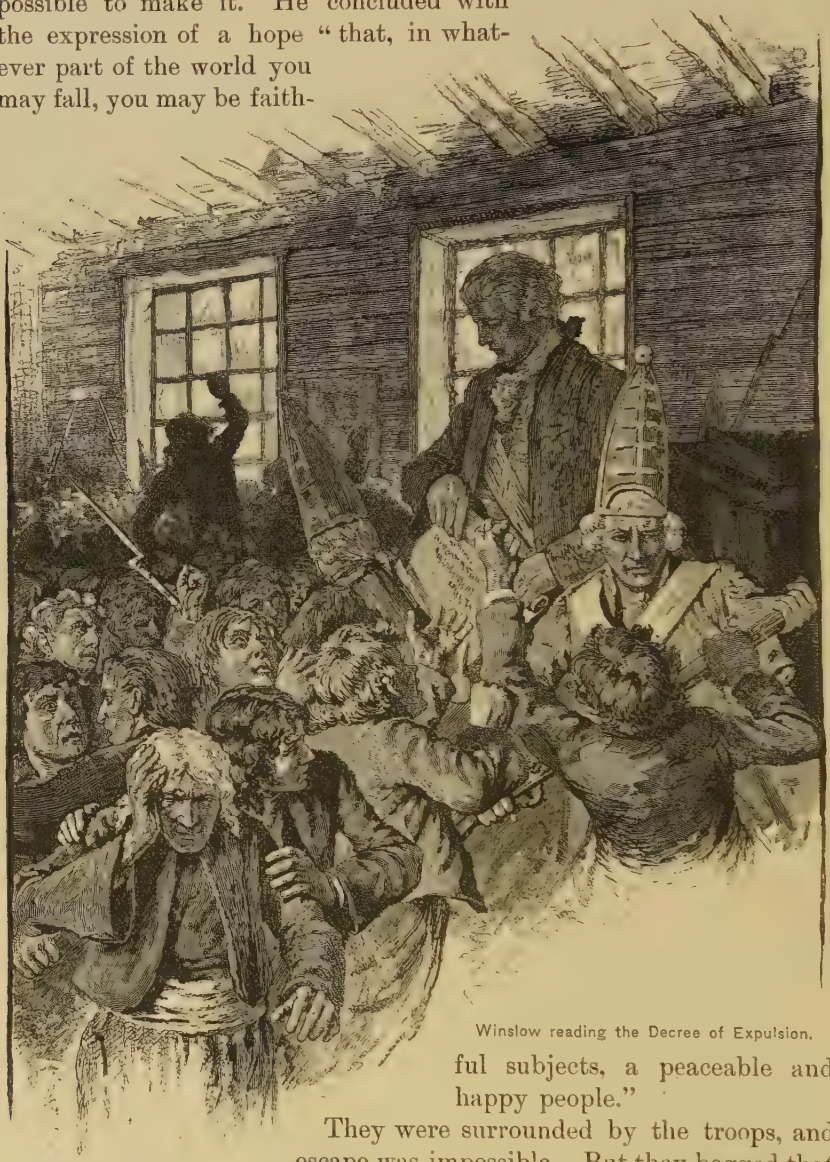
[1] Minot's *History of Massachusetts* says: "The whole number of persons collected at Grand Pré finally amounted to 483 men and 337 women, heads of families, and their sons and daughters to 527 of the former, and 576 of the latter, making in the whole 1,923 souls."

ports shall arrive, so as that they may be ready to be shipped off; for when this is done, it is not much to be feared that the women and children will attempt to go away and carry off the cattle. . . . . As their whole stock of cattle and corn is forfeited to the Crown by their rebellion, and must be secured and apply'd towards a reimbursement of the expense the government will be at in transporting them out of the country, care must be had that nobody make any bargain for purchasing them under any colour or pretence whatever; if they do, the sale will be void, for the inhabitants have now (since the order in Council) no property in them, nor will they be allowed to carry away the least thing but their ready money and household furniture."

The mode of procedure being left to Colonel Winslow and Captain Murray, they agreed upon the issuing of a proclamation to call the people together, which should be ambiguous in statement, but positive in its object. The paper was accordingly drawn up and distributed in the several communities. It ordered all the inhabitants, "both old men and young men, as well as all the lads of ten years of age, to attend at the church at Grand Pré, on Friday the fifth instant, at three of the clock in the afternoon, that we may impart to them what we are ordered to communicate to them;" declaring that no excuse will be admitted on any pretence whatever, on pain of forfeiting goods and chattels, in default of real estate.

The purpose of this meeting does not seem to have been suspected by the inhabitants, for it was not the first time they had been summoned to appear before their rulers to discuss their relations to the government. At any rate, they assembled at the appointed time, to the number of four hundred and eighteen able-bodied men, in the church at Grand Pré. The church was put under guard, and was continued thenceforth as a guard-house. They were not kept long in suspense as to the meaning of this reception. Colonel Winslow, surrounded by his officers, took his place in the centre of the Assembly. They were called together, he told them, to hear "his Majesty's final resolution" in regard to a people who "for almost half a century had had more indulgence granted to them than any of his subjects in any part of his dominions," though, he added, "what use you have made of it, you yourselves best know." The duty that had devolved upon him, he continued, "though necessary, is very disagreeable to my natural make and temper, as I know it must be grievous to you;" but his business was to deliver "his Majesty's orders and instructions, namely — that your lands and tenements, cattle of all kinds, and live stock of all sorts, are forfeited to the Crown, with all other your effects saving your money and household goods." So far as the capacity of the transports permitted, they were to be allowed to carry

their household goods with them; families, it was promised, should be kept together, and the removal should be as easy to them as it was possible to make it. He concluded with the expression of a hope "that, in whatever part of the world you may fall, you may be faithful subjects, a peaceable and happy people."



Winslow reading the Decree of Expulsion.

They were surrounded by the troops, and escape was impossible. But they begged that certain of their number might be retained as hostages, leaving the rest free to attend to their families and make the necessary provision for removal. Colonel Winslow would not grant this, but he permitted ten to be absent at a time, and, as the ten returned, others took their

places. But even this privilege he was soon compelled to deny them. He saw, or fancied he saw, some suspicious movement among the prisoners. The transports had not arrived, and it was determined that other vessels in the harbor should be used, instead of the church, as a temporary place of detention. Orders were given for the removal to these vessels, first, of all the young unmarried men, and then of the young married men, leaving on shore only the old and feeble. The scene of the separation was one of great lamentation. At first

Embarking the Young Men.

the young men refused to march, but the prick of the bayonet, and Colonel Winslow's personal handling of the foremost, brought them into line, and they filed down to the boats, weeping, praying, and singing hymns, while a great company of women and children knelt by the way, and added their cries to the voice of the men. It was many weeks yet before the transports arrived which were to remove the families, and meanwhile the cares of Colonel Winslow increased. He was not inhuman nor even needlessly severe

The parting scenes.

in the performance of the task imposed upon him; but he was a man of decision, and the delays fretted him. "It hurts me," he writes, September 29, "to hear their weeping, wailing, and gnashing of teeth;" and on the same date he expresses an ardent wish "to be rid of the worst piece of service that ever I was in."

The transports did not arrive until the 10th of October, but, in anticipation of their arrival, Colonel Winslow, on the 6th, ordered the families to be in readiness for embarkation. "Even then," he says, "I could not persuade them I was in earnest." Meanwhile twenty-four of the young men deserted from the vessels, but twenty-two of these returned. On the 21st of October, the transports were filled with their unhappy passengers, and ready to sail. Orders were given, in accordance with Winslow's promise, that families should not be separated; but in the confusion of embarkation, and from the preliminary dispersion of the younger men among the vessels of the harbor for safe-keeping, the rule was sometimes disregarded, though not by design.[1]

The exiles were scattered through the several colonies, and their names are found in many places to this day, though often sadly corrupted. Many were merged in time in the English population. Two separate villages, however, near Bordeaux, in France, are filled with descendants of Acadian exiles who found their way thither. Some families went to Guiana; ten years later, enough of them retained their social and religious relations to plant a colony in the western parishes of Attakapas and Opelousas, in Louisiana, where the corrupted name of "Cajeans," and the primitive habits and simplicity of the people, still testify to their pure descent from the Acadians of Nova Scotia.

The larger portion of these exiles were sent to Massachusetts, where they were distributed among the several towns. The two volumes of records in the State House at Boston[2] contain varied testimony respecting the unfortunate exiles. They were often subjected to harsh treatment. Their children were forcibly taken from them; the provision for their support was denied; and they were shifted impatiently from town to town. The tenacity with which they clung

[1] The number of persons expelled from Acadia has commonly been set down as about 7,000. This is the estimate of Haliburton, Graham, Parkman, and others. Probably the origin of the statement is in the circular letter from Governor Lawrence to the governors of the several colonies to which the exiles were sent: "As their numbers amount to near seven thousand persons," he writes, "the driving them off, with leave to go whither they pleased, would have doubtless strengthened Canada with so considerable a number of inhabitants." Seven thousand probably represents with sufficient accuracy the total French population of Acadia in 1755, but the entire number of those exiled did not exceed, if Minot be correct, two thousand, of whom many subsequently returned to Acadia.

[2] *French Neutrals*, 23, 24.

THE EMBARKATION OF THE ACADIANS.

to their faith seems to have annoyed their persecutors. One town sends in its bill for "keeping three French pagans." There were instances, however, of friendly protection shown by individuals, and the more generous sentiment found expression in a report, though it was not accepted, by a committee appointed to consider certain complaints of ill usage, wherein the selectmen of the towns complained against are "expected to show common acts of humanity." In Pennsylvania, a somewhat similar disposition of the exiles was made in a distribution among the country towns, and provision was made for them from time to time, amounting in all to about £7,500.[1]

Until they ceased to continue as a distinct body in the several colonies, there is almost unvarying witness to their submission and gentleness. The whole body of testimony regarding them deepens the sense of their harmlessness, and when the poet sang of their wrongs, he at once touched the latent feeling regarding them when two or three generations had removed their history from the arena of war and politics.

[1] See Hon. W. B. Reed's paper, "The Acadian Exiles, or French Neutrals in Pennsylvania," *Memoirs of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania*, vol. vi., 1858, in which he clearly refutes Judge Haliburton's charge that the Acadians were offered for sale in Pennsylvania.

Braddock's Grave.

CHAPTER XI.

CONTINUATION OF THE FRENCH WAR.

PROPOSED OPERATIONS UNDER SHIRLEY AND JOHNSON. — BATTLE OF LAKE GEORGE. — WAR DECLARED BETWEEN ENGLAND AND FRANCE. — LORD LOUDOUN COMMANDER-IN CHIEF IN AMERICA. — MONTCALM IN CANADA. — LOSS OF FORT OSWEGO. — LOUDOUN'S PLANS AND FAILURE. — FORT WILLIAM HENRY TAKEN BY THE FRENCH. — MASSACRE OF THE GARRISON. — DISCOURAGEMENT IN THE COLONIES. — THE WAR AT THE SOUTH. — GENERAL CONDITION OF THE COLONIES AND OF CANADA. — WILLIAM PITT. — AMHERST SUPERSEDES LOUDOUN. — CAPTURE OF LOUISBURG. — DEFEAT OF ABERCROMBIE. — CAPTURE OF FORTS FRONTENAC, DU QUESNE, AND NIAGARA. — TICONDEROGA TAKEN BY AMHERST.

View on Lake George.

BRADDOCK'S ill-starred expedition was only part of a general scheme for establishing the supremacy of the British interests in North America. The movements in Acadia had been successful by the reduction of Beau Séjour, and by the silence of the depopulated and wasted villages about the Minas Basin and Annapolis Royal. We have seen that Braddock purposed, after capturing Du Quesne, to push on and join the forces sent to take Niagara. Albany was the rendezvous for the two expeditions, the one against Niagara under General Shirley, and the other against Crown Point under General Johnson, and in June an army of nearly six thousand men, raised by the northern provinces, was assembled there and in the neighborhood. They were mainly provincials, ill-disciplined and impatient of delay, and Indians, who never could be brought under even the ordinary rules of the camp. It was Shirley's plan to take his forces to Oswego, by way of the Mohawk River and Oneida Lake, and thence to Niagara. There was delay in the arrival of the troops; and when, at the end of July, the last regiments were embarking at Schenectady, the news of Braddock's defeat ar-

The expedition against Niagara.

rived, and so discouraged the men, already dispirited by the evident lack of generalship, that great numbers deserted, and many of the batteau men especially, on whom the expedition was so dependent, refused to go farther. It was the 18th of August before Shirley reached Oswego, and another month before he could make sufficient provision for the attack upon Niagara. The stormy season then set in, and after waiting nearly a fortnight, and seeing the force reduced steadily by sickness and by desertion, it was determined in council to abandon the attack this year, to leave Colonel Mercer with a garrison of seven hundred men at Oswego, and that General Shirley should return with the rest of the army to Albany.

There was another reason why Shirley hesitated to attack Niagara, and determined instead to strengthen Oswego, though it would have moved a man of more martial zeal to prosecute his first purpose with greater activity. Intelligence had reached him of an intended movement against Oswego. The French expedition which had sailed from Brest in the spring had lost six hundred men and two ships of war in a dash made by Admiral Boscawen; but it had substantially increased the military resources of Canada by landing a thousand men at Louisburg, and fourteen hundred at Quebec. The first duty imposed on Baron Dieskau, in command of these forces, was the reduction of Oswego. Forts Frontenac and Niagara commanded the two extremities of Lake Ontario, but so long as Oswego was held by the English, the communication between Canada and the Ohio Valley was always liable to interruption. Moreover, the capture of General Braddock's papers had disclosed the plans of Shirley. Accordingly, Dieskau, proceeding to Montreal, prepared at once for a movement up the river to Fort Frontenac. It was a rumor of this movement that came to Shirley, and he hesitated, when he should have taken active measures either for a vigorous attack or a prudent defence.

A French movement against Oswego diverted to Crown Point.

But when Dieskau was on the eve of moving, information reached Montreal that the other expedition, designed to reduce Crown Point, had already been put in motion, and Dieskau was importuned to abandon his original intention and meet this more imminent danger. He consented with reluctance, and led his troops, numbering about two thousand men, up Lake Champlain to Fort St. Frederick at Crown Point, and there awaited the arrival of the English.

The forces collected at Albany for the northern campaign were sent forward, without artillery or batteaux, under General Lyman, early in July. These were occupied in building Fort Lyman, afterward Fort Edward, on the east bank of the Hudson, until General William Johnson should arrive with the neces-

English expedition against Ticonderoga.

sary equipments and provisions. It was the 8th of August before Johnson set out and joined Lyman at the fort, which was at the beginning of the "carry" of fourteen miles, to Lake St. Sacrament — named soon afterward, by General Johnson, Lake George, in honor of the King, George II.

Map of Lake George and part of Lake Champlain.

Marching leisurely northward, he encamped at the south end of the lake in a strong position, covered by swampy ground and woods on the sides not protected by the lake. Here he proposed waiting for his batteaux, building a fort meanwhile, when he would proceed to Ticonderoga, fifteen miles below Crown Point, a strong military position not yet occupied, to make that his base of operations against Fort St. Frederick. He expected to be joined here by a large number of warriors from the Six Nations, and was mortified and disappointed that they did not come. The old chief, Hendrick, attributed this to Shirley, who, he declared, had spoken with great contempt of Johnson to the Indians, and had urged them to go with him to Oswego, and not to Crown Point. This, no doubt, was true, for there was no cordiality between the two generals. Johnson had already complained to the Board of Trade of Shirley's attempts to undermine his influence with the Six Nations, and his unwarrantable interference with

him as their superintendent, to which post Johnson had been appointed by Braddock. The Indians, however, came in day by day, though in small companies, and took an active share in the campaign.

Dieskau, leaving a large force at Crown Point, pushed on with six hundred Indians, seven hundred Canadians, and two hundred regulars, by way of Lake Champlain to South Bay, now Whitehall. Here he learned from an English prisoner that the fort which Lyman had built was without cannon, and that Johnson, in his camp, was also almost without artillery. The French commander then proposed by a sudden movement to seize Fort Lyman, thus cutting off Johnson from his supplies, and to occupy a position from which he could either descend upon Albany and intercept the communication with Oswego, or attack the New England border. The scheme seemed perfectly feasible. Dieskau marched his army to within a short distance of the fort, on the road leading directly to Lake George, where he halted and sent a party of Indians to reconnoitre. They quickly returned, bringing word that Johnson had learned of their approach, and had sent warning to the fort. Johnson was indeed aware of the imminent peril in which both his little army and the fort were placed. Early in the morning of the 7th of September a council was held, in which it was decided to despatch a thousand troops and two hundred Indians on the road to the fort, to meet the enemy. Hendrick, the Iroquois Sachem, alone dissented from the decision. "If they are to fight," he reasoned, "they are too few; if they are to be killed, they are too many." But he was overruled. The march was begun, the provincials headed by Colonel Williams, the Indians by Hendrick himself, whose weight compelled him to ride.

Dieskau marches on Fort Lyman.

Meanwhile Dieskau, whose aim it was to capture the fort first, found himself balked by the reluctance of his Indians, who had a terror of fortified places, and believed that the fort was supplied with the dreaded cannon. They refused to make the attack, but were ready to march against Johnson's camp. Dieskau accepted the situation, and at once moved toward Lake George, encamping near the southern spur of the French Mountain. On the 8th, learning of the approach of the English, he prepared an ambuscade in a defile of the road less than four miles from Johnson's camp. On his left, where his line extended half a mile, a natural breastwork, covered with trees and shrubs, concealed the men from the road; the right line bent like a hook across the road for a quarter of a mile to where swampy ground covered with a thick growth of trees and brush afforded perfect concealment. The ambush formed thus a horse-shoe-shaped trap, and if the enemy should enter it, it would be

He ambuscades the English.

possible, by bringing round the long left line, to enclose the whole body and open an attack on the rear.

Into this trap marched Colonel Williams and Hendrick with their men. Williams had halted two and a half miles from the camp, near the entrance of the defile, to wait for the other divisions, but by a strange neglect in so experienced an officer, had not sent forward scouts. The Indian, Hendrick, now took the lead, and the division pushed forward. The old warrior had advanced beyond the extremity of the shorter line of the ambuscade when he was suddenly hailed by

Bloody Pond.

an Indian who appeared near him. "Whence came you?" was the challenge. "From the Mohawks. Whence came you?" "From Montreal." At this a musket-shot, fired, contrary to orders, by some impatient man before the entire division had entered the fatal circle, brought on the engagement. From the thick woods on either side, and in the rear, volley after volley fell upon the entrapped soldiers. The old Indian chieftain was one of the first to fall, shot through the back. Williams also fell,[1] and the

Death of Hendrick and Colonel Williams.

[1] Colonel Ephraim Williams, a brave soldier and earnest patriot, by his will founded

command devolved upon Lieutenant Whiting. The men, who fought bravely, rushed to the right of the road where Dieskau's long left was hidden behind the natural breastwork. The French and Indians rose suddenly and fell upon them, doing great execution. But the men fell back, notwithstanding, in good order, till another stand was made near a small pond,[1] where reënforcements, sent forward by Johnson, gave them new confidence and covered the retreat to the camp.

Arrived at the camp, they clambered over the hasty barricade of fallen trees which Johnson had begun to raise after sending out Colonel Williams's party in the early morning. He had also dragged up his cannon from the lake, and had disposed them where they could be most serviceable in case of attack. Dieskau following the retreating soldiers came into full view of the camp, and the sight of the cannon at once damped the ardor of the Indians, who skulked into the woods. The quarter-hour which was spent in bringing back the stragglers and forming his lines, was a breathing-time for the English, who were now behind their slight defences and under the command of their officers.

Johnson's camp was protected in the rear by the lake; in front the hastily thrown-up breastwork afforded a slight bulwark. Three guns were posted in front of the road which led to the camp from Lyman's fort, and other cannon were placed near the ammunition close by the lake. It was half after eleven o'clock. Down the road came the regulars of the French army, forming in line as if for parade, their white uniforms gleaming and sharp bayonets glistening; on either flank the Indians and Canadians had dispersed themselves in the swamps. The Mohawks at the first alarm had fled with their squaws and pappooses to their own camp, and had not returned when the battle opened.

The attack on the breastwork.

These New England and New York men had known little of fighting in the presence of solid ranks of trained soldiers. Dieskau halted the regulars, who opened fire by platoons, while the Canadians and Indians kept up a sharp rattle on the flanks. The three guns at first only made reply; but presently the provincials, finding themselves as yet unhurt, regained their courage and began, from behind their breastwork, picking off the regulars before them. Unable to hold their position in this cleared place, the regulars took to the woods like the savages. Dieskau led his men to Johnson's left, but without effect, and then passed to the right, where the Indians had done the fiercest fighting. Johnson, wounded at the outset, had been carried to his tent,

Williams College, in Massachusetts. The Alumni of the College have erected a monument over his grave

[1] Bloody Pond, still pointed out as holding in its depths the bones of the men who fell in that fight.

and Lyman took command, placing himself in the most exposed position and showing the utmost bravery. The Mohawks had returned and engaged in the fight, which now became a hand-to-hand contest over the breastwork. The provincials, no longer in fear, fought, as Dieskau said, like devils, and leaping the breastwork, clubbed their muskets and dashed furiously at the enemy. The guns at the same time were brought to bear upon a party of Canadians and Indians concealed in the morass, and did such execution that the enemy was dislodged from a position of much advantage. The Indians and Canadians were scattered right and left; the regulars were speedily overcome at close quarters with the provincials, who struck at them as with sledges, and pounded them to death, so that scarcely one escaped.

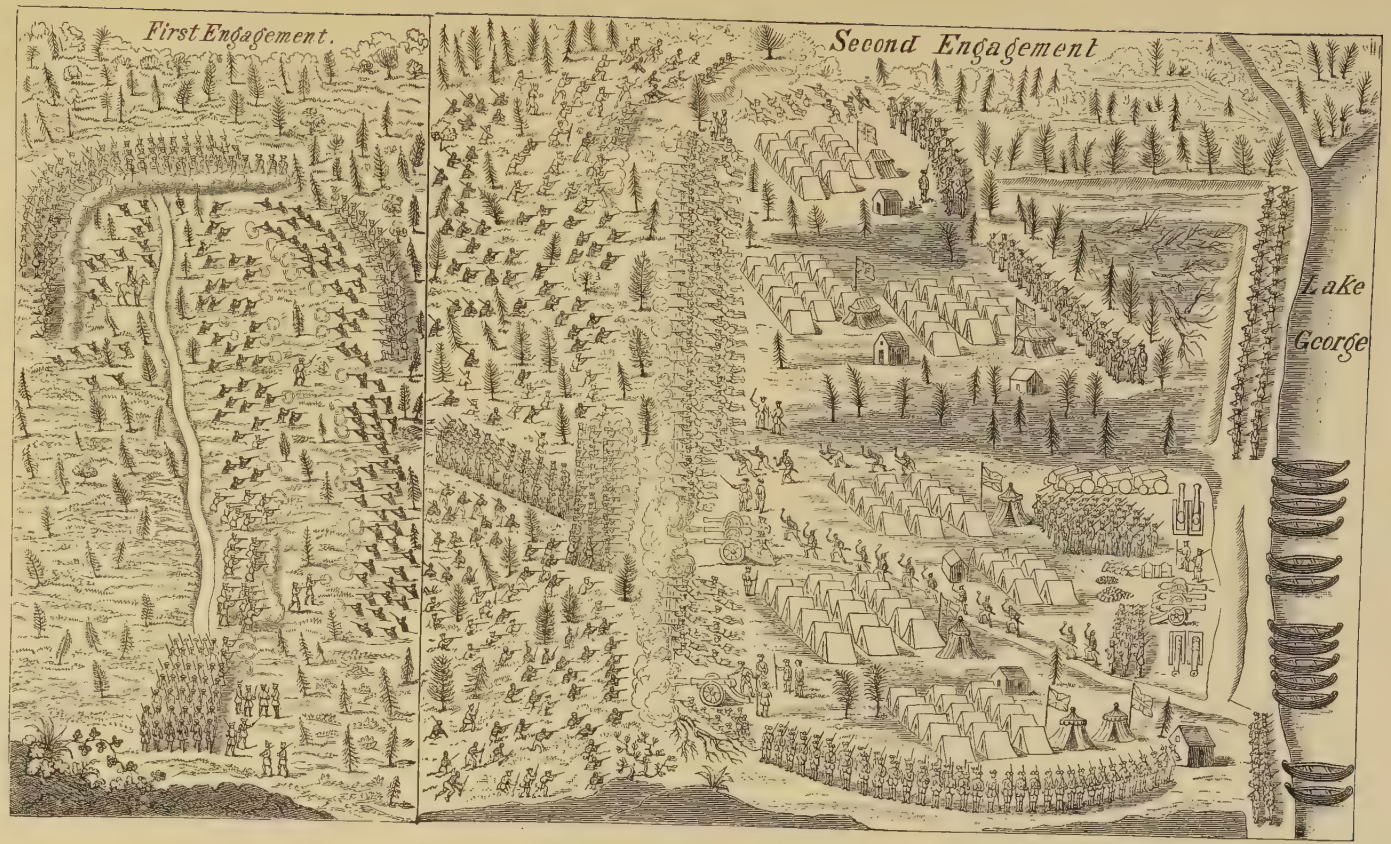
Retreat of the French.

The retreat was a disorderly flight. Dieskau, who had already been severely wounded, was shot by one of his own men as they left the field; he was carried into the general's tent, and treated with consideration. Lyman was for pursuing the enemy, but Johnson gave orders to call back the men. But the garrison at Fort Lyman had heard the noise of the engagement, and had sent a detachment of two hundred New Hampshire troops to the field. These suddenly came upon the remnant of the French army at dusk, resting by Rocky Brook, where, half-starved, they were making a hasty supper. Lyman's men fell upon them, and completed the rout, capturing the baggage and ammunition. Of the English forces, the loss during the day was between two hundred and three hundred. The French lost, by different estimates, not far from a third of their number, or about five hundred.

Fort George, or William Henry.

That the whole expedition was not captured, was due apparently to the extreme caution or hesitation of the wounded general, Johnson. But the success was otherwise so complete, and the news of it so inspiriting, after Braddock's defeat two months before, that the colonies rang with rejoicings. Johnson, besides being rewarded with a gift of £5,000 from the English Government, was made a baronet. His part in the fight was not to be overlooked, but in his own account of it he seems to have slighted General Lyman's services.[1] The escape from peril was a real one, and the danger was even more imminent than from the defeat of Braddock; for, had Dieskau captured Fort Lyman and defeated Johnson, he would have been able to march at once upon Albany, and leave behind him an open road to Canada.

[1] See *Livingston's Review*, and *Dwight's Travels*, iii.



BATTLES OF LAKE GEORGE.
[From an Old Print]

While the English built a strong fort at the south end of Lake George after Dieskau's repulse, — Fort William Henry or Fort George, — and garrisoned that and Fort Edward, — as Fort Lyman was re-named, — the French took possession of the important pass at Ticonderoga, and at once proceeded to fortify it. After the death of Braddock, Governor Shirley was at the head of the English army in America. He called a council in the autumn of this year (1755), in which the campaign for the ensuing spring and summer was laid down upon precisely the lines adopted for the late campaign. That is, Fort Du Quesne and Crown Point were to be the objects of attack; Oswego was to be reënforced, and Niagara and Frontenac to be assailed from that point. Ticonderoga was to have been attacked in front from the frozen lake, but this project was defeated by the mildness of the winter. In the almost palsied condition of the British administration of that day, all action seemed perpetually waiting upon some special movement which, after all, was not of vital importance. War had been actually declared at length by the British Government on the 17th of May, 1756, and by the French Government on the 9th of June following. The campaign in America now waited on the arrival of the new Commander-in-chief, Lord Loudoun, and Lord Loudoun waited for somebody else. He was "a mere pen-and-ink man," as the Earl of Shelburne styles him,[1] one of the Duke of Cumberland's school, forever getting ready to start.[2]

Both parties fortify.

Shirley's campaign.

The declaration of war.

Lord Loudoun Commander-in-chief.

A very different man was at the head of the French forces. Louis Joseph, Marquis de Montcalm de Saint Veron, had arrived in Canada with three thousand men and abundant stores with which to prosecute the war. The management of military affairs in Canada had not been of the best, but the French rarely lacked men ready to seize the opportunity, and Montcalm brought great ability and experience to his task. While the English were waiting and hesitating, or quarrelling about rank and precedence, the French were actively engaged in cutting off the supplies intended for Oswego, in making dashes at the English, capturing small forts and taking prisoners, and in winning the Six Nations so far as they could from the English alliance. The siege of Oswego was early determined upon, and a strong corps of observation was posted by Montcalm at what is now Six-Town Point, in Henderson, Jefferson County, New York, on the shore of Lake Ontario. Fort Niagara also was strengthened and reënforced.

Montcalm in Canada.

[1] Fitzmaurice's *Life of William, Earl of Shelburne*, i. 81.

[2] Franklin, who was vexed at Loudoun's indecision, quotes a witty characterization of the Earl by one Innis: "He is like St. George on the signs, always on horseback, and never rides on."—Autobiography in Bigelow's *Life of Benjamin Franklin*, vol. i., p. 356.

On the 3d of July, when Colonel Bradstreet, who had been charged with the conduct of a convoy of provisions and stores down the Onondaga to Oswego, was returning to Schenectady, he was suddenly attacked about ten miles from Oswego, and had a sharp skirmish with a body of Canadians and Indians, followed by a more serious engagement, in which Bradstreet routed the enemy, but was unable to follow up his advantage. From one of the prisoners the movements of the French against Oswego were learned, and promptly reported to General Abercrombie, who, awaiting Lord Loudoun's arrival, was commanding at Albany and Fort William Henry a force of about ten thousand men. The General ordered a regiment of regulars to the relief of Oswego; but before they could be moved, Lord Loudoun appeared, and through his dilatory action it was the 12th of August before the relief set out from Albany.

Oswego besieged

On that very day the last of the forces intended for the investment of Fort Oswego arrived in camp, and Montcalm at once opened fire upon Fort Ontario, on the right bank of the river. The garrison was under the command of Colonel Mercer. As the enemy brought their batteries nearer and nearer, Colonel Mercer, whose ammunition was already expended, spiked his guns, destroyed his provisions, and ordered a retreat across the river to Fort Oswego, distant four hundred and fifty yards. Here a brisk fire was opened upon the fort he had just abandoned. A portion of his force, however, had ascended the river four and a half miles to a hill, where Colonel Schuyler was intrenched, whence they could have harassed the enemy; but Montcalm perceived the manœuvre, and while keeping up an active fire on the fort, sent a large body of Canadians and Indians to cut off communication between it and the hill. On the 13th Colonel Mercer was killed by a cannon ball, and the garrison gave up the struggle, and surrendered to Montcalm,[1] though the common soldiery were still ready to continue the fight. The French loss was trifling. The English lost as prisoners of war sixteen hundred men, including eighty officers, one hundred and twenty-one pieces of artillery, and a great store of ammunition, together with seven armed ships and two hundred batteaux which had been preparing for a descent upon Niagara and Frontenac. The forts at

And captured.

[1] Montcalm was a little surprised at the quickness with which he had accomplished his object. "The celerity of our operations in a soil which they considered impracticable, the erection of our batteries, completed with so much rapidity, the idea these works gave them of the number of the French troops, the movements of the corps detached from the other side of the river, the dread of the savages, the death of Colonel Mercer, commander of Chouaguen [as the French called Oswego], who was killed at eight o'clock in the morning, doubtless determined the besieged to a step which we had not dared to expect so soon.' Montcalm's Journal of the Siege of Oswego, in *New York Colonial History*, x. 443.

Oswego had been built in the territory of the Six Nations. Several of these Indians were present at the battle, and Montcalm, immediately upon the surrender, destroyed the forts in the presence of the Indians; an act which had a two-fold significance, as marking the superiority of the French to the English and the friendliness of the French to the Indians.

General Webb, meanwhile, with his reënforcements, was slowly making his way to Oswego, and had reached the great portage, when he heard the news of the capture of the forts. The great portage was now the most advanced post held by the English in the Iroquois country, and as if to aid the French in their schemes, General Webb proceeded to destroy the fortifications which had been begun there in a naturally strong position, and to retreat with the garrison and his own men to Schenectady and Albany. The English had now apparently abandoned the Six Nations as well as lost the key to Lake Ontario.

Webb's retreat.

There still remained an opportunity to turn the forces assembled at Albany against Crown Point, and so retrieve the ill-fortune. But the paralysis of inaction continued. In the long delay the seven thousand men who had been collected had dwindled by desertion and sickness to four thousand; the success of Montcalm, instead of quickening the English, seemed to discourage them, and the expeditions against Ticonderoga and Du Quesne were abandoned. Forts William Henry and Edward were strengthened, and the grand campaign which had been planned was turned into an ignoble defence. Montcalm, anticipating an attack on Ticonderoga, hurried thither from Oswego: but no enemy appearing, he strengthened the fortifications there and returned to Montreal for the winter.

The campaign for the next year was begun by assembling another council of generals and governors. With more men and with a naval armament, Lord Loudoun proposed to confine active hostilities to a single expedition. The posts already held were to be strongly fortified, and a combined attack by land and sea to be made against Louisburg, a place which New England coveted above all others. It was partly on this account, doubtless, that a requisition for four thousand men was readily complied with. New York and New Jersey added their quota, and in July Admiral Holbourne arrived at Halifax with a squadron and a reënforcement of five thousand troops. Halifax was the rendezvous, and Loudoun arrived there from New York with six thousand regulars. There he learned that Louisburg was held by six thousand regulars, in addition to the provincials, was guarded by seventeen line-of-battle ships in the harbor, and a French fleet that had lately sailed from Brest was looked

Loudoun's plans.

A fiasco at Louisburg.

for daily. It was quite in accordance with his usual method to return to New York with the Admiral the last of August, putting off the capture of Louisburg for a year.[1]

When Montcalm learned that Loudoun had left New York for Louisburg he proceeded to carry into execution the plan which he had formed for attacking Fort William Henry. The French had been unceasing in their efforts to win over the Indians of the Six Nations to their side, and the repeated defeats of the English, together with the policy of the French emissaries, had at length produced so strong an impression upon the Indians that by parties and tribes they deserted the English and attached themselves to the successful and more sympathetic French. The fort which had been erected on the spot where Johnson and Lyman had repulsed Dieskau was badly placed on the shore of Lake George, with low land all about it, and overlooked by hills on the west and northwest, by one of which at least it was perfectly commanded. At this time it was garrisoned by two or three thousand regulars under the command of Colonel Monroe, while at Fort Edward was stationed an army of four thousand men under General Webb. At both forts a descent from the upper waters was constantly looked for, and this summer had already brought with it several warnings. As early indeed as March 18, an attempt had been made by Rigaud to surprise Fort William Henry, and though he was obliged to return to Ticonderoga he succeeded in destroying more than three hundred batteaux, several buildings, and a quantity of provisions. A skirmish had taken place near the end of July at Harbor Island, a little south of Sabbath Day Point; a raid almost to the walls of Fort Edward had resulted in the loss of thirty-two of the English and Indians; and a few days later a party sent from Fort William Henry to reconnoitre fell into an ambush, and almost the entire party of three hundred were either killed or captured, twelve only escaping.

Fort William Henry.

Montcalm, with fifty-five hundred Canadians and regulars, and sixteen hundred Indians, was now making his way from the rendezvous

[1] How these performances were viewed in England, which was fretting under the gross mismanagement of affairs, may be inferred from Walpole's letters. "Shortly after came letters from the Earl of Loudoun, the commander-in-chief in North America, stating that he found the French twenty-one thousand strong, and that, not having so many, he could not attack Louisburg, but should return to Halifax. Admiral Holbourne, one of the sternest condemners of Byng, wrote at the same time that he having but seventeen ships and the French nineteen, he dared not attack them. Here was another summer lost! Pitt expressed himself with great vehemence against the Earl; and we naturally have too lofty ideas of our naval strength to suppose that seventeen of our ships are not a match for any nineteen others." Walpole's *George II.*, vol. ii., p. 231. Entick (ii., 392) declares that there was no such formidable force at Louisburg, but that the enemy adroitly managed to let the English capture some fictitious despatches, giving these impressions.

View from Old Fort, Lake George.

at Ticonderoga across the portage to the upper waters of Lake George. Here a division was made. De Lévis, with twenty-two hundred French and Canadians, escorted by six hundred Indians, toiled by land down the narrow trail at the west of the lake; the rest, with all the baggage, were transported in batteaux and canoes. The Indians had been brought together from wide distances. On the morning of the 3d of August the besieging army landed on the west side of the lake, about two miles from the fort. The guns were immediately placed in position, and Montcalm despatched a letter to Colonel Monroe, calling upon him to surrender, and intimating that he might not be able to restrain his Indians in case the English resisted and the fort should be taken. But the English commander relied not alone upon his own forces. General Webb, at Fort Edward, was only fifteen miles

The fort besieged.

distant with four thousand men, and Monroe replied briefly that he would not surrender. Montcalm's approach was not unknown to Webb. Sir William Johnson also had heard of the movement as soon as the French General left Ticonderoga, and at once hastily gathered Indians and militia, and marched to Fort Edward, which he reached on the second day of the siege. Israel Putnam, making a reconnoissance on the lake with a body of rangers, discovered Montcalm's approach, and had, it is said, notified Webb, urging him to oppose the landing; Webb, who was near Fort William Henry, enjoining secrecy upon Putnam, hastily returned to Fort Edward.

In the investment of the fort, De Lévis occupied the right and held the road leading to Fort Edward. On the 4th of August, the second day of the siege, a messenger from the fort to Colonel Monroe was intercepted, and a letter found from the imbecile Webb, advising Monroe to surrender, as he dared not send any reënforcements until he should himself receive aid from below. The messenger was sped on his way. Johnson did come, apparently that same day, and begged to be allowed to take volunteers to the support of Monroe. Webb gave consent reluctantly, but when the entire body of provincials sprang forward ready to follow Johnson, he withdrew his consent, and left Monroe to his fate.

The siege lasted six days, when Monroe, with half of his guns useless and nearly all his ammunition expended, hung out a flag of truce and obtained liberal terms from Montcalm. But the confidence which he placed in the French General's word that the English should march to Fort Edward under guard of a detachment, was not justified. Montcalm, in the terms of surrender, stipulated that a hostage should be held by him until the safe return of the escort from Fort Edward. The peril did not lie with them, but with the unhappy men whom they escorted, for scarcely had they begun their march when the Indians, wild with liquor and the hope of plunder, fell upon the English soldiers, and killed them, without mercy. A panic seized the English. Some fled to the French for protection, others took to the woods, and many were held captive by the Indians. Montcalm, like other commanders in similar situations, had sown the wind, and the whirlwind was reaped. It was easier to excite the Indians to a pitch of frenzy than to control them when thus excited, and it has been necessary ever since that day to defend a general whose fault lay not in a deliberate connivance with his savage allies, but in his reckless use of material which served his purpose in war. When the news of this massacre was spread through the country, the provincials flocked to the defence of the frontier. But Montcalm, after burning the fort, returned to Canada with the stores.

And captured.

Massacre of the garrison.

The close of the year 1757 marked the most discouraging period in the contest of the colonies with France. At the extreme south indeed there was peace and moderate prosperity. A firm hand held the government in Georgia, where Governor Ellis, finding the colony distracted, factious, and disordered, speedily succeeded in restoring good feeling, protecting the coast and frontier, effecting amicable relations with the Creek Indians, and making the colony a refuge for many families that fell back from the dangerous frontiers farther north. To South Carolina, also, there had been an exodus of families from Virginia, Maryland, and Pennsylvania, after Braddock's defeat; but here the often-repeated story of English mismanagement of the Indians was approaching a terrible conclusion. In 1753, Governor Glen had made a treaty with the Cherokees, by which that tribe had agreed to keep the peace with the Creeks, and also to concede large tracts in the upper country to the English. At least, this was the English interpretation of the treaty, and, amid the murmurs of a people among whom the French had already begun to intrigue, they proceeded to build forts, notably Fort Prince George near the headwaters of the Savannah, and Fort Loudoun, at the head of navigation on the Tennessee, about thirty miles from Knoxville.

Review of affairs in 1757.

The French had already penetrated to the centre of East Tennessee, and had trading-houses convenient to the over-hill Cherokees, and these Indians, like the other tribes, were vacillating between the two powers, uncertain which was the more deadly enemy. These forts, meanwhile, though far removed from the base of supplies, gave encouragement to settlers in the back country and in the western parts of the two Carolinas. But farther north, the country west of the Blue Ridge had been rendered uninhabitable for whites. The Indians and French had carried fire and sword up and down the valley. Fort Loudoun, at Winchester, was the chief protection of the western frontier. Dinwiddie, the somewhat visionary and capricious Governor of Virginia, had urged on the Board of Trade the erection of a cordon of forts from Crown Point to the country of the Creeks, and Washington had advised that Virginia should erect forts along her frontier at distances of fifteen miles; but the cries of families flying before the Indians continued to be heard, and the military resources of Virginia had been reduced by the policy of Loudoun in drawing off soldiers for his great and utterly ineffective army. Fort Du Quesne was still in the hands of the French, and the English had lost Oswego. Acadia was still in their possession, but a powerful armament at Louisburg threatened not only Halifax, but the New England colonies. Bitter conflicts in the management of internal affairs were distracting Pennsylvania and New York, and although the people everywhere,

especially on the frontier, made vigorous by the hard experience of life in a new country, were equal to any emergency, there was no one in England or America who so commanded the universal respect and confidence as to be able to unite for any common purpose the separate strength inherent in all the colonies.

The French, on the other hand, though Canada was suffering from gross official peculation and was brought to the verge of a distressing poverty, appeared at this time singularly strong and victorious. They had achieved almost uninterrupted military success ; they had been fortunate in their commanders ; and, though the history of that province had been the history of a military and ecclesiastical despotism, there was a concentrated force now under control which could strike quickly and effectively. But New France, nevertheless, was approaching a point of exhaustion. The very advantage which it held as a military power carried with it the disadvantage of having no allies in an agricultural and self-reliant people. The base of supplies was in France, not in the colony, and thus, as the war continued, the gathering force of the English and American resources began to tell. In the long run the English would have worn out the French ; the wavering line of frontier settlements would have been slowly pushed forward from behind. But the issue was to come quicker, and the disadvantages under which the colonies had labored were to give way before the genius of a single man.

William Pitt.

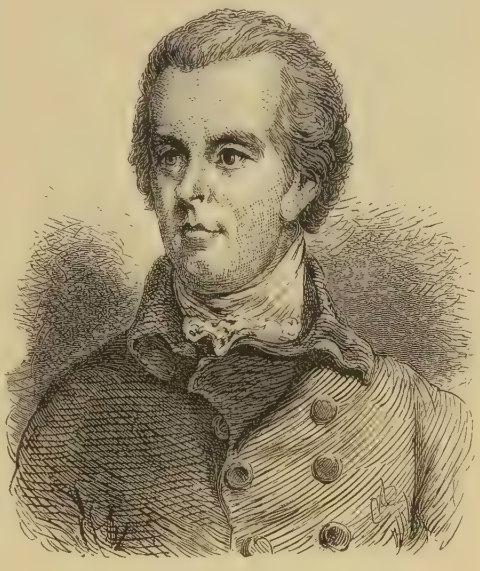
Pitt had been forced upon the King by his own impetuous nature and by the complaints of a disappointed people. The Secretary of State, who was one of the Council, became substantially prime minister. His measures for prosecuting the war in America met at once the obstacles which before had stood in the way of success. He had faith in the men of the colonies, and he dealt with them frankly and honestly. England should furnish arms, ammunition, and all necessary equipments ; the colonies were to raise, clothe, and pay the men. England would furnish from her trained soldiers the generals and upper officers ; but the colonial troops might choose their own colonels and subordinate officers, and these should rank with English officers of the same grade. To Pitt's policy at this time is largely due not only the success in arms but the independent spirit of the colonies. They responded at once to the call for men and money.

The campaign of 1758.

The objective points in the coming campaign were the same as they had always been — Louisburg, Ticonderoga and Crown Point, Du Quesne, — these were the keys of the French military system. Instead of Admiral Holbourne and the Earl of Loudoun, who had been recalled, Admiral Boscawen and Sir

Jeffery Amherst were placed in command of the naval and land forces which were to attack Louisburg. On the 2d of June, 1758, the combined forces, acting in perfect harmony, arrived before Louisburg, and on the 8th, the first favorable day, landed in the face of the enemy, making their way through heavy surf and up steep acclivities. The decisive work was done with the landing; after that it was a question of time, as the English parallels rapidly advanced. On the 25th of July the garrison surrendered upon demand, threatened by a final assault, for which preparations had been made with great vigor. Nearly six thousand prisoners were taken, and sent to England and France, and the victory was not only complete, but left a substantial result in the possession of the coveted fortress, which at once became a standing menace to Quebec. The moral effect of the capture was in every way important. New England was awakened to new enthusiasm by the recapture of a place which she had once taken, and whose restoration to France by England she had never ceased to regret. The brilliancy of the assault, in which Brigadier-general Wolfe played a conspicuous part, revived the sinking spirits of men who had seen action paralyzed under the feebleness of Loudoun and Webb.

Capture of Louisburg.



William Pitt.

While Amherst was prosecuting the siege, General Abercrombie, who had succeeded Loudoun upon his return to England, was aiming at the second great object of the campaign — the capture of Ticonderoga. The officer next in command, Lord Howe, was the ruling spirit of the army. Before Abercrombie reached the camp, Howe had sent Rogers with his rangers, who, winter and summer, had scoured the woods and lakes of the country, on a reconnoissance, and thus had secured a plan of the French works at Ticonderoga, and a survey of the neighboring district. The fortified town and camp of Carillon, as the French called the place, was upon a point of land washed on the north, east, and south by the waters

Attack on Ticonderoga.

of Wood's Creek, the entrance to Lake Champlain, and the entrance to Lake George. On the west only was there approach by land, and here, on either extremity, was low, wet land, while the country occupied by the French was hilly and broken. Montcalm was in command, with about three thousand effective soldiers, and De Lévis, who had been sent to relieve Fort Frontenac, which was threatened, was hastily recalled, as the news came that the English, twenty-five thousand strong, were setting out for Carillon. The fortifications of the place were not very strong, but the ground to be passed over by an investing force offered excellent opportunities for defence. Here, therefore, intrenchments were hastily made, with an abattis of felled trees. Yet Montcalm, even on the day of the attack, hesitated whether to attempt to hold it or retire to Crown Point. He finally decided that he would await the attack of the enemy who were before him, since if they could not carry the works by storm there would needs be two or three days before they could bring up the artillery.[1] Abercrombie had not twenty-five thousand, but only fifteen thousand troops, regulars and provincials.

It was the 5th of July when he left his camp at the foot of Lake George and ascended the lake with batteaux and rafts, — a brilliant spectacle, made more picturesque by the bright plaids of his Highlanders. Two bodies of French troops had been sent out to dispute the landing of the English; but when, the next day, the enemy appeared in force, they at once retreated; one division went safely back; the other, making a detour, became involved in the tangled woods, and suddenly came upon a body of English troops, equally bewildered. It was the centre column, headed by Lord Howe, and the two parties at once began firing upon each other. The provincials with Howe fought bravely, and almost the whole French detachment of three hundred and fifty men was slain; but Howe fell at the first fire, and his loss was irreparable. Abercrombie knew nothing of fighting but by rule; he refused the advice of the provincial leaders; he showed caution when dash would have succeeded, and was obstinate in attack when obstinacy was failure and defeat. The French labored incessantly at their defence, cheered by Montcalm, who worked with the rest. De Lévis arrived, and gave them fresh courage. Meanwhile the English lost precious time in securing a position which was unnecessary, whether they were to succeed or to fail.

Death of Howe.

The attack was made on the 8th. Abercrombie, ignorant of the formidable character of the abattis, though warned by Stark, of New

[1] Pouchot's *Memoir upon the Late War in North America*, translated by Franklin B. Hough, 1866, i. 115, 116.

Hampshire, sent his obedient regulars again and again to the attack. For five hours the battle raged; the English were dogged and obedient, the provincials cool and alert. They tried now the centre, now the flanks; they hurled themselves against the sharp, ugly barrier, and could scarcely see the shouting line behind that poured a murderous fire into their ranks. A French officer hung a red handkerchief on the end of a musket, and beckoned the enemy on. Some thought it a flag of truce, and rushed up crying quarter. The French, seeing them come with their arms held against their breasts, were at first puzzled, and then fired furiously at the intrepid men who were breaking through the hedge.

Field of Abercrombie's Defeat.

At sunset the hopeless attempt was abandoned, and the troops withdrew to the lake. But the final confession of failure, with the terrible scenes of the day, broke down the spirits of the men, and those who had made the attack without flinching at last took to precipitate flight. The darkness of the night and the ignorance of the French saved them from pursuit, and the shattered force encamped again on the ruins of Fort William Henry, having lost more than two thousand men, and left the dead and wounded along their track. The retreat.

Immediately after the ill-starred attack on Carillon, Bradstreet, with a detachment of three thousand men, nearly all provincials, marched rapidly to Oswego, and, taking passage to Fort Frontenac, quickly reduced it, and captured its little garri- Reduction of Fort Frontenac.

son and abundant stores. He destroyed the fort and the vessels that lay there, and returned to Albany to join the main army.

Meanwhile the remaining expedition, for the recovery of Fort Du Quesne, succeeded through the weakness of the French, and almost in spite of the English commander. It had been placed under the command of Brigadier-general Joseph Forbes, who, with nearly seven thousand men, was five months in crawling to the Ohio, and was even abandoning the object at the last moment, when a happy fortune disclosed the weakness of the enemy. General Forbes had left Philadelphia with his command early in July, and listening to Pennsylvania advisers, who were suspected of wishing to secure a new road, determined not to use Braddock's road, but to make another, which would be shorter, from his rendezvous at Raystown, now Bedford. Colonel Washington joined him with the Virginia troops at Bedford, greatly dissatisfied with the course which had been pursued. He was sent forward in advance of the main army to take command of a division employed in opening the road, against which, as a useless waste of time, he had vainly protested.

At Turtle Creek, twelve miles from the Ohio, a council of war was called, on the 24th of November, for the situation seemed well-nigh desperate. Provisions were almost exhausted, and the general opinion was, that a retreat was imperative. Forbes, who from his unbending will had earned the name of the Head of Iron, swore that he would take Du Quesne or die in the attempt. But that night clouds of smoke were seen above the fort, and the sound of a heavy explosion reached the camp. It was conjectured — as Forbes soon knew from his scouts was the fact — that the French were abandoning the place. In the morning the army moved cautiously forward; no enemy opposed them; in a few hours they entered the fort, but it was only to take a heap of ruins.

The French had retreated down the river, and the Indians had dispersed. That the works had been destroyed, was of little moment; the important thing was, that the valley of the Ohio was recovered to the English. But it might, perhaps, have been done at less cost had Forbes been as sagacious as he was undoubtedly brave. A rapid march by the old road would have led to the same result and would have precluded one disaster. While the army halted at Raystown, waiting for the new road to be made, the General sent Bouquet with two thousand men to occupy the Loyalhanna (now Ligonier, Pennsylvania). Here Bouquet entrenched, and sent forward Major Grant with eight hundred men, as a preparatory movement toward taking the fort, which he believed he could do without waiting for Forbes. On a hill — still called Grant's Hill — overlooking Du Quesne, Grant

was surprised by a sally of seven or eight hundred Frenchmen, with a host of Indians, and, though he fought with great bravery, his command was almost destroyed. It consisted chiefly of Highlanders; and as, on the 25th of November, their countrymen under Forbes moved through an Indian path in approaching the fort, their rage and their grief were beyond control when they saw the remains of their old comrades exposed to every indignity that savage ingenuity could invent. To bury these, as he had already buried the whitening bones that still strewed the field of Braddock's fight, Forbes esteemed a sacred duty.

Reënforcements from England.

Pitt, aware of the growing weakness of Canada, was pouring men and material into America, in preparation for a campaign which it was hoped would be final. Amherst had displaced Abercrombie, and was to mass his forces in an attack upon Ticonderoga and Crown Point, and then proceed by the northern route. Wolfe, who had shown his skill and courage at Louisburg, was to conduct an expedition up the St. Lawrence against Quebec, and General Prideaux, in command mainly of provincials and Indians, was to lay siege to Fort Niagara, and then, descending the St. Lawrence, meet the other two armies before Montreal.

Fort Niagara was being strengthened by Pouchot, who had been sent in command, and who complained bitterly of the inadequate support given him. He was going to a distant post in the midst of Indians who were fast coming under the control of the English, and only about a hundred and fifty men were allowed him. He intimates that M. de Vaudreuil, Governor of Canada, was so sure the place would be captured, that he withheld a larger body from him. Nevertheless, he proceeded on his errand, and even entertained the project of retaking and destroying Fort Du Quesne. He reached Niagara on the 30th of April, and busied himself in repairing the fort, in communicating with the other posts, and in using every exertion to detach the Indians from the English alliance.

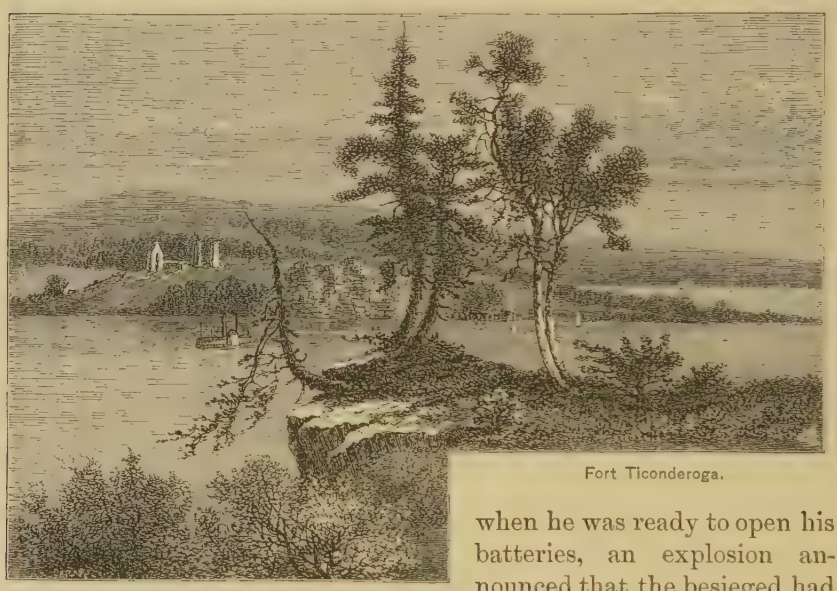
Capture of Fort Niagara.

General Prideaux's division, marching rapidly to Oswego, embarked at once, and appeared before Niagara on the 6th of July. The work was pushed forward with great vigor, but Prideaux was killed by the carelessness of one of his soldiers very early in the siege, and the command devolved on Sir William Johnson. Pouchot summoned to his aid the forces from Detroit, Venango, and Presqu' Isle; for it was clear that the fort could not stand a long siege, and that their only hope lay in a repulse of the English. That hope was speedily destroyed. About nine o'clock in the morning of July 24, the garrison heard distant firing and saw a com-

motion which they could not understand. It was explained to them shortly by the arrival of a messenger, bringing a summons to surrender, and the intelligence that the little army sent to raise the siege had been met, and in a spirited battle of an hour had been completely routed. Pouchot refused to believe the calamity, but when it was made clear the garrison surrendered.

Ticonderoga taken by the English.

Meanwhile the centre division was encountering the delays which seemed to attend every movement on Lake George. On the 22d of July, after a month's delay, — for disaster had inculcated prudence, — Amherst appeared with an army of about eleven thousand men before Ticonderoga, and occupied the outer lines which had been abandoned by the French. Four days later,



Fort Ticonderoga.

when he was ready to open his batteries, an explosion announced that the besieged had blown up the magazine and evacuated the fort. Amherst took possession of the works, and, still cautious, groped his way to Crown Point, only to find that Fort St. Frederick had also been abandoned, and that the French had retreated to the Isle aux Noix, at the northern extremity of Lake Champlain. He spent the rest of the season in strengthening Ticonderoga and building massive works at Crown Point, which consumed millions of money, apparently only to give pleasure to the idle tourists who now saunter about the ruins. Amherst indeed made preparations for a flotilla which should command the lake and give means for attack on the French army; he opened a road also to the Connecticut River, and he sent the daring

Rogers on an expedition against the Indian village of St. Francis, an expedition marked by some of the most exciting passages of the ranger's perilous life. But the army which had been gathered with so much care remained inactive, while Wolfe was conducting his part of the campaign before Quebec with untiring energy.

CHAPTER XII.

CONQUEST OF CANADA. — PONTIAC'S WAR.

FALL OF QUEBEC AND MONTREAL. — RENEWAL OF INDIAN HOSTILITIES. — PONTIAC'S CONSPIRACY. — SIEGE OF DETROIT. — BATTLE OF BLOODY BRIDGE. — DEATH OF DALZELL. — ATTACK ON SANDUSKY. — TAKING OF FORTS ST. JOSEPH, MIAMI, AND OUATANON. — MASSACRE AT MICHILIMACKINAC. — FIGHT AT PRESQU' ISLE. — BURNING OF FORT LE BŒUF. — FORTS VENANGO, LIGONIER, AND AUGUSTA REDUCED. — FORT PITT BESIEGED. — BOUQUET'S EXPEDITION. BATTLE OF BUSHY RUN. — THE PAXTON MEN. — ADVANCE ON PHILADELPHIA. — DEATH OF PONTIAC. — SUBMISSION OF THE INDIANS.

AFTER the capture of Louisburg, Wolfe had returned for a season to England, but, with all his bodily weakness, he had the invincible spirit of a soldier, and a loyalty which borrowed pathos from a presentiment of death in the field. Louisburg was the rendezvous for the land and sea forces, amounting to about eight thousand, with which Wolfe undertook the capture of Quebec. He was ably seconded both by Admirals Saunders and Holmes, and by the three Brigadiers — Monckton, Townsend, and Murray. They left Louisburg toward the end of June, 1759, and dropped anchor in the St. Lawrence, below Quebec, making the principal camp on the Isle d'Orleans, but presently occupying also the promontory of Point Levi, on the southern shore of the river and nearer Quebec. Montcalm had been advised of the approach of the enemy, and gathering all the forces which could be spared from Montreal, Three Rivers, and the fields of the starving Canadians, had disposed them in such a way as to fortify those approaches to the citadel not then deemed naturally impregnable. The city, rising with rocky front between the St. Lawrence and the St. Charles, had been unapproachable by the Indians, who for a hundred years and more had scalped their victims almost at its base; it had defied the formidable squadron under Sir William Phips, and it seemed now to need only abundance of provision and a few disciplined soldiers to hold out against a siege until the hard northern winter should again encircle it with the protection of frost and storm.

General Wolfe undertakes the capture of Quebec.

The city and its defences.

But Canada was assailed by more dangerous enemies than the Eng-

lish, and when the great fleet with its profusion of resources lay before Quebec, Montcalm must have grown bitter over the corruption which had eaten away the strength of the place. He had lined the shore, from the St. Charles to the Falls of the Montmorenci, with fortified camps, containing, with the garrison in the city, about thirteen thousand men of varying degrees of military discipline and with unequal equipment. A boom had been built across the St. Charles, with vessels sunk behind it, and barges in front. On the south side of the city, the land fell off precipitously to the St. Lawrence, here a rapid river, a mile wide, the ascent of which was guarded by the small naval force, consisting of two frigates under Captain Vauquelin. Steep paths led from the shore to the plains above, and small bodies of troops stationed here could serve easily as pickets in a place so admirably fortified by nature. Wolfe planted his batteries along the opposite shore, and began a severe cannonading on the city walls — harmless as regarded the citadel, but rendering the lower town almost uninhabitable. His forces were not equal to Montcalm's in numbers, and it was evident that he must gain the advantage either by strategy or by the powerful assistance of the fleet. The French maintained the defensive, except that they made two futile attempts, one to destroy the enemy's fleet by fire-rafts, the other to dislodge Monckton, shortly after he had taken up his position at Point Levi. Wolfe resolved to attack Montcalm's extreme left, which rested on the banks of the Montmorenci. He had already occupied the left bank of

General Wolfe.

that river, and he had there the advantage of overlooking the lower right bank, with the French intrenchments. Below and above the Falls were fording-places; by these Wolfe proposed to send detachments, while a division from Point Levi, crossing in barges, was to land on the strand, west of the Falls, where the landing was to be covered by the *Centurion*, a sixty-gun ship anchored below.

Attack on the French left.

The day chosen for the movement was the 31st of July, and the basin swarmed with barges bearing Monckton's detachment, and flying back and forth between the several camps. It was a sultry day, and the movement did not begin until after noon. De Lévis, in command of the extreme left of the French army, had disposed his troops at the two fords, and, having the inside, could readily mass the defence at either point. It was Wolfe's intention that the three parties, after landing and crossing the river, should meet upon the Courville road, and immediately advance upon the French redoubt, and it was an important part of his plan that the landing and the two crossings should be made simultaneously, in order to divide the enemy's defence. There was a redoubt near the point where Monckton's division was to land, and not far from the lower ford, and when this was taken the ranks were to form for an attack upon the intrenchments behind.

The plan was intricate and bold, and there was no lack of courage in the assailants. There was, however, apparent lack of discipline and concentration. At the upper ford the British were driven back, and De Lévis's men, accomplishing this, made haste to reënforce those who were awaiting the attack of the troops which, landing on the strand, were now hurrying pell-mell across the ground from the redoubt that had been immediately evacuated, toward the intrenchments. There was irregularity and want of concert both in the landing and in the attack. The abandonment of the redoubt may have misled the English into a contempt for the enemy. But they were quickly undeceived. The Canadians, waiting behind the intrenchments, suddenly, as the troops came rushing upon them, opened fire, so sure and so rapid that the attack was arrested. At that moment a thunder-storm burst overhead. Over the slippery ground the English fled precipitately to their boats, their retreat hidden by the blinding rain. When the storm cleared, the Canadians saw the enemy bearing their wounded to the boats, a part recrossing the lower ford and regaining their intrenchments on the left bank of the Montmorenci, and part returning in the barges to the camp at Point Levi. The victorious Canadians harassed the retreating soldiers with their guns, while their Indian allies hovered about them with their tomahawks. The British kept up their cannonading all night, but the expedition was a sorry failure. About five hundred men had been lost by the attacking party.

The siege was prolonged for another month, and an expedition was sent up the river, but with little effect, except, it may be, to familiarize the officers with that side of the city which was now to witness the triumph of the British army. Wolfe, sick and discouraged, called a council of his officers and invited new plans for the capture of Quebec. The plan proposed by the council involved the reëmbarkation of the army, to be conducted up the river to the south side, above the town, where they should cross, gain the rear of the works, and compel Montcalm to meet them, while at the same time they cut off his communication with Montreal. The preparations for this new approach excited great uneasiness in the city, and Montcalm was urged to anticipate the movement by a new disposition of his troops. But he was confident that a handful of men could defend the ap-

Quebec in 1730.—From an Old Print.

proach to the city in the narrow passes leading to the river, and moreover he had strong doubts that the enemy intended anything more than a feint, as demonstrations were still continued at the mouth of the Montmorenci. However, Bougainville with a body of men was stationed up the river, and was now reënforced, while the guards along the steep bank were cautioned to be on the lookout.

Wolfe, lying almost helpless in his chamber, caught at a plan which commended itself to his own courageous spirit, and the troops were transferred to the fleet. A detachment was sent forward to reconnoitre during the 7th, 8th, and 9th of September, and news was brought by two deserters from the French that a convoy of provisions was to arrive from up the river, and seek to gain the port in the darkness of the night of the 12th–13th. The city was much distressed from lack of provisions, which were slowly brought with great

difficulty by land, and it had been determined to run the risk of dropping barges noiselessly down the river with the flood. Wolfe seized upon the fact to further his own purposes. Holmes's fleet had passed the town, receiving a fire from the fortress, which it could not return, and was now anchored above the port. A detachment had been sent beyond Cape Rouge in order to hold Bougainville's attention, while a show of operations was still kept up at the Montmorenci, to engage the vigilance of De Lévis. There was no moon on the night of the 12th, but the air was clear and the sky was bright with stars. Wolfe rose from his sick-bed and led the perilous expedition in person. In the depth of the night, some thirty boats, bearing sixteen hundred soldiers, fell silently down the river toward the little cove which had been chosen for the debarkation. As they floated down the stream, Wolfe repeated in a low voice stanzas from Gray's "Elegy," one verse of which, it has been often remarked, was so appropriate to the fate about to befall him: —

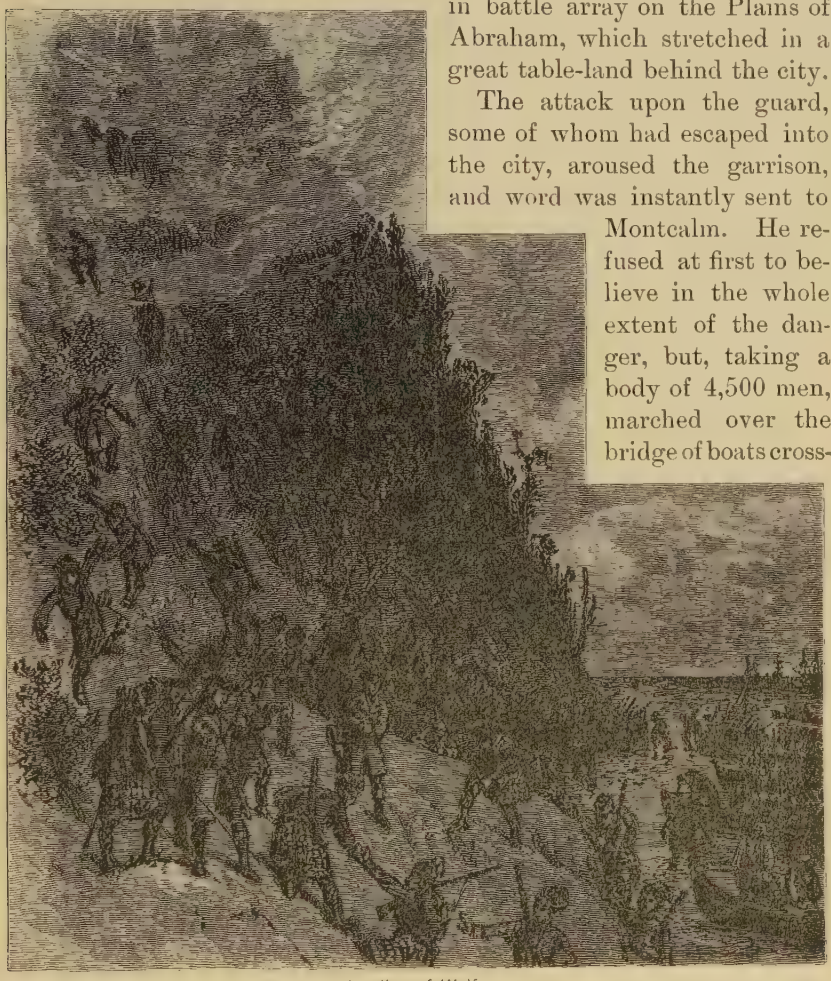
The successful assault.

> "The boast of heraldry, the pomp of power,
> And all that beauty, all that wealth e'er gave,
> Await alike the inevitable hour:
> The paths of glory lead but to the grave."

"Gentlemen," he said to the officers who had listened to him, "I would rather have written those lines than take Quebec to-morrow."

The boats drew near the landing-place beneath the overhanging wooded heights. The sentinel, peering out from the darkness, heard rather than saw the objects in the water. "Qui vive?" he called. "La France!" replied a Highlander in the foremost boat, plans having been laid for those familiar with French to answer the demands. "A quel régiment?" continued the sentinel. "De la Reine," was the reply, the name of a regiment under Bougainville's command. This boat and others, being under too much headway, shot beyond the landing-place. Again one of the barges was challenged. "Qui vive?" "Ne faites pas de bruit, ce sont les vivres," ("Hush! the provisions,") was the half-whispered rejoinder. Then some of the boats grated on the beach at the cove, and the Highlanders of Fraser's regiment sprang ashore. Wolfe had turned his boat back, and was one of the first to land. A guard-house stood at the head of the cove, and a narrow path led up the steep from this point. The guard was instantly surprised, and the Highlanders sprang up the path, catching at bushes and roots and trees to help them. A small guard was at the head of the pass, commanded by an officer who had already shown himself unworthy, and who now was in bed. These made a hasty defence, but were overpowered by the foremost Highlanders, while up the path, hastened by the sound of musket-shots above,

men came crowding and pushing one another. The pass was held, and in the breaking day the men could see the ships coming to anchor opposite the cove, now known as Wolfe's Cove, when fresh troops clambered up the path. As the sun rose, the English army stood in battle array on the Plains of Abraham, which stretched in a great table-land behind the city.



Landing of Wolfe.

The attack upon the guard, some of whom had escaped into the city, aroused the garrison, and word was instantly sent to Montcalm. He refused at first to believe in the whole extent of the danger, but, taking a body of 4,500 men, marched over the bridge of boats crossing the St. Charles, and passed through the city to the Plains beyond. It was eight o'clock in the morning, and Montcalm, fearful lest the British should intrench themselves, as indeed they had already begun to do, determined, against the advice of his generals, to make an immediate assault. The enemy had been able to bring up but one gun, and in case of defeat would inevitably be subjected to terrible punishment, for there could be no orderly retreat from the position

they had taken, while Bougainville's division, which had been ordered up at once, would receive them in rear and flank. Montcalm was driven to desperation as he saw the British in a position which he had first declared it was impossible for them to take, and that to take it was of the greatest peril to the city. He ordered an attack, and the Canadians, crouching in the corn and copse, kept up a brisk fire, while the regulars began to advance rapidly in three divisions, the English still maintaining an unbroken front. The French advance was broken and irregular, the men already fatigued by their march to the city, but it was quick and resolute, and the platoons delivered a determined fire as they pushed forward. Still the British line did not reply. When at length the French were only forty yards distant, the word was given to fire, and in an instant the muskets, doubly charged, mowed down the French ranks, so that these, already disorderly, became confused and irresolute. Wolfe saw his opportunity. He flung himself before the grenadiers, and charged upon the amazed Frenchmen. They turned and fled, and the shouting Englishmen leaped after them, driving them headlong and felling them to the ground. In the first rush of this impetuous charge a ball pierced Wolfe in the side. He staggered forward, when another struck his breast, and he fell. He was borne to the rear and laid on the grass. The charge was still tumultuous, and one of the officers excitedly cried out, "See how they run!"

Death of Wolfe and Montcalm.

"Who run?" asked Wolfe, who had lain as if in a deadly swoon, but roused himself now.

"The enemy, sir; they give way everywhere."

"Then," said Wolfe, "tell Colonel Burton to march Webb's regiment down to Charles River, to cut off their retreat from the bridge. Now, God be praised, I shall die in peace." And turning on his side, he passed into the shadow at the end of the path of glory. By a tragic coincidence, Montcalm also fell at the head of his troops, as he sought to rally them after the first fierce attack. He was borne to the hospital, and refused to give any more orders. He had words for the bravery of his opponents, and for the last offices of religion, but the fight he gave up instantly. He had a soldier's burial, at his own desire, in a cavity of the earth formed by the bursting of a bomb-shell.

The French were driven behind the walls of Quebec. Within a few days, terms of capitulation were proposed, which General Townsend acceded to, and on the 18th of September the British entered the city. The winter passed in enforced inactivity on both sides, the French withdrawing their troops to Montreal, and the English sending away a portion of their army in the fleet.

When the river opened in the spring, De Lévis, with an army of about seven thousand men, moved down from Montreal. General Murray had not three thousand men in garrison, but he sallied out at once to meet the enemy, and a second well-fought battle upon the Plains of Abraham followed. The English, however, were repulsed, and the French made immediate preparations for a siege. Both commanders were hoping for speedy reënforcements, and in May they came, but to the English only. De Lévis threw his heavy guns into the river and retreated. Vauquelin withstood an attack, but, after a stout defence, was compelled to leave his two frigates in the hands of the enemy.

Montcalm.

It was plain that the French could do little now but await events. The approach to Montreal was guarded at the Isle aux Noix by Bougainville; the rapids above were held by a small force, as were those on the upper St. Lawrence. Fresh reënforcements to the English were looked for by all these routes. From the south came Colonel Haviland, with an army from Crown Point; Amherst, with his own division of ten thousand regulars and provincials, reënforced at Oswego by a thousand Indians under Sir William Johnson, came from Lake Ontario; and these, with General Murray from the east, met before Montreal. On the 8th of September the city surrendered, and in the terms of capitulation were included Detroit, Michilimackinac, and other posts held by the French farther west. The French fleet, which arrived upon the coast soon after, but too late, was met by a British squadron and completely destroyed. New France was soon wiped out from the map of America.

Peace, indeed, was not definitively concluded between France and Great Britain till the autumn of 1762, when Canada, Nova Scotia, and Cape Breton were ceded to Great Britain, France retaining

New Orleans and the region west of the Mississippi, which she immediately conveyed to Spain. The contest, meanwhile, was continued in America, not by the French, but by the Indians, who foresaw the certainty of their own subjugation when they could no longer command the friendship and protection of one of the two great powers. A few months after the surrender of Quebec, Major Robert Rogers, a native of New Hampshire, a noted ranger, was sent by General Amherst to carry the news of the capitulation to Detroit, and take possession of that and other western posts on the frontier. In November, 1760, they encamped at the mouth of the Cuyahoga, where the city of Cleveland now stands, to wait for fair weather. Here they were visited by a party of Indians,[1] who announced that they came from Pontiac, the chief who claimed all that country, and whose orders were, that the English should proceed no farther till they had received his permission. A few hours later he entered the camp in person.

Conditions of peace.

Pontiac was chief of the Ottawas, whom he was said to have commanded at Braddock's defeat, and in 1746 he and his warriors had defended the French at Detroit against an attack by some of the northern tribes. His mother was an Ojibwa, and the Ojibwas and Pottawotamies were in alliance with the Ottawas, he being the principal chief of the three tribes. He was now nearly or quite fifty years of age, and is described as unusually dark in complexion, of medium height, of powerful frame, and of haughty bearing. Subtle, patient, cruel, with much more than the ordinary capacity of his race, he possessed all of their few good qualities and most of their many bad ones.

Pontiac.

Pontiac demanded of Major Rogers his reasons for being at that place, and why he presumed to pass through the country without his permission. He was told in reply of the conquest of Canada by the English, that the party were on their way to receive the surrender of Detroit, and that it was hoped a general peace and friendly relations might immediately follow. Pontiac took a night for the consideration of intelligence with which probably he was already familiar, and the next day in a second speech declared that he wished to be at peace with the English, and would let them remain in the country so long as they treated him with due consideration. He was, perhaps, at that moment sincere. His old friends, the French, were conquered, and he may have hoped, by an early declaration of friendship for the

[1] In the relation of the Indian warfare of this period, the historian has only to follow faithfully and gratefully *The Conspiracy of Pontiac*, by Francis Parkman, one of the most exhaustive, as well as interesting and instructive monographs, that have ever been contributed to American history.

English, to secure an influence that would give him a complete ascendency over the other tribes. His good-will was further shown when Rogers and his two hundred rangers arrived at Detroit River, where four hundred Detroit Indians were lying in ambush. They were persuaded by Pontiac to relinquish their design of cutting off the English. His friendship.

The Indians who witnessed the surrender of Detroit, November 29, 1760, marvelled that the stronger garrison should tamely lay down their arms to a force so much inferior, and could only account for it by attributing to the English a superhuman prowess. No such belief, however, found lodgment in the mind of their wiser chief. He hated the English, and did not believe them to be invincible; he dreaded their supremacy, and feared that they meant to conquer his own race, as they had conquered the French, and would drive them from their hunting-grounds or make them slaves. His ears were open to idle tales which soon reached him from the Canadian traders — that his father, the French King, was old and had been asleep, but that he had aroused himself, and a great army was coming to the help of his dusky children; his fleet of great canoes, it was rumored, was on its way up the St. Lawrence River. He took counsel, therefore, of his thirst for vengeance, and not of any fear of the prowess or the numbers of the hated enemy. He pondered over these things for months alone in the depths of the forest, or in the silence of his wigwam, where none dared to interrupt the thoughts of the grim and melancholy savage. His plans, at length, were fixed. In a single day all the forts should be attacked and their garrisons put to the sword; all the frontier settlements should be laid waste; then, with the aid of the French, he would move upon the older ones, and the English should be exterminated or driven across the sea. Pontiac's plan of extermination.

Near the close of 1762, Pontiac sent ambassadors to the several nations, to lay his plan before them and propose the next spring as the time for its execution. These ambassadors, bearing a red-stained tomahawk and a wampum war-belt, visited every tribe between the Ottawa and the Lower Mississippi. The only nation of the Iroquois that joined in the conspiracy was the Senecas, the others being restrained through the influence of Sir William Johnson. But all the Algonquins, with few exceptions, the Wyandots, and some of the Southern tribes, entered into it, as well as the three immediately under the control of Pontiac. The time was fixed at a certain change of the moon in May. Each tribe was to dispose of the garrison of the nearest fort, and then all were to turn upon the settlements. His negotiations with other tribes.

Although within two years several smaller conspiracies of this nature had been discovered and thwarted, most of the commanders of the forts appear to have been almost stupidly unsuspicious and negligent. In March, Ensign Holmes, commanding Fort Miami, where Fort Wayne, Indiana, now stands, was informed by a friendly Indian that the neighboring tribe had received a war-belt and were preparing to capture his post. He at once called them together, and accused them of it. They confessed the truth, pleaded that they had been over-persuaded by another tribe, and renewed their old protestations of friendship. Holmes wrote to Major Gladwyn, the commander at Detroit, saying: "Since my last letter to

Holmes discovers the plot.

Scalp-Dance.

you, wherein I acquainted you of the Bloody Belt being in this village, I have made all the search I could about it, and have found it out to be true. Whereon I assembled all the chiefs of this nation, and after a long and troublesome spell with them, I obtained the Belt with a Speech as you will receive enclosed. This affair is very timely stopt, and I hope the news of a peace will put a stop to any further troubles with those Indians who are the principal ones of setting mischief on foot. I send you the Belt with this packet, which I hope you will forward to the General." Gladwyn did send the information to Amherst, but said he believed it to be a trifling matter which would soon blow over.

Pontiac called a great council, at a point on the river Ecorces, not

far from Detroit, which was held on the 27th of April, 1763, and was very fully attended. He delivered a long oration, in which he recounted the wrongs and indignities that the Indians had suffered at the hands of the English. The French, he told them, were their friends, and he repeated the stories he had heard that the King of France would soon sail up the St. Lawrence with his great war-canoes to assist his children. Above all he pointed out to them the probability that unless something was done, their extermination was inevitable. Then he told them of a tradition, which he could hardly have invented, that a Delaware Indian had been admitted to the presence of the Great Spirit, who told him his race must return to the customs and weapons of their ancestors, throw away the implements they had acquired from the white man, abstain from whiskey, and take up the hatchet against the English, — "these dogs dressed in red, who have come to rob you of your hunting-grounds and drive away the game."

Pontiac's council.

His speech.

The time fixed for the insurrection was the 7th of May. Pontiac was to lead in person the attack on Detroit. On the 1st he visited the fort with forty warriors, and danced the calumet-dance before the officers. A few days later he called a final council of a hundred chiefs, and laid before them his specific plans. With weapons concealed in their blankets, they were to go to the fort and demand a council with the commandant. Being admitted, Pontiac was to make a speech, and when he presented the wampum-belt wrong end foremost, it was to be the signal for the chiefs to fall upon and slaughter the officers. At the sound of this, the Indians who waited at the gate, or lounged about the streets, were to massacre the soldiers and citizens.

The plan at Detroit.

On the 5th the wife of a settler, visiting an Ottawa village to buy maple sugar and venison, observed many of the warriors cutting off the barrels of their guns with files. When she returned home and reported this, the blacksmith of the post remembered that the Indians had recently come to his shop to borrow files and saws, refusing to tell the purpose for which they wanted them. Those who understood the native character, knew at once that this could only mean that the guns were to be shortened for easier concealment beneath their blankets, and this could only be for some treacherous purpose. But Gladwyn was not convinced till the next day, when he received a visit from his mistress, an Ojibwa girl, said to be very beautiful, whose unusual manner, and reluctance to depart when the gates were about to be closed, led him to question her. After considerable hesitation she revealed the plot with all its particulars.[1]

Its discovery.

[1] Parkman traces the fate of this girl. She was probably seized by the Indians and

Description of the fort.

The fort at this time consisted of a square inclosed by a palisade twenty-five feet high, with a wooden bastion at each corner mounting a few light pieces of artillery, and block-houses over the gateways. Within were barracks, a small church, and about a hundred houses, mostly of wood, divided from one another by narrow streets, but all separated from the palisade by a wide space. The garrison consisted of one hundred and twenty men, and there were about forty others capable of bearing arms. Two armed schooners were anchored in the river. Estimates of the force under Pontiac vary from six hundred to two thousand. When, at ten o'clock on the morning of the 7th, the great chief entered the gate with his sixty chosen warriors, all plumed and painted, and closely wrapped in gaudy blankets, he saw at once that his design was known. The garrison was under arms and posted in readiness for immediate orders, while every officer had a sword and two pistols in his belt. "Why," said the chief, "do I see so many of my father's young men standing in the street with their guns?" Gladwyn answered carelessly that he had ordered them out for exercise. With many misgivings, knowing what they themselves would have done had they discovered such treachery on the part of pretended friends, the Indians took the seats assigned them, and with much embarrassment Pontiac began his speech. He appeared to debate in his own mind whether it would not be best, even now, to attempt carrying out the plot. Once he seemed about to lift the wampum-belt, when a slight gesture from Gladwyn was instantly answered by the rattle of arms at the door, and the warning roll of a drum. Pontiac seemed confounded at this evidence of the discovery of his purpose, and that the English were in readiness to resist the proposed onslaught, was silenced, and sat down. After a pause, Gladwyn made a short reply, assuring the warriors of his friendship so long as they deserved it, but telling them that instant vengeance would be taken for any hostile act. The council presently broke up, and the discomfited conspirators were conducted to the gate.

Pontiac baffled.

The next day Pontiac and three of his chiefs returned to present Major Gladwyn with a calumet, and to assure him that "evil birds had sung lies in his ear." He knew that Gladwyn knew it was he who lied, and when, the following day, he came with a large crowd of warriors, he found the gates barred, and was told that he alone might enter. Then he made instant declaration of war. His followers gave the war-whoop, and running to the houses of two

He declares war.

taken before Pontiac, who punished her with his own hands, beating her with a kind of racket club which the natives used in their ball-play. But her life was spared. She lived to be an old woman, and was at last scalded to death in a kettle of boiling maple-sap into which she fell when drunk.

or three defenceless English outside the palisades, murdered them and shook their bleeding scalps at the soldiers of the fort.

Pontiac ordered the Ottawa village to be moved across the river to the Detroit shore, where it was pitched at the mouth of Parent's Creek (afterward called Bloody Run), a mile and a half northeast of the fort. He had been joined by the Ojibwas, and on the 10th established a determined siege. From behind barns, fences, and trees, and from inequalities in the ground, the savages opened fire, and kept it up for six hours. This was returned whenever one of the dusky forms could be seen. A group of outbuildings which sheltered a large number of them was set on fire with red-hot spikes shot from a cannon, and burned down. When the day closed, no impression had been made upon the fort, except that five of the garrison were wounded.

The siege begun.

Gladwyn greatly underrated the extent and seriousness of the plot, and on the 11th he opened negotiations with the Indians, through an interpreter and two Canadians. The chief replied that he wished to hold a council with the English, and asked that Major Campbell, who was second in command, be sent to him. The Major went, accompanied by Lieutenant McDougal, — rather against Gladwyn's will, however, — and both were detained as prisoners. McDougal escaped a few weeks later, but Campbell was afterward murdered by a savage to revenge the death of his nephew, who had been killed in a skirmish.

Campbell and McDougal betrayed.

On the 12th, Pontiac compelled the Wyandots to join him, and renewed the siege. By midnight sallies and other expedients, the garrison gradually removed all buildings, fences, and orchards that interfered with the sweep of their guns, or gave shelter to the enemy in their approaches to the fort. The cannon-shot, of which, in common with all Indians, they had great dread, kept them at a distance ; but they could still shoot their arrows tipped with burning tow upon the roofs of the houses within the palisades. The supply of water was inexhaustible, but it needed unwearied watchfulness to guard against this terrible danger. Every man in the fort was constantly under arms ; no possible precaution was overlooked ; the provisions were wisely husbanded ; and friendly Canadians across the river brought over considerable supplies under cover of darkness. On the other side, the assailants, who had expected a speedy victory, had exhausted their scanty stores of food, and they sought to replenish them by robbing the Canadian farmers of the neighborhood. When these complained to Pontiac, he replied that he was fighting for their interests no less than his own. Theft, he promised them, should be stopped, but he substituted for it regu-

Pontiac's commissariat.

lar requisitions upon them for supplies, and gave them in payment promissory notes drawn on birch bark, and signed with the figure of an otter, — all of which, it is said, were redeemed.

Gladwyn knew that reënforcements and supplies for his own and other posts were on their way up Lake Erie, and one of the schooners was sent to meet the boats and hurry them forward. Unfortunately she missed them, and they approached leisurely along the shores of the lake till they reached the mouth of the Detroit River, quite unsuspicious of any danger. While they were making preparations to encamp for the night, a band of Wyandots surprised and routed the party. About sixty men were killed or taken prisoners, two only of the boats escaping, in one of which was Lieutenant Cuyler, the commander of the expedition, and about forty men. The other boats the Indians compelled their prisoners to row to Detroit, where their approach was hailed with delight till it was discovered that they were filled with savages. They had concealed themselves in the bottoms of the boats, and had hoped to enter the fort by stratagem. The disappointment in the fort was almost unbearable, when they discovered, by a fight in one of the boats between an Indian and a white soldier, that the whole convoy had been captured, and that the hoped-for relief was only so much additional strength to the savages, in arms, ammunition, and provisions.

Night attack on a schooner.

When Cuyler reached Niagara and told his story, another expedition of relief was started in Gladwyn's schooner, which had arrived at that place in safety. On the 23d of June she came in sight of Detroit, but for lack of a breeze was compelled to drop anchor. That night the Indians, in their canoes, attempted her capture; but when they came within a few yards of the prize, a broadside of grape-shot, with a shower of musket-balls, tore through the fleet of birch bark, killing fourteen Indians, wounding as many more, and scattering the remainder. Several days afterward she succeeded in ascending to the fort, giving the Wyandot village a broadside of grape as she passed, and came to anchor beside her consort. Besides food, ammunition, and reënforcements, she brought news of the Treaty of Paris.

But Pontiac still clung to his purpose, gained a few recruits among the floating and adventurous population of the Canadian villages, and pushed the siege. The schooners were a serious annoyance to the Indians, as their fire swept the approaches to the fort, and their guns were frequently turned upon the camp of the besiegers. Several attempts were made to destroy them by means of fire-rafts, but with no success.

The Wyandots and Pottawotamies now sued for peace, and ex-

changed prisoners with Gladwyn; but the Ottawas and Ojibwas still watched the fort and kept up a desultory fire. Meanwhile a reënforcement of two hundred and eighty men, with artillery and supplies, was coming from Niagara in twenty-two barges, under command of Captain Dalzell. On the morning of July 29, favored by a heavy fog, they ascended the river; but as they passed the villages of the Wyandots and Pottawotamies a heavy fire was opened upon them and fifteen men were killed or wounded.

Two tribes sue for peace

The siege continued by the Ojibwas.

Dalzell, whose arrival was hailed as a promise of salvation to the exhausted garrison, soon proposed a rash plan for a night attack on Pontiac's camp. Gladwyn, who better knew the numbers and re-

The Fire-rafts in Detroit River.

sources of the Indians, consented only with great reluctance and many misgivings. At two o'clock on the morning of July 31, two hundred and fifty men, led by Dalzell, left the fort and marched silently along the shore toward the Indian camp, which was on the farther bank of Parent's Creek. They were accompanied by two large batteaux, each

carrying a swivel gun in the bow. But some Canadians had learned of the intended attack and betrayed it to Pontiac, and the Indians had made the mile and a half of road that lay between the fort and the camp one long ambuscade. They were behind every tree and fence and house, silently watching their victims as they unsuspectingly marched by. No resistance was offered till the van reached the bridge over the creek, when a destructive fire was opened in front, and half of the advance guard fell. Dalzell, conspicuous for his bravery and coolness, prevented a rout and led on his men through the darkness. But no enemy was to be found in front; the English knew nothing of the ground beyond this point, and a retreat became inevitable. Then from every shelter along the roadside flashed the guns of the hidden savages, and the whole retreat, though marked by many acts of brave devotion, became little more than a sickening detail of helpless slaughter. Those who straggled or fell were quickly scalped as the exultant enemy closed in upon the retiring column. Dalzell, already twice wounded, turned back to rescue a wounded sergeant, and was shot dead. Major Rogers with a strong party covered the retreat by taking possession of a strong house, which was already crowded with refugees, the cellar being full of women and children, and the aged master of the house standing upon the trap-door that led to it, to keep out the hardly less frightened soldiers. Here, while the remainder of the troops reached the fort, Rogers and his men were besieged by two hundred Indians till the batteaux, which had gone down laden with the wounded, returned and drove off the assailants by a fire from the swivels that swept the whole ground about the house. In this battle, known as the fight of Bloody Bridge, the English lost fifty-nine men killed or wounded; the Indians probably not more than twenty.

Battle of Bloody Bridge.

Death of Dalzell.

One of the schooners, sent down to Niagara with despatches, was returning with a crew of ten men, besides the captain and mate, when she was attacked in Detroit River, on the night of August 4, by more than three hundred Indians, who silently surrounded her in their canoes, and were clambering up the sides with their knives between their teeth, when the alarm was given. The crew sprang to the gunwales with spears and hatchets, and despatched more than a score of the assailants. But the captain was killed, several of the crew disabled, and the vessel in the possession of the savages, when the mate roared out an order to fire the magazine and blow her up. A few of the Indians knew enough English to understand this order, and in an instant more the whole party leaped overboard and swam off in every direction.

A desperate fight on the river.

Notwithstanding the supply of provisions brought by the schooner,

it was soon necessary to place the garrison on short allowance. But now the Indians, whose own provisions were failing, began to tire of the siege, and were further discouraged by news that strong reënforcements from Niagara were coming to the relief. But this expedition, under command of Major Wilkins, was overtaken by a disastrous storm on the lake. Seventy lives were lost, besides all the stores and ammunition, and the survivors returned to Niagara.

On the 12th of October, all except the Ottawas sued for peace. Gladwyn replied that he had no power to make peace, but would grant a truce. This was finally accepted, and he took advantage of it to gather in a good supply of provisions for the winter's use. The Ottawas maintained their hostile attitude till the 30th of October, when a French messenger arrived with a letter from M. Neyon, commanding Fort Chartres on the Mississippi, in which Pontiac was informed that he could have no help from the French, as they were now at peace with the English, and he was advised to discontinue hostilities at once. Pontiac sullenly raised the siege, and went off into the country bordering the Maumee, where he vainly endeavored to organize another movement.

The siege raised.

Though the originator of this plan of extermination had failed to carry out his own part in it, his allies who attacked the other English posts were almost uniformly successful. On the 16th of May, seven Indians appeared at Fort Sandusky, commanded by Ensign Paully, and asked for a conference. They were admitted, and, at a signal, seized Paully and bound him. At the same instant, shots and shrieks were heard without, and in a few minutes the fort was in the hands of a band of savages, and most of the garrison were slain. They burned the fort, and carried off Paully with the intention of torturing him to death; but an aged Indian widow offered him the alternative of marriage, which he accepted, and after a time made his escape. On the 25th of May, a large party of Pottawotamies appeared before Fort St. Joseph, on the southeastern shore of Lake Michigan, at the mouth of St. Joseph River. This little work was held by Ensign Schlosser with fourteen men. The Indians, crowding in under pretences of friendship, suddenly fell upon the garrison, and in less than two minutes killed all but Schlosser and three men, quickly plundered the fort, and carried its commander to Detroit. At Fort Miami, on May 27, Ensign Holmes was decoyed from the fort by a story of a sick woman in the Indian village who wanted medical assistance. On arriving there, he was shot dead. The fort was then summoned to surrender, with a promise of mercy if no resistance was made. Discouraged by the loss of their commander and the numbers

Attack on Sandusky.

On St. Joseph.

Miami.

of the Indians, the garrison made haste to surrender. Fort Ouatanon, on the Wabash, near the present site of Lafayette, was also captured by stratagem; but the lives of Lieutenant Jenkins and his men were spared through the intercession of some French traders.

Ouatanon.

At Michilimackinac the Chippewas assembled in great numbers, but aroused no suspicion of the purpose of their visit, so harmless at first was their behavior, and so earnest their protestations of friendship to the English. On the 4th of June, these were invited to witness their game of ball on the plain in front of the fort. The whole garrison looked out upon the sport, from open doors and windows, and were thrown entirely off their guard by the eagerness with which the savages followed the ball, intent apparently to drive it either to one goal or the other. The game continued from early morning till noon. Just outside the gate stood Captain Etherington and Lieutenant Lester, careless and unsuspicious of any sinister design. But the savages, in all their racing and shouting, were warily watching for the favorable moment. At length, about noon, the ball was thrown near the gate as if by accident; there was a sudden rush, — the two officers were bound and hurried away, and the savages poured into the fort. Their squaws were already there, with weapons concealed in their blankets, which the warriors snatched from their hands. So sudden was the movement that the scattered and unprepared soldiers were incapable of defence. Seventeen were instantly killed, and the five or six who were taken prisoners, were only reserved for a more cruel death. All the English traders were robbed of their goods and they themselves led away into captivity. But there was no molestation of the French, who had calmly witnessed, and, for the most part, probably approved of the massacre.

Michilimackinac.

At Presqu' Isle, near the site of the present town of Erie, Pennsylvania, was an unusually strong block-house commanded by Ensign Christie, with a courageous and skillful garrison. On the morning of June 15, it was surrounded by two hundred Indians, most of whom had come from Detroit. The garrison at once retired to the block-house, where they held out against an assault that had no cessation for two days and a half. The Indians threw fire-arrows and balls of flaming pitch, and again and again the house was set on fire, but amid showers of bullets the flames were extinguished by the cool courage of the soldiers. Rude breastworks were piled up by the savages on a ridge that commanded the fort, whence they could fire in comparative safety. Some of them, growing bold, attempted to cross an open space and take shelter under the walls, but were shot down in the attempt. Then they resorted to mining; and

Attack on Presqu' Isle.

INDIAN GAME OF BALL.
[After Catlin.]

while this work was going on the water in the fort became exhausted, and the soldiers, the well in the parade-ground being out of their reach, dug a new one inside the fort. The mine reached the house of the commanding officer, which the assailants at once set on fire, nearly stifling the garrison with the smoke and heat, for it was close to the block-house. Through the night and all the next day the intrepid garrison fought without a moment's rest against fire, and the incessant and fierce assaults of the enemy. When it was evident that the mine had reached a point beneath their feet, and that further resistance was hopeless, they surrendered, but only on condition that they should be permitted to depart unmolested. The promise, however, was broken; they were all bound and taken prisoners to Pontiac's camp, whence Christie soon escaped and found refuge in the fort at Detroit.

Three days after this attack on Presqu' Isle, Fort Le Bœuf, a dozen miles south of it, was surrounded and set on fire. Ensign Price and his garrison of thirteen men cut a hole through the rear wall of the block-house, and silently escaped, while the howling savages in front believed them to be perishing in the flames. About half of them reached Fort Pitt, the remainder dying of hunger by the way. Fort Venango, still farther down the Alleghany, was captured by a band of Senecas, who gained admittance on some friendly pretext. They butchered the entire garrison at once, tortured Lieutenant Gordon to death by slow process, and then laid the whole work in ashes. Soon afterward the same band made a futile demonstration against Niagara. Fort Ligonier, forty miles southeast of Fort Pitt, was attacked by a strong force, but was successfully defended till relieved by the advance of Bouquet's expedition. Fort Augusta, at the forks of the Susquehanna, was only threatened — perhaps because of its situation so far east.

Burning of Fort Le Bœuf.

Venango.

Ligonier and Augusta.

At Fort Pitt, where Captain Ecuyer commanded three hundred and thirty soldiers, traders, and woodsmen, when news of some of these disasters arrived, the most vigorous measures were taken for defence. The walls of the fortification were repaired and strengthened, a larger supply of water provided for, and an efficient though rude steam-engine was built. On June 23 a few Delawares appeared, called a parley, and with the usual professions of friendship, said that six great Indian nations had captured all the other forts, and were now marching against this. "You must leave this fort," said their chief, "with all your women and children, and go down to the English settlements, where you will be safe. There are many bad Indians already here, but we will protect you from them." Ecuyer, who was quite as cunning as the Indians, thanked them warmly, but

Fort Pitt.

declined to go. He told them, he said, "in confidence," as a return for their kindness, that an English army of six thousand men was on its way thither, while another of three thousand had gone to attack the Ottawas and Ojibwas, and a third, on the frontiers of Virginia, would be joined by the Cherokees and Catawbas, "who are coming here to destroy you. Therefore take pity on your women and children, and get out of the way as soon as possible." The frightened Indians withdrew for a time, but returned on the 26th of July, and repeated their proposition, but were defied. At night they began the attack, many of them digging holes in the river bank, where they could shelter themselves and fire at every soldier who appeared.

Bouquet's expedition.

Colonel Henry Bouquet, by birth a Swiss, an able and experienced soldier, who had entered the English service and was now in command at Philadelphia, was ordered to march to the relief of Fort Pitt, with all the force he could muster. With five hundred men, mainly Highlanders, he set out, and about the 1st of July reached Carlisle, where he found the population in a state of terror. Many of the settlements in Western Pennsylvania had been laid waste, and those of the settlers who had escaped the tomahawk were crowding into the villages farther east. There were more in Carlisle than could be sheltered, and they were encamped in the fields all around it. About the 18th, Bouquet was ready to leave Carlisle, and, sending forward thirty chosen men to Fort Ligonier, he took both that and Fort Bedford on his line of march, and dispersed the Indians who had gathered about and beleaguered them for weeks. Thence he passed on over the ground traversed by Braddock eight years before. But Bouquet was as familiar with the Indian character and Indian methods of warfare as Braddock had been ignorant. The vigilance of his men, on the march or in camp, was never relaxed for a moment; on such perpetual watchfulness he knew that safety depended, and that he could best encounter Indians with Indian tactics.

Battle of Bushy Run.

At one o'clock on the 5th of August, they had reached within a mile of a small stream called Bushy Run, by the side of which it was proposed to encamp and give the needed rest to troops who had been on the march since daybreak. Bouquet was not taken by surprise when suddenly a fierce attack was made upon his advanced guard. Sending forward troops to their support, he brought together his horses, cattle, and wagons, to secure their safety, surrounding them with a reserved corps. As the battle in front evidently grew more furious, he led forward this force, who, with rapid discharges from their guns and at the point of the bayonet, drove the Indians before them and relieved their comrades. Then came fresh assaults upon both flanks, and upon the convoy in the rear, and the

troops fell back to meet the tide of battle from these unexpected quarters. The little army was surrounded; the woods were full of Indians, who, fighting from behind trees and under-brush, poured a deadly fire into the troops collected in one spot. The maddened horses, — there were nearly four hundred of them in the inclosed space, — bewildered and unmanageable with fright at the firing and the yells of the savages, plunged about wildly and created inextricable confusion. But the men stood firm. They delivered their fire with precision, or charged steadily with the bayonet, whenever a chance was offered to strike a blow at the enemy; though the chances were few, for the Indians fled to their hiding-places at every charge, to appear again from all sides, and to pour in again their deadly fire, as the soldiers fell back into line. So the conflict continued all the afternoon, till the friendly darkness hid assailants and assailed alike.

The situation seemed desperate, and Bouquet wrote that night to Amherst in a tone that showed, though he had not lost courage, he had little hope that he and his command would survive the next day's battle. Already he had lost sixty men, and many were wounded. The camp was on a hill, and they had no water. The suffering, especially of the wounded, from thirst was almost intolerable, — "more intolerable," wrote Bouquet, "than the enemy's fire." But they had only to wait through the long night, weary and faint with waiting and watching, for what another day would bring forth. Any attempt to move the camp in the face of the enemy would be fatal. They must conquer or die where they were.

The day renewed the fight. With the first light, the forest resounded with the yells of the savages; through the branches and leaves bullets rattled like hail. It was a question of hours only, as to how long it would be before every soldier would be shot down, as all stood, a conspicuous target to enemies who surrounded them on all sides, and who took a deadly aim, each man from his own particular hiding-place. To return their fire was to fire at shadows; to charge was to charge upon dusky phantoms who flitted singly from tree to tree, or faded out of sight in the dim light of the forest. Bouquet was hopeless of any successful resistance, unless he could bring these scattered and agile opponents into one compact body, to remain so long enough to receive the crushing blows he knew the English could deal them. To do this, he resorted to a stratagem which completely answered his purpose. He feigned a retreat. Two companies of light infantry were ordered to fall back into the circle which was Bouquet's central point of defence. On the right and left the troops opened their files to receive them, and then closed up in their rear as if to cover the

retreat of the central circle. Two other companies drew up as if in aid of this proposed retreat, when the Indians, completely deceived by these skilful and careful movements, and fearing that their prey was about to escape them, rushed headlong, wild with rage, and — that which the English so longed to see — in a compact body, to the attack. It was a fierce, a terrible and destructive onslaught, as it must needs have been; but out of it came safety. Had the Indians watched more warily, they would have seen there were movements from, as well as toward, the central circle. Two companies, under cover of the hill, were so placed that, as the savages threw themselves on the main body, determined to destroy it by one united and concentrated blow, these two companies poured in upon their flanks, dealing death by bullet and bayonet upon the foe at last within their reach. As the Indians turned to fly, two other companies met them in front, and the rout of the few who were left alive was complete. No savage had time to fire his gun more than once; he was either dead or flying for his life before he could load a second time. The Indians who were on the other flank made no attempt to help those on whom such swift destruction had fallen, but fled with the utmost precipitation. The English lost, in the two days, eight officers and one hundred and fifteen men, and the Indian loss was somewhat smaller. The march was resumed; the enemy made but one attempt to interrupt it, which was easily repulsed, and on the 15th of August the troops entered Fort Pitt.

Arrival at Fort Pitt.

There came, not long afterward, general submission and universal peace. Bradstreet, along the lakes, and Croghan and Bouquet, in the valley of the Ohio, had pacified the most warlike of the tribes, compelled the surrender of all English prisoners, and induced the chiefs — Pontiac among them — to assemble at Oswego to meet Sir William Johnson, where a treaty was concluded in the summer of 1766.

Treaty of 1766 at Oswego.

But for many months, along the borders of all the midland colonies, the people lived in perpetual fear of savage incursions, subjected often to atrocities that seem almost incredible, and retaliating with as little mercy when the chance was offered them. Two thousand of the whites were killed, and as many families were driven from their homes. It is hardly to be wondered at that the peaceful tenets of the Friends — who would not believe that all the fault was on the side of the untutored savages, who were fighting for the lands which had belonged to them and their fathers — exasperated the backwoodsmen whose life was a perpetual warfare. Some of these on the Susquehanna — who came to be known as the "Paxton Men," from the name

of their settlement — were restrained by no considerations of mercy or of justice. Believing that some Indians at Conestoga were more faithful to their own people than to the Christians whose faith they had accepted, the Paxton Men forced an entrance into a house where these Indians had been put for safety, and murdered them in cold blood. When others were taken to Philadelphia for protection, the borderers marched on the city, swearing vengeance on Quakers and Indians alike. For a day or two the city was almost in a state of siege from a mob of several hundred of these rough men, who had gathered at Germantown, and peaceful Friends took up arms, turning their meeting-house into barracks, in defence of the innocent and helpless. The frontiersmen were at length induced to disperse and return to their homes. Much of their exasperation was undoubtedly due to the interminable dispute between the Proprietary Governors and the Assemblies, — in which there was usually a large Quaker element, — the latter always sturdily maintaining their right to tax themselves in their own way, and that an equitable portion of that taxation should be borne by the Proprietaries. And this difference was also aggravated by the jealousy of the Presbyterians of the influence of Friends.

The Paxton Men.

Sir William Johnson's House.

Pontiac's conspiracy had failed in its grand object. But it had resulted in the capture and destruction of eight out of the twelve fortified posts attacked, generally by the massacre of their garrisons; it had inflicted upon the English the wreck of several costly expeditions, and had carried terror and desolation into some of the most fertile valleys on the frontiers of civilization. This able chief afterward succeeded in rallying some of the tribes of the Illinois country, and was joined by a considerable number of French traders; but his followers gradually fell away, and in 1766

Results of the conspiracy.

he gave in his formal submission to Sir William Johnson. In 1769, a Kaskaskia Indian, being bribed by an English trader with a barrel of liquor and a promise of additional reward, followed the great chief into the forest, where East St. Louis now stands, and assassinated him.

Death of Pontiac.

Bouquet's Redoubt at Pittsburg.

CHAPTER XIII.

ALIENATION FROM ENGLAND.

Debts of England and her Colonies. — Wealth of America. — The Navigation Acts. — The Writs of Assistance. — Plan of Taxing America for the Royal Exchequer. — George Grenville's Resolution. — The King and the King's Friends. — Grenville and the Colonial Agents. — The Sugar Act. — Colonial Protest against Taxation. — Otis's Letter and Book. — Passage of the Stamp Act. — Reply of the Colonies. — First Continental Congress. — Their Resolves. — Resolves of Virginia. — Other Measures of Opposition. — The Stamps Refused. — Mob in Boston. — The English Government. — William Pitt. — The Stamp Act repealed. — The Declaratory Act. — Confusion in English Counsels. — Joy for the Repeal of the Stamp Act. — Franklin before the House of Commons.

The Province House in Boston.

The end of war is, of course, a period of universal congratulation; yet all nations have learned that it brings with it a series of changes in social, financial, and commercial arrangements, involving great difficulties even after victory. The peace of 1763 was attended with such results both in England and in America. True, France was humbled and disgraced, and there were court flatterers enough in England to say that her power was broken forever. But the wise Count de Vergennes, one of the ministers of France,

Results of the peace of 1763.

read the future well enough to see and to say that the loss of Canada by France involved the loss to England of her American colonies. Since the event, many similar prophecies have been found in the words of Englishmen, Frenchmen, and Americans of that time.

Value of Canada to France and England.

Both countries over-estimated the immediate value, to either crown, of the province which was lost and won. The French Government did not know how to administer colonies. It had given away the whole valley of the Mississippi to the King of Spain, for mere want of skill to make it worth the trifle which it cost the French exchequer. Canada, though longer held, was not more profitable. For the bureaux of administration, under all dynasties, have a foolish way of valuing possessions or departments according as they are a charge on the treasury or yield it a profit. To England, Canada was of value, because its possession secured peace to the English colonies, — but hardly for its own sake. Even under the false "Colonial System" it could hardly be claimed that the furs or timber or naval stores of Canada were any more valuable to English trade than those which could be obtained in her other colonies.

What was perfectly clear, however, both in the colonies and in England, was, that the first duty of peace was, to pay the expenses of war. The American governments, fortunately for themselves, had had so little credit in Europe that they had not attempted to borrow largely there. But their home debts were considerable. That of Massachusetts alone was nearly £200,000, not funded, — a large sum for those days, — and the province had determined on a system of taxation which should repay it in five years. In other colonies, the embarrassments caused by debt, in especial by paper currency, were considerable. The national debt of England, almost doubled by the war, was now £145,000,000.[1] What had been gained by the war? Safety to the American colonies, and additional territory. True, the new territory had but a few hundred thousand inhabitants, and much of it was inaccessible wilderness. But on the map, at least, it doubled the English dominions in America, and the thought was naturally suggested that America must pay a part of the enormous debt, to justify which American provinces were the largest visible acquisitions.

A habit had grown up, indeed, of justifying the subsidies paid to German powers, and the other expenses of war upon the Continent of Europe, by saying that England could "conquer America in Germany." It was not simply the cost of the campaigns of Braddock, Abercrombie, and Wolfe, which was to be repaid; it was those more doubtful expenditures which had left the memories of Minden and

[1] Private correspondence of that time is full of terrors regarding it, and a belief that the nation is bankrupt is constantly expressed.

Fontenoy, that were to be met, if possible, by the colonies now freed from the dread of French rivalry or of savage war. The money grants made to all the American colonies in the war were only a little over a million pounds.[1] But the charge of the army and the navy, it was said, should be borne in part by them. The colonists considered that they had borne their share in maintaining their own contingents of troops, and they had lost nearly thirty thousand of their young men in the war.

Wealth of the American Colonies.

Meanwhile, the rapid increase of the American colonies, both in numbers and in wealth, was forced upon the attention even of the most careless. It is said that, between 1765 and 1775, two thirds of the foreign commerce of Great Britain was that which she conducted with America. Between 1700 and 1760, the value of property in England increased fifty per cent., and Pitt declared this was wholly due to the American colonies. Speaking in 1766, he said, "The profit to Great Britain from the trade of the colonies is two millions a year. This is the fund that carried you triumphantly through the last war. You owe this to America." Let it be remembered that Great Britain supplied three millions of people in America with almost every manufactured article which they needed; that she received from her colonies the tobacco and much of the fish, indigo, rice, naval stores, and other productions which she required; that, with her growing strength in the West Indies, she used her colonies on the main land to feed her islands, — and it will be understood that English merchants and those who had to deal with them in England conceived high ideas of the wealth to be derived from America. From 1760 to 1775, Great Britain sent to New England, New York, and Pennsylvania alone, goods amounting in value to about £2,000,000 annually. The exports of the thirteen colonies to Great Britain alone, as appeared from the public statistics, were often more than a million pounds a year. In 1773 they were as much as £1,369,232. The comparison supplies us with an estimate of the result of the trade of the colonies with the West Indies and the Mediterranean, from which trade by bills of exchange, or other methods, the English merchants were paid what the direct exports did not provide. There was a constant drain of specie, which compelled the colonies to resort to the issue of paper currency as a circulating medium among themselves, and in its turn increased their burdens. Sir Robert Walpole said he supposed that if the colonies should gain £500,000 in trade, half of it would, in two years, pass by indirect channels into the English exchequer.* There were sound commercial, as well as political, reasons for colonial resistance to any taxation in the benefits of which they were to have no share.

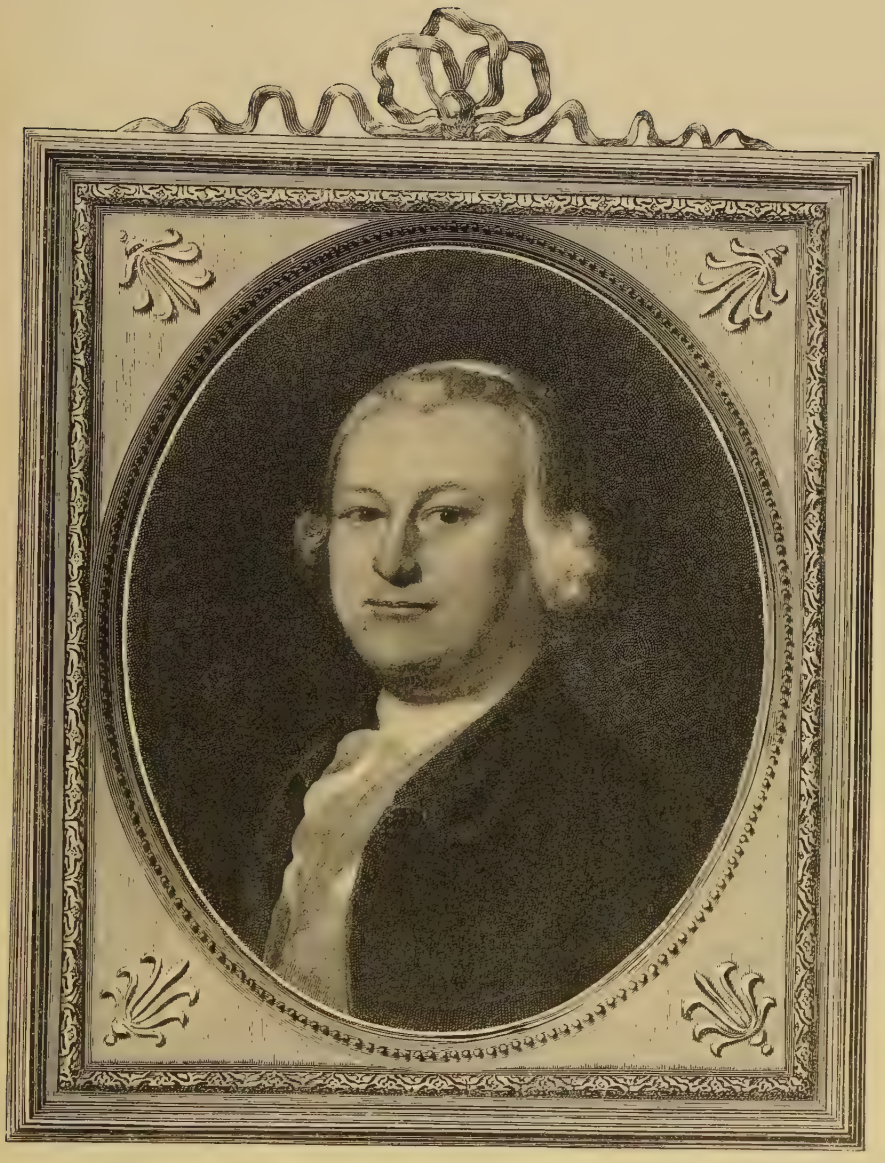
[1] The precise sum was £1,031,066 13*s.* 4*d.*

In the vast enlargement of the commerce of England and of the colonies, and in the movements of armies and navies in the war, the strictness of the "Navigation Act" sustained many severe strains. Exceptions were made to its principles by statute. In particular, such exceptions permitted direct commerce with Catholic countries, which the colonies supplied with fish for Lent, and with the islands of the West Indies. More than this, however, — the revenue officers had been permitted, and were even expected, to overlook violations of the act in certain classes of trade, where the national interest seemed to require its relaxation. But on the whole these laws were sustained, and with the return of peace a greater stringency was observed. Every province felt it, and the annals of every state contain accounts of popular indignation against the officers of the customs. In Boston, they were ordered to procure from the Supreme Court general warrants authorizing them to search where they would for smuggled goods. The collector directed his deputy at Salem to obtain one of these Writs of Assistance, as they were called. The question of legality was raised, and the Superior Court decided to hear argument before granting the writ. James Otis, Jr., was Advocate-general, and it was his duty officially to appear on behalf of the Crown. He refused, resigned his office, and at the trial in Boston, in February, 1761, appeared, with Oxenbridge Thacher, a leading lawyer, on behalf of the popular side. "Then and there," says John Adams, "American Independence was born." "Otis was a flame of fire. With a promptitude of classical allusions, a depth of research, a rapid summary of historical events and dates, a profusion of legal authorities, a prophetic glance into futurity, and a rapid torrent of impetuous eloquence, he hurried away all before him. American independence was then and there born. . . . . Every man of an immense, crowded audience, appeared to me to go away as I did, ready to take arms against writs of assistance." In this case, the court took time to consult the English practice, which, as it proved, permitted the issue of the general warrants. But the warrants, though granted, were never used.

The Navigation Act.

James Otis, Jr.

In the interval between the petition for the writ and the hearing before the Supreme Court, Chief Justice Sewall, who had doubts of the legality of granting the power of search, died. Hutchinson, who was Lieutenant-governor, a member of the Council, and a Judge of Probate, was also appointed Chief Justice, as Sewall's successor, by Governor Bernard. There was little doubt what the decision of the Court would be under this new Chief Justice. The appointment was made, it was supposed, to secure a decision in favor of the Crown; and the indignation and disgust were the greater that the choice



JAMES OTIS.

(After the portrait by Blackburn.)

should have fallen upon one who already held three other important offices. In reply to the bitter animadversions upon such an appointment, it was retorted that Otis had resigned his position as Advocate-general, not from any patriotic motive, but because the office of Chief Justice was not given to his father, James Otis, a distinguished lawyer of Barnstable, and a member of the Provincial Assembly. The calumny was a baseless invention, and John Adams afterward expressed his surprise, in writing upon these events, that anybody should "have swallowed that execrable lie, that Otis had no patriotism."[1]

When the popular hatred had driven Lord Bute from the ministry in 1763, George Grenville succeeded him as prime minister. On the 10th of March, 1764, Grenville moved, on an amendment to the Sugar Act, a resolution which contained these words: "It may be proper to charge stamp-duties on the colonies and plantations." The issue of these fatal words has been so important, that every effort has been made to trace the origin of the suggestion. As early as 1734, Governor Cosby, of New York, had proposed to the Assembly "a Duty upon Paper to be used in the Law, and in all Conveyances and Deeds," as a convenient method of taxation; but the Assembly did not accept the proposition, though it was intended as a colonial measure. That such a tax should be levied by act of Parliament, seems to have been first suggested ten years later by Lieutenant-governor Clarke, of New York. In December, 1744, Governor Clinton wrote to the Duke of Newcastle: "Mr. Clarke, the Lieu^t^ Governor, lately showed me two printed scheimes which he said were sent him from England." One was of a general character in relation to trade; but the other was a proposal "for establishing by Act of Parliament dutys upon stamp papers and parchment in all the British and American Colonys." "I must beg leave," adds the Governor, "to make a short observation upon them," — and it was the wisest observation he ever made. "The People in North America," he continues, "are quite strangers to any duty, but such as they raise themselves, and was such a scheim to take place without their knowledge, it might prove a dangerous consequence to His Majesty's interest."[2] The next reference to the project is found in the English Archives, under date of July 5, 1763, in a note from Hugh McCulloh, a treasury clerk, in which he says the stamp-duty on vellum and paper in America would produce upwards of £60,000 a year. The plan must have been considered, therefore, immediately after Grenville took the reins. For the Earl of Bute had resigned on the 8th of April, 1763.

Grenville's plan of stamp-duties.

First suggestion of the plan.

[1] Tudor's *Life of James Otis.*

[2] *Documents Relating to the Colonial History of New York*, vol. vi.

The King and "the King's friends."

According to an anecdote of a later period, told on the authority of Benjamin West, George III., when he came to the throne, wished to have a new palace, which might rival the palaces of the Continent. It is said that the ground for this new Versailles was selected in Hyde Park, and that nothing was needed but the money to build it. To obtain for the treasury a larger revenue became thus a personal wish of the King and the courtiers, and to gratify that wish also the scheme of a revenue from the colonies was determined on. There is probably some foundation for this story. It is not necessary, however, to go far to find the reasons why the ministers of great nations wish to increase the receipts of the treasuries they control. This is certain, — that the knot of courtiers who, at this time, took the name of "The King's friends," always favored, as the King himself did, all proposals for taxation.

George III.

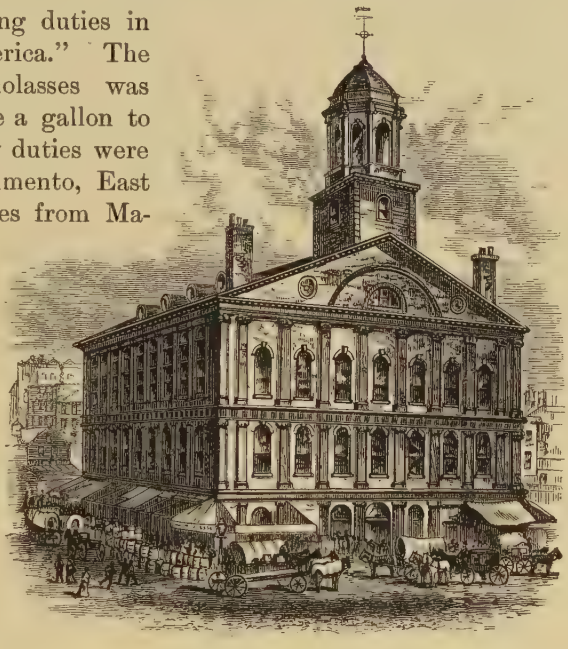
Grenville and the Colonies' agents.

The cautiously worded clause introduced by Grenville into a sugar bill only committed Parliament to what might be necessary, and attracted but little observation in London, except among the agents of the colonial Assemblies. The custom had become general for each Assembly to maintain an agent constantly in London, who represented its interests. This custom illustrates the relations of the colonies to the Crown, and shows how little the Assemblies trusted their own Governors as mediators between them and England. The agents instantly told Grenville that any scheme for internal taxation would be intolerable to America. He replied that he should have carried through the measure that year, instead of indicating it by a resolution, if he had not himself thought it advisable that the Assemblies should have notice of the intention, and an opportunity of proposing another mode of contributing to this charge, if any other should be more agreeable to them.[1]

[1] There was afterwards much discussion, even in Parliament, how far this overture of Grenville's to the agents went. A comparison of the statement in Franklin's letters, and

The Sugar Act, which, by Grenville's amendment, obtained a place so important in American history, was first enacted in the sixth year of the reign of George II. (1734). In order to protect the English sugar colonies, a duty, so high as to be practically prohibitory, was laid upon all sugar and molasses from foreign colonies introduced into American ports. This act expired in 1764. In renewing it, Grenville wished to make it remunerative instead of prohibitory, and accordingly changed both text and title. The old title was, "An act for the better securing the trade of his Majesty's sugar colonies in America;" the new one was, "An act granting duties in the colonies of America." The duty on foreign molasses was changed from sixpence a gallon to three pence, and new duties were imposed on coffee, pimento, East India goods, and wines from Madeira and the Western Islands. Importations direct from these islands to the colonies were permitted, by one of the numerous exceptions to the Navigation Act. The colonies had conceded the right of the government to protect trade with a prohibitory tariff; but when the preamble of the new bill declared that it was "just and necessary that a revenue should be raised there," and it was proposed that this be done by a tax virtually direct, which would burden almost every business transaction in the daily life of the citizens, it aroused a storm of universal indignation. It was an assumption by Parliament of a power which

The Sugar Act.



Faneuil Hall, 1879.

Hutchinson's account of Bollan's advices to Massachusetts, shows that the fact is as given above. Hutchinson's statements are always open to suspicion, because he wrote after the result. But in this case, the Assembly's letter in reply to that of their agent, Jasper Mauduit, makes it certain that Hutchinson rightly represents its contents. That letter was written by James Otis, June 13, 1764. It says distinctly: "The kind offer of suspending the stamp-duty, in the manner and upon the condition mentioned, amounts to no more than this, that if the Colonies will not tax themselves as they may be directed, the Parliament will tax them."

the Colonial Assemblies had long maintained was inherent in the colonies themselves, and considerations of private interest now gave strength to a principle of public policy.

When the news reached Boston that it was proposed to impose a stamp act upon the colonies, a meeting was called in Faneuil Hall, and instructions to the representatives of the town in the General Court — written by Samuel Adams — were adopted. "There is," said this paper, "no more room for delay. We therefore expect that you will use your earliest endeavors in the General Assembly that such methods will be taken as will effectually prevent these proceedings. . . . . But what still heightens our apprehensions is, that these unexpected proceedings may be preparatory to more extensive taxations upon us. For if our trade may be taxed, why not our lands? Why not the produce of our lands, and in short everything we possess or make use of? . . . . If taxes are laid upon us in any shape, without our having a legal representative where they are laid, are we not reduced from the character of subjects to the miserable state of tributary slaves?" And the instructions concluded with this suggestion, — the germ of the union of the provinces, — that "as his Majesty's other North American Colonies are embarked with us in this most important bottom, we further desire you to use your endeavors that their weight may be added to that of this Province; that by the united applications of all who are aggrieved, all may obtain redress."

This document the House adopted essentially as its own, and sent it, with James Otis's pamphlet on the "Rights of the Colonies," as instructions for the guidance of Mauduit, the Massachusetts agent in London. About the same time, a committee to correspond with other colonies "upon measures which concerned their common interest" was appointed, as Adams's original report to the town meeting had suggested.

The letter to Mauduit, the English agent, undoubtedly drawn by James Otis, was explicit. It set forth the expenses which Massachusetts also had sustained in these wars, carried on for the benefit of the empire. "Granting the time may come, which we hope is far off, when the British[1] Parliament shall think fit to oblige the North

[1] Once for all in these pages, it may be said here that the use of the word "British" was the custom of the time on both sides of the water. After the union with Scotland, it had been made a fashion, which had at last taken root everywhere. In literature, in Parliament, and in correspondence, the "British army," the "British Parliament," and the "British Constitution" were spoken of, — of course correctly, if the feelings of Scotland were to be considered. This habit has died out in England, and the custom of to-day speaks of the "English Parliament" and the "English Army." Readers of Sir Walter Scott will remember how unwilling he was to yield to this habit. Ignorant Englishmen, — as ignorant of the literature of their own country as of everything else, — have come to regard the use of the word "British" in American writers as a provincialism. The truth

Americans not only to maintain civil government among themselves, but to support an army to protect them, can it be possible that the duties to be imposed, and the taxes to be levied, shall be assessed without the voice of an American parliament? If all colonists are to be taxed at pleasure, without any representation in Parliament, what will there be to distinguish them, in point of liberty, from the subjects of the most absolute prince? If we are not represented, we are slaves." Colonial protests.

This is the same ground which the House of Representatives had taken two years before, in a remonstrance also prepared by Otis. In that case, Governor Bernard, in a recess of the Assembly, had incurred a small expense, and made a contract for the future, which he asked the Assembly to assume. The House of Representatives then replied that their most darling privilege was the right of originating all taxes. They said, "It would be of little consequence to the people whether they were subject to George or to Louis, — the King of Great Britain, or the French King, — if both were as arbitrary as both would be, if both could levy taxes without Parliament." [1]

Other colonies were not less alarmed, and some of them not less emphatic in their protests against the proposed tax. In October, the General Assembly of New York addressed a memorial to the House of Commons, in concluding which they said they had "no desire to derogate from the power of the Parliament of Great Britain; but they cannot avoid deprecating the loss of such rights as they have hitherto enjoyed, ... the deprivation of which will dispirit the people, abate their industry, discourage trade, introduce discord, poverty, and slavery." And they also at the same time appointed committees to correspond with the agent of the province in London, and with the Assemblies, or their committees, in the other colonies. Rhode Island, Connecticut, and Virginia instructed their agents to ask for a hearing before the House of Commons, and Pennsylvania sent a moderate but firm protest to Franklin, to be presented to Grenville.

On the 11th of August, however, the Earl of Halifax had sent instructions to all the Governors in the colonies, that they should at once transmit to him "a list of all instruments made use of in public transactions, law proceedings, grants, conveyances, securities of land or money, within your government, with proper and sufficient descriptions of the same; in order that, if Parliament should think proper to pursue the intention of the aforesaid resolution, they may thereby

is, the American writers follow the custom of the period when their ancestors were still the subjects of the "Best of Kings."

[1] Adjourned session, September, 1762.

be enabled to carry it into execution in the most effectual and least burdensome manner."

So soon as the Massachusetts Assembly received these tidings, it prepared an address, drawn up by Hutchinson, to the King, Lords, and Commons. There was much difficulty in framing it so that it should be acceptable at once to the people, who were represented in the Assembly, and to the more courtly Council, which had been selected by the Governor from the candidates sent up by the House. At last, however, an address was agreed upon. When it arrived in England, the Board of Trade seems at first to have refused to forward it to the King.[1] Edmund Burke and Governor Hutchinson both speak of the refusal to receive this and other memorials. But at the end of the year, perhaps in response to some unofficial instructions, this memorial, with Otis's pamphlet and the New York protest, was sent to the King by the Board of Trade, with the letter of the Massachusetts Assembly to Mauduit, their agent. The Board said, "We humbly conceive that in this letter the Acts and Resolutions of the Legislature of Great Britain are treated with the most indecent disrespect, principles of the most dangerous nature and tendency openly avowed, and the Assemblies of other colonies invited in the most extraordinary manner to adopt the same opinions. We think it our duty humbly to lay these votes before your Majesty, together with a book referred to therein, printed and published in Boston, and since reprinted and published in London."

The Legislature of Virginia met so late in the year that its resolutions were not among those thus coolly condemned by the Board which sent these memorials to the King. When it met, in November, 1764, a memorial was drawn by Pendleton or Bland, which remonstrated with Parliament against taxation without representation. The language was moderate in comparison with that of after years, but it did not lack for distinctness in its assertion of the principle for which her sister colonies were contending.

The Stamp Act.

With such warnings, Grenville introduced the Stamp Act, which was passed on the 22d of March, 1765. It was debated hotly, and was opposed earnestly in a full House; but the majority for the measure was very large — 294 to 42. By this act, every business document was declared illegal and void unless written on paper bearing the government stamp. The cheapest stamp was one shilling, and for the more important documents the prices ranged upward from this sum.

[1] Judge Marshall says the ground was taken that petitions against money bills interfered with the privilege of the House of Commons. Neither Burke nor Hutchinson alludes to this excuse. If it was made, the claim was extraordinary.

The colonies had been wholly prepared for this by the intimations of the previous year, and their indignation was all the greater because their remonstrances were unnoticed. Protests against parliamentary interference in taxation, which for a century and a half had been made on separate occasions, were now called forth at the same moment by one act, of which for a year they had had warning. Every colony spoke in reply, and with no uncertain sound. The news arrived in Massachusetts before the annual "election day" in May. The House of Representatives did not so much as compliment the Governor by an answer to his speech, but sent letters, in the name of the House, to every Assembly as far as South Carolina, proposing a general congress to consult on the circumstances of the colonies, and the difficulties to which they would be reduced by parliamentary taxation, and to "consider of a general, united, dutiful, loyal, and humble representation to the King." The day proposed was the first Tuesday in October. In Rhode Island, where the Governor was elected by the people, Ward, who held the office, refused to swear to carry out the act. In Connecticut, the Governor, Fitch, took the fatal oath, fell from popular favor at once, and was never reëlected.

A Royal Stamp.

The Legislature of Virginia had also met in May. According to Patrick Henry's recollections, when he was an old man, there was a certain aversion on the part of the leading members to come forward. Observing this, he wrote, on the blank leaf of an old law-book, four resolutions which became celebrated. The third and fourth are in these words: — Henry's resolutions.

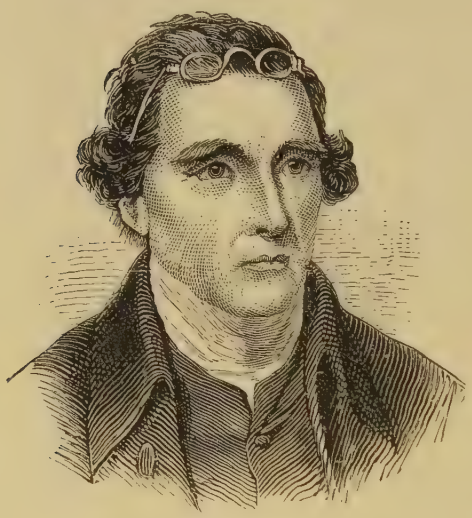
"Resolved, That the taxation of the people by themselves, or by persons chosen by themselves to represent them, who can only know what taxes the people are able to bear, or the easiest method of raising them, and must themselves be affected by every tax laid on the people, is the only security against a burdensome taxation, and the distinguished characteristick of British freedom, without which the ancient constitution cannot exist.

"Resolved, That his Majesty's liege people of his most ancient and loyal colony, have without interruption enjoyed the inestimable right of being governed by such laws respecting their internal polity and taxation, as are derived from their own consent, with the approbation of their sovereign or his substitutes, and that the same has been constantly recognized by the King and people of Great Britain."

These resolutions were opposed, with great earnestness, by all the

more prominent members. They said the same thing had been expressed in more conciliatory form, in the resolutions of the previous year, to which no answer was yet received. Henry supported his resolutions with all the fire of his eloquence. It was in the midst of this debate that he exclaimed, "Cæsar had his Brutus, Charles the First his Cromwell, and George the Third —" ("Treason!" cried the Speaker. "Treason! treason!" echoed from every part of the house.) Henry faltered not for an instant, but rising to a loftier attitude, and fixing on the Speaker a look of determination, finished his sentence with the firmest emphasis — "*may profit by their example.* If *this* be treason, make the most of it."

The resolutions passed by a very close vote; the last of the series by one majority only. It was afterwards remembered that the messenger who carried to Massachusetts these resolutions of Virginia, passed on the way, and conversed with, the messenger who carried to Carolina and Virginia the invitation of Massachusetts to a Continental Congress.



Patrick Henry.

The resolutions of Virginia were passed on the 29th of May, 1765. The Massachusetts Assembly met the same week. As the summer passed, the arrival of bales of stamped paper and the commissions for the new officers who were to sell the stamps, was the signal in each seaport for the expression of popular indignation. The collectors were hung in effigy; they were "waited on" by mobs, and compelled to decline. As successive Assemblies met, they pronounced the Stamp Act illegal. And nine Assemblies appointed their delegates, in answer to the invitation of Massachusetts, to the First Continental Congress. It met in the city of New York on the first Tuesday of October, 1765. Twenty-eight delegates constituted the Assembly. They chose General Timothy Ruggles, of Massachusetts, President.[1] This Congress was composed of some of the most distinguished men in the colonies. They had been chosen, also, with the wish to have the colonies fairly repre-

Congress of delegates held in New York.

[1] He did not concur in the conclusions of the Congress.

sented. On the roll are found the names of some who, in the final issue, sided with the Crown. But their resolution was decided; it satisfied the most eager; it surprised the royal Governors; it probably surprised the government in England. The resolves which the Congress agreed upon should be studied for a precise view of the position in which at that moment the country stood, now united for the first time. They are in the following words: —

Their protest.

"The members of the Congress, sincerely devoted, with the warmest sentiments of affection and duty, to his Majesty's person and government, inviolably attached to the present happy establishment of the Protestant succession, and with minds deeply impressed by a sense of the present and impending misfortunes of the British Colonies on this continent, having considered, as maturely as time will permit, the circumstances of the said colonies, esteem it our indispensable duty to make the following declaration of our humble opinion respecting the most essential rights and liberties of the colonies, and of the grievances under which they labour by reason of several late acts of Parliament.

Old City Hall, Wall St., where the First Continental Congress met.

"I. That his Majesty's subjects in these colonies owe the same allegiance to the Crown of Great Britain that is owing from his subjects born within the realm, and all due subordination to that august body, the Parliament of Great Britain.

"II. That his Majesty's liege subjects in these colonies are entitled to all the inherent rights and liberties of his natural-born subjects within the Kingdom of Great Britain.

"III. That it is inseparably essential to the freedom of a people, and the undoubted right of Englishmen, that no taxes be imposed on them but with their own consent, given personally or by their representatives.

"IV. That the people of these colonies are not, and from their local circumstances cannot be, represented in the House of Commons in Great Britain.

"V. That the only representatives of the people of these colonies are persons chosen therein by themselves, and that no taxes ever have been or can be constitutionally imposed on them but by their respective legislatures.

"VI. That all supplies to the Crown being free gifts of the people, it is unreasonable and inconsistent with the principles and spirit of the British Constitution, for the people of Great Britain to grant to his Majesty the property of the Colonists.

"VII. That trial by jury is the inherent and invaluable right of every British Subject in these Colonies.

"VIII. That the late act of Parliament, entitled 'An Act for granting and applying certain stamp duties, and other duties in the British Colonies and plantations in America, etc.,' by imposing taxes on the inhabitants of these Colonies, and the said act, and several other acts, by extending the jurisdiction of the Court of Admiralty beyond its ancient limits, have a manifest tendency to subvert the rights and liberties of the colonists.

"IX. That the duties imposed by several late acts of Parliament, from the peculiar Circumstances of these Colonies, will be extremely burthensome and grievous, and from the scarcity of specie the payment of them is absolutely impracticable.

"X. That as the profits of the trade of these Colonies ultimately centre in Great Britain to pay for the manufactures which they are obliged to take from thence, they eventually contribute very largely to all supplies granted there to the Crown.

"XI. That the restrictions imposed by several late acts of Parliament on the trade of these Colonies will render them unable to purchase the manufactures of Great Britain.

"XII. That the increase, prosperity, and happiness of these Colonies depend on the full and free enjoyment of their rights and liberties, and an intercourse with Great Britain, mutually affectionate and advantageous.

"XIII. That it is the right of the British subjects in these Colonies to petition the King, or either house of Parliament.

"Lastly, that it is the indispensable duty of these Colonies to the best of sovereigns, to the mother country, and to themselves, to endeavour by a loyal and dutiful address to his Majesty, and humble applications to both houses of Parliament, to procure the repeal of the act for granting and applying certain stamp duties, of all clauses of any other acts of Parliament, whereby the jurisdiction of the Admiralty is extended as aforesaid, and of the other late acts for the restriction of American commerce."

Similar resolves were passed in many of the Colonial Assem-

blies, Virginia taking the lead in a series which encouraged all the others.

Among the measures already taken in the colonies to resent the proposal of taxation, were agreements by which the associates bound themselves not to import English goods, and orders that had gone forward were countermanded. Retail traders agreed not to buy and sell such goods if they were brought into the country; and in New York a fair was opened for the exhibition and the encouragement of domestic manufactures. It was agreed not to put on mourning apparel, as the required stuffs were English. That the growth of wool might be encouraged, it was determined that lambs should not be used as food. The royal Governors, in that delusion which ruled them through the whole, spoke with contempt of these compacts. But they were so powerful as to govern the whole course of the year's trade, and were sufficient to appall some of the largest manufacturing towns in England. Manchester first appears in the parliamentary history as a place of importance at this crisis, when the petition of her manufacturers asserts that nine tenths of their workmen are unemployed.

Measures of opposition.

It was soon found that it would be impossible to enforce the use of stamped paper, though the refusal suspended the whole business of the country. Mr. Oliver, the agent for its distribution in Massachusetts, was compelled to resign, and afterward required by a mob to renew his resignation in public. His windows were broken and his house entered, in the violence of the transaction. Gaining courage by the quiet with which this outrage was received, the mob attacked the house of his brother-in-law, Lieutenant-governor Hutchinson, which was entered, and everything in it thrown into the street and destroyed or carried away.[1] The local authorities called out the militia, and offered rewards for the arrest of the ringleaders. But when some persons were arrested, another mob released them.

Popular hostility to the stamp-distributors.

Mobs in Boston.

In other colonies, violent measures or peaceable agreements were resorted to with the same result. Except among those holding office under the Crown, there was but one feeling. The newspapers — whose influence then was less through editorial comment upon public affairs, and more in letters from private citizens — led public opinion in warm appeals to patriotism, as well as in dispassionate essays upon the rights of the people. In New York, an association called the Sons of Liberty[2] took upon itself the direction of the opposition.

[1] The estimate of the damage was £2,500, which may be taken as the value of the furniture and other property in one of the most elegant establishments in Boston, at that time.

[2] When the Stamp Act was passing through Parliament, Charles Townshend spoke of

Similar associations were formed in other provinces, and a committee of correspondence gave to that opposition the strength of mutual and concentrated purpose. Lieutenant-governor Colden made military preparations for resistance, and was only prevented by General Gage, the commander-in-chief, from firing upon the people when they gathered about

Burning the Stamps.

the Fort and demanded that the stamps should be surrendered. Colden was burnt in effigy; the house of Major James was sacked, and its contents completely destroyed. He had made himself peculiarly obnoxious by declaring that "he would cram

the colonies as planted by the care of England. It was then that Colonel Barré broke out in that brilliant and indignant defence of the colonies, where in the French War he had

the stamps down their throats with the end of his sword;" that "if they attempted to rise he would drive them all out of the town, for a pack of rascals, with four and twenty men." Colden was at length compelled, by the popular excitement and violence, to pledge himself not to use the stamps, and to deposit them with the city Government for safe-keeping. When a vessel arrived in the harbor of New York with stamps on board for use in Connecticut, the vessel was boarded, the packages seized, taken on shore, and a bonfire made of them. In Philadelphia, the stamp-distributor, one Hughes, made haste publicly to resign his office when informed that his rather tardy deliberation would be aided by a visit from the Sons of Liberty. In Maryland, the distributor, Hood, was burnt in effigy, and when he fled to New York, a deputation from the "Sons" visited him at Flushing, demanded and received a formal resignation of his office, and an oath that he would not resume it. In every province, the stamp-distributor was compelled to resign his office. In New Hampshire, the commission of that officer was carried in procession upon the point of a sword; the newspaper of Portsmouth came out in mourning, and an effigy of the Goddess of Liberty was carried to an open grave. In South Carolina, the Stamp Act was publicly burnt, while the bells of Charleston tolled, and the flags on the ships in the harbor were hung at half-mast.

The Constitution of England was by no means yet adjusted on its present basis, or on what were then called "constitutional principles." George III. had steadily carried forward his notions of a possible royal prerogative, such as his predecessors, George I. and George II., had been content to yield. The Earl of Bute, the favorite of the young King's mother, and the head of his household when he was a prince, had indeed ceased to rule; but the popular indignation suspected, however unjustly, that his influence still controlled the government when Grenville was crowded out of power before the year closed, chiefly from the feeling that he was Bute's tool and appointed successor. Under the powerful patronage of the Duke

The English government.

served as a soldier. "They planted by your care!" he exclaimed. "No, your oppressions planted them in America. . . . . They nourished up by your indulgence! They grew by your neglect of them. As soon as you began to care about them, that care was exercised in sending persons to rule them in one department and another, who were perhaps the deputies of deputies to some member of this House, sent to spy out their liberties, to misrepresent their actions, and to prey upon them; men whose behaviour on many occasions has caused the blood of those *sons of liberty* to recoil within them." The speech was reported by Jared Ingersoll, the agent of Connecticut, and was probably widely and gratefully read in America before the Sons of Liberty in New York had formed their association and given it a name. "I am happy to hear of your success the American day," wrote the Earl of Shelburne to Barré. "It must give your friends in America the greatest pleasure." — Fitzmaurice's *Life of Shelburne*. Mr. J. Hammond Trumbull has shown that the phrase "sons of liberty" had been used many years before in Connecticut. But it had then been applied to freedom from ecclesiastical rather than political tyranny.

of Cumberland, a new cabinet, which was really independent of the Earl of Bute, came into being, headed by the Marquis of Rockingham. This Rockingham ministry was so much engaged in home politics, and in securing its own existence, that when it became necessary to call Parliament together, in December, 1765, it had come to no understanding on its course regarding America; the King's speech simply referring to the importance of the news received from there. Grenville, enraged by this news, moved an amendment to the address, full of indignation. The Ministers were not yet reëlected to Parliament, and, with some difficulty, Grenville, in deference to them, withdrew his motion. But after the recess the storm came.

Strange to say, however, even in the recess, the Ministry could not agree on their course. Nor had they agreed when the necessity of action was forced upon them. Then ensued one of the most dramatic scenes that Parliament ever witnessed, and the debate of January, 1766, which is one of the most memorable in history.

William Pitt.

It was a year since William Pitt had appeared in the House. The formal debate on the address to the King came on. A young member, whom the world did not know, but who has since given us the most vital history of this whole business, — Edmund Burke, — made his maiden speech. Pitt rose immediately after him, the whole House eager to hear the voice of the oracle. He began by congratulating Parliament and Burke's friends on the value of the acquisition of such a member, and then went on to speak doubtfully, even sarcastically, of the Ministry. At last he came to speak of America: "When the resolution was taken in the House to tax America, I was ill in bed. If I could have endured to be carried in my bed, so great was my agitation of mind for the consequences, I would have solicited some kind hand to have laid me down on this floor to have borne my testimony against it. . . . . Since I cannot depend upon health for any future day, I will now say thus much, that in my opinion this kingdom has no right to lay a tax upon the colonies. . . . . Taxation is no part of the governing or legislative power. At the same time, on any real point of legislation, I believe the authority of Parliament to be fixed as the Polar Star, fixed for the reciprocal benefit of the mother country and her infant colonies. They are the subjects of this kingdom, equally entitled with yourselves to all the natural rights of mankind, and the peculiar privileges of Englishmen, and equally bound by its laws. The Americans are the sons, not the bastards, of England." [1]

Pitt's defence of America.

[1] It was in this speech that Pitt made his celebrated prophecy that the "rotten part of the Constitution" — by which he meant the "rotten borough" system — would not continue a century.

At the close of this speech a long pause ensued. Then General Conway rose, — the leader of the Ministry in the House. He was one of the few men who had voted against the Stamp Act. He said he agreed with almost every word which Pitt had uttered, and he believed the Ministers did; and he disclaimed distinctly the charge which Pitt had made in the speech, that the Earl of Bute still had an influence in the royal councils.

George Grenville, of course, could not bear silently such attacks on his policy. He defended the Stamp Act ably. He said the origin of the American hatred to it was to be found in the factions of the House. When he ceased speaking, Pitt rose to answer him, though to speak twice was forbidden by the rules. But the House cried, "Go on!" and Pitt went on. "The gentleman tells us America is obstinate, America is almost in open rebellion. Sir, I rejoice that America has resisted! Three millions of people so dead to all the feelings of liberty as voluntarily to submit to be slaves, would have been fit instruments to make slaves of all the rest." These words, perhaps, more than any others in those celebrated addresses, endeared Pitt to the Americans. It would be hard to find other words more widely repeated, even by school-boys in their declamations, for more than a hundred years.

Edmund Burke.

The address to the King determined nothing. But Pitt's speeches fixed the minds of the wavering ministers. He had given them a policy, and they were sure it would be sustained by the House. In compliance with his ideas, they brought in a bill repealing the Stamp Act, and another declaring the supreme power of Parliament over the colonies. They also laid on the table large extracts from the American correspondence. The House heard at its bar witnesses acquainted with the subject, among others, Dr. Franklin.[1] This examination closed with these questions and answers: —

The results.

[1] The full report of the examination, all alive with Franklin's wisdom and wit, is in Sparks's *Franklin*, vol. iv., p. 192, and in earlier editions of Franklin's *Works*.

"*Q.* What used to be the pride of Americans?

"*A.* To indulge in the fashions and manufactures of Great Britain.

"*Q.* What is now their pride?

"*A.* To wear their old clothes over again."

If the final result of Pitt's eloquence, of Conway's conviction, of Franklin's wit and wisdom, and the apparent wish of the majority of the House, seems to us a confused medley, we are no worse off than they were who participated in it. Pitt wrote to his wife, confidentially, on the 11th of February, "The whole of things is inexplicable." Lord Chesterfield wrote to his son the same day, "Perhaps you expect from me a particular account of the present state of affairs. If you do, you will be disappointed, for no man living knows what it is." In truth, the ministers were disappointed in their effort to state, in resolutions, the doctrines which Pitt had laid down. The Stamp Act could be repealed; but the law officers would not consent to any statement of his favorite doctrine that the right to legislate and the right to tax were distinct. Lord Camden understood, and maintained the distinction. But Lord Mansfield ridiculed it, and, when the bill was to be drawn, he would not hear of it. Pitt and Camden both said that taxation and legislation were separate. Pitt's statement had been, "that we may bind their trade, confine their manufacture, and exercise any power, except only that of taking their money from their pockets without their own consent." But the Declaratory Act, as drawn by the law advisers of the Crown, instead of saying this, said that the power of Parliament was supreme over the colonies, and extended to all cases whatsoever. It always happens that a body like Parliament prefers the larger definition of its own authority, and Pitt writes to his wife, in the same letter which has been cited, "We debated long on various resolutions relating to America, and finally ended in a good deal of agreement." It seemed to him, as to all men eager for a solution of the immediate difficulty, that the repeal of the Stamp Act was the great practical object.

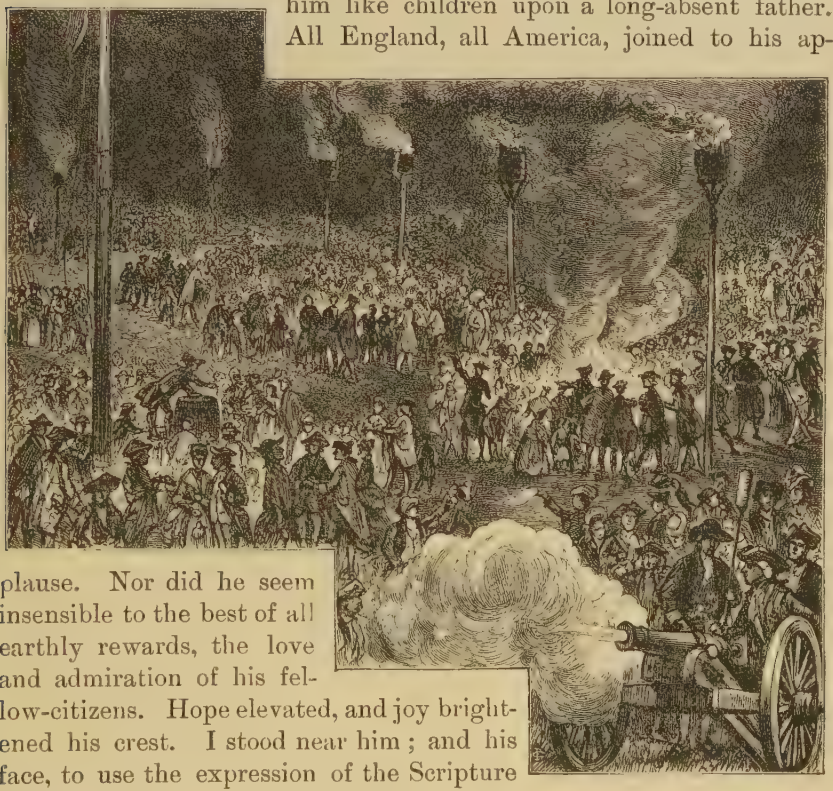
Conflict of opinions among English statesmen.

Meanwhile the Ministry were embarrassed on another side. They were embarrassed, as those who dealt with George III. often were, by finding they had misconceived his wishes. Before the debate was over, the leaders in the House found they were speaking and voting against "the King's friends." But this misunderstanding was explained, and, at the moment, wrought them no mischief.

General Conway brought in the resolution for the repeal of the Stamp Act on the 17th of February, 1766. After another remarkable debate in March, in which Grenville and Pitt both spoke, the vote in its favor was 275 to 167. Describing this

Repeal of the Stamp Act.

occasion, eight years after, Burke said: "I remember, Sir, with a melancholy pleasure, the situation of the honorable gentleman (General Conway) who made the motion for the repeal; when the whole trading interest of this Empire, crammed into your lobbies, with a trembling and anxious expectation, waited, almost to a winter's return of light, their fate from your resolutions. When at length you had determined in their favor, and your doors, thrown open, showed them the figure of their deliverer, in the well-earned triumph of his important victory, from the whole of that grave multitude there arose an involuntary burst of gratitude and transport. They jumped upon him like children upon a long-absent father. All England, all America, joined to his applause. Nor did he seem insensible to the best of all earthly rewards, the love and admiration of his fellow-citizens. Hope elevated, and joy brightened his crest. I stood near him; and his face, to use the expression of the Scripture of the first martyr, 'his face was as if it had been the face of an angel.' . . . . I did hope that that day's danger and honor would have been a bond to hold us all together forever. But, alas! that, with other pleasing visions, is long since vanished."



Liberty-Pole Festival.

The joy described with so much spirit by Burke, extended itself through all the mercantile and manufacturing towns in England. In America it was unbounded. The people had hoped; but the news, when it came, was more than they had dared

Joy at the repeal.

to hope for. General Conway, who had been the consistent friend of the colonies, accompanied the repealing act by a conciliatory letter, and, for the moment, it seemed as if the bone of contention was out of the way and a new era had come in. Full-length portraits of Conway and of Barré were ordered to be hung up in Faneuil Hall in Boston. The Assembly of Virginia voted to erect a statue of George III.; and a similar honor to Pitt was proposed in Maryland. But nowhere was the enthusiasm greater than in New York. The inhabitants petitioned for, and the Assembly decreed, the erection of statues both of the King and of Pitt;[1] on the King's birthday, which occurred not long after the news of the repeal of the Stamp Act was received, the people assembled in the Fields (now City Hall Park) and with rejoicings and festivities set up a Liberty Pole, at the foot of which the King's health was drunk in hogsheads of punch.

But it was a perishable monument of the restoration of peace and harmony. Before the summer was over, in only a little more than two months from the time of its erection, the Pole was levelled to the ground by the soldiers of the Fort. Thenceforward it became for several years a rallying-point of contention between the soldiers and the people. It was repeatedly cut down, or blown up with gunpowder, and as often replaced at once by a new one; and in these contests, where hard blows and sometimes serious wounds were given and taken, the spirit of resistance was kept alive and active.

[1] The statues were not finished for four years. In August, 1770, that of George III., which was of lead, was set up in the Bowling Green, and that of Pitt, in marble, at the corner of Wall and Smith (now William) Streets.

CHAPTER XIV.

END OF COLONIAL RULE.

MEASURES FOLLOWING THE REPEAL OF THE STAMP ACT. — IGNORANCE OF AMERICA IN ENGLAND. — QUARTERING TROOPS IN BOSTON. — CONSEQUENT ILL-FEELING. — IMPRESSMENT AND RESISTANCE OF SEAMEN. — QUARRELS BETWEEN CITIZENS AND SOLDIERS. — THE BOSTON MASSACRE. — REMOVAL OF THE MILITARY. — "SAM. ADAMS'S REGIMENTS." — TRIAL AND ACQUITTAL OF CAPTAIN PRESTON. — VERDICT AGAINST TWO SOLDIERS. — EFFORTS OF THE DUKE OF GRAFTON AT RECONCILIATION. — CONDUCT OF THE EARL OF HILLSBOROUGH. — LORD NORTH'S MINISTRY. — THE TEA TAX. — THE WHATELY LETTERS. — FRANKLIN INSULTED BY WEDDERBURN. — ARRIVAL OF THE TEA SHIPS IN AMERICA. — DISPOSITION OF THE TEA IN VARIOUS PLACES. — BOSTON PORT BILL. — GAGE APPOINTED GOVERNOR OF MASSACHUSETTS.

THE repeal of the Stamp Act was, after all, only a concession for the sake of present expediency, not an acknowledgment of an exclusive and inherent right in the colonial subjects to tax themselves. It was accompanied by a Declaratory Act asserting the power of Parliament over the colonies "in all cases whatsoever;" which might well arouse, as Lord Shelburne afterward wrote to Pitt it did, "an unfortunate jealousy and distrust of the English Government throughout the Colonies." The Mutiny Act, also, not long before, had been extended to America, and one of its provisions was, that the Colonial Assemblies should provide quarters, with "fire, candles, vinegar, salt, bedding, utensils for cooking, beer or cider, and rum," for the support of troops. Parliament, moreover, accompanied the repeal of the obnoxious act by a resolution recommending that the Assemblies of the several provinces should compensate all those who had suffered loss the year before in the stamp riots. That the Sugar Act should still remain the law, without modification, would have been enough to keep alive distrust of the home government; but when, to the negation of any essential change of policy, there was added so much positive proof that the policy was unchanged, there was quite sufficient reason for the most jealous watchfulness on the part of the Americans.

Assertion of power over the colonies by Parliament.

The Mutiny Act.

Meanwhile the Rockingham Ministry was dissolved, and, though Pitt accepted the Privy Seal, the changes in the Cabinet indicated

that a spirit of aggression rather than of conciliation would rule in the affairs of the colonies. Pitt, moreover, to the surprise of all England, and, indeed, of all Europe, chose to go into the House of Lords as the Earl of Chatham, at the sacrifice of his influence as well as of his popularity. That mysterious illness of his — which has been a cause of so much speculation, which was believed by many to be akin to madness, by others the exaggeration of peculiar eccentricity, and, in our time, perhaps, would be covered under the more charitable and comprehensive term of nervous prostration — was now at its height. Whatever it was, it led him, unfortunately both for England and America, into almost complete isolation, leaving Charles Townshend free from all restraint. He had accepted office under Pitt, while opposed to his policy in regard to the affairs of the colonies. He had acceded to the repeal of the Stamp Act, only because it was inexpedient to attempt to enforce it. Military garrisons, he now insisted, should be kept up in the large colonial towns, to be supported by colonial taxation; a colonial revenue must be exacted; and he ridiculed the distinction between internal and external taxes. This distinction was one at first strenuously insisted upon by the Americans; but had Townshend, who died in the autumn of 1767, lived a little longer, he would have seen how completely his own measures changed their opinions on this point. Taxation of the colonies was to be resisted, let it take what form it would, if only the purpose was plainly seen that taxation was intended.

Changes in the English Cabinet.

Ascendency of Townshend.

The intrigues and strife of parties, and the determination of the landed interest in England to lighten its own burden, favored Townshend's polity. It was proposed to reduce the land-tax of four shillings in the pound to three shillings, and Townshend was quite willing to see the defeat of his own party on this question, as it enabled him to insist upon making up the deficiency in the revenue by colonial taxation. But the colonies were of one mind; they would submit to no infringement upon their rights by Parliament, though, as events ordered, it was upon New York and Massachusetts that the duty devolved of taking the lead in defence of those rights.

When Sir Henry Moore, the Governor of New York, sent a message in June, 1768, to the Assembly, requiring them to make provision for troops, then on their way to that colony, in accordance with the Act of Parliament, the Assembly refused. They were willing to bear a proportionate share in the support of troops on the march through the province, as they had always done, and of their own free will. But the quartering of soldiers in the colony at the colony's expense, as this act provided, was the imposition

Refusal of New York to support troops.

of a tax without their consent. In the spring, Parliament ordered that the legislative functions of New York should be suspended till the law was complied with. In the debate on this measure, Pownall, formerly Governor of Massachusetts, but now a member of Parliament, was exceedingly frank in his animadversions upon the conduct of the House. It had seen fit to assume that New York alone had revolted against this assumption of power. "Believe me," said Mr. Pownall, — whose experience and sound judgment should have commended his words to those men who ought by this time to have begun to see that they were attempting to ride a storm and guide a whirlwind, — "Believe me, there is not a province, a colony, or a plantation that will submit to a tax thus imposed, more than New York will."

Other colonies, where like requisitions were made for the support of troops, were careful, in granting them, to avoid seeming to do so in obedience to the act. Sympathy with New York, as the target of ministerial displeasure, extended to them all, and that deepened to indignation when the Mutiny Act was extended for another year, and it was determined to impose port duties on wines, oil, and fruit, if shipped direct from Spain and Portugal, and upon glass, paper, lead, colors, and tea. The revenue to be raised from these duties was to be at the disposal of the Crown, and to be used for the support of the civil officers of the colonies.

Sustained by the other colonies.

This was justly considered a blow at the very root of their constitutional rights. The one thing above all others which the colonists had never lost sight of, and had never ceased to contend for, — as the history of the colonial period shows, — was, to provide for the necessities of government in their own way, and to keep those to whom the affairs of government were intrusted, dependent upon the Colonial Assemblies. In this emergency, the General Court of Massachusetts addressed a circular letter to the Assemblies of all the other colonies, suggesting that they should unite in supplications to the King for relief.

The acts of Parliament, they said in this letter, "imposing duties on the people of this province, with the sole and express purpose of raising a revenue, are infringements of their natural and constitutional rights; because, as they are not represented in the British Parliament, his Majesty's Commons in Britain by those acts grant their property without their consent." And they submitted it to the consideration of their countrymen, "Whether any people can be said to enjoy any degree of freedom, if the Crown, in addition to his undoubted authority for constituting a Governor, should appoint him such a stipend as it shall judge proper, without

Circular Letter of Massachusetts.

the consent of the people, and at their expence; and whether, while the judges of the land, and other civil officers, hold not their commissions during good behavior, their having salaries appointed for them by the Crown, independant of the people, hath not a tendency to subvert the principles of equity, and endanger the happiness and security of the subject." With one accord the other colonies united in hearty approbation of this letter. But when it reached England, the Earl of Hillsborough, who had succeeded Shelburne as Secretary of State for the Colonies, wrote to Governor Bernard of Massachusetts to order the General Court "to rescind the resolution which gave birth to the letter, and to declare their disapprobation of and dissent to that rash and hasty proceeding;" and if they refused, the Governor was to dissolve the Court. The other colonies were ordered to take no notice of the letter, and were also threatened with dissolution of their Assemblies in case of disobedience.

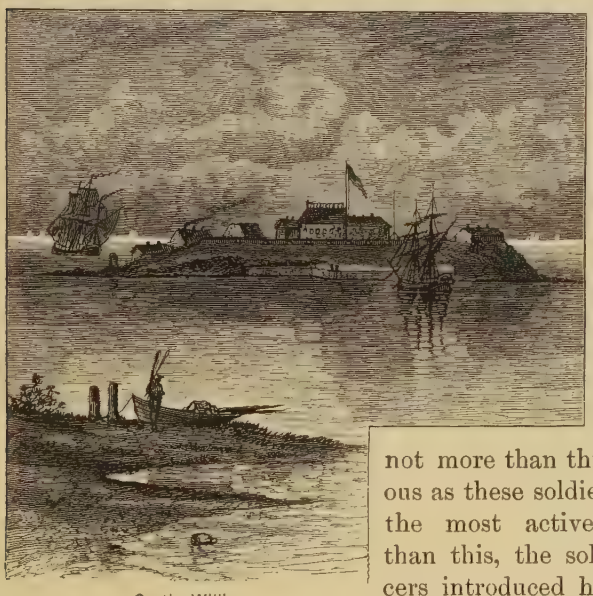
English ignorance of America.

It is a remarkable evidence of the utter ignorance that prevailed in England of American affairs and American character, that Hillsborough could have sent such a message to a body whose leading men, when measured with the worthiest of the public men of England, were in every sense their peers, and in some sense their superiors. The General Court replied with great dignity to the minister's insolent demand, and by a vote of ninety-five to seventeen declined to comply with it. In truth, no other result was probable, or hardly possible. The older colonies had been essentially self-governed for a century and a half, and were virtually independent. Almost all of the inhabitants, except in Georgia, were born upon the soil. The circumstances of their lives had created habits of thought as well as methods of living, and no "Be it enacted," pronounced three thousand miles away, could stand if brought in conflict with this native self-reliance and inborn belief in their own rights. To ministers in England it seemed that to dissolve an Assembly was a final and decisive step. In Boston it only showed the people that the time had come for town meetings. An appeal from Faneuil Hall was responded to by every town in the province, and committees of correspondence and of safety laid deep and strong the foundations of a new state. It was easy to impose taxes on imports by bills in Parliament, and to appoint revenue officers for their due collection. If not quite so easy to do, it was more to the purpose when done, to determine neither to order nor to receive importations. If the Ministry supposed that the colonists were to be overawed by the presence of troops, they misjudged the circumstances and character of the people in this as in everything else. Their appeals had been to the clemency of a King to whom they avowed the most loyal allegiance;

to the justice and reason of ministers who, they were slow to believe, intended to take from them the rights they had always maintained, and the loss of which would reduce them to political slavery. If the final arbitration must be by force of arms, they would be as ready for that as they had been to meet all other questions; but they were reluctant to admit that the necessity for such arbitration could ever arise.

When, therefore, under the King's new system of government, four regiments of soldiers from the Crown establishment were quartered in the town of Boston, every prejudice of that community was shocked; every man felt that this was an insult to the good fame of the town; and every man, whatever his station, asked himself what these soldiers were doing, and what they were there for.[1] The answer was clear enough, that they were doing nothing. The King was paying them for doing nothing, in a little town in which the whole population of able-bodied men, not more than three times as numerous as these soldiers, were engaged in the most active industry. Worse than this, the soldiers and their officers introduced habits in the last degree exasperating in a Puritan town. The army of England at that time was recruited from the lowest dregs of the English population. And here, by way of bravado, four regiments were introduced in the midst of a community where men had not been used to see a professional soldier once in a generation, and where public morals, and the outward forms of society, had been pushed by the leaders of the government to the very verge of asceticism. Had any enemy of King George counselled him as to the best method by which he could alienate his subjects here, such an enemy

The quartering of troops.



Castle William.

[1] Ten years after, when the Count Rochambeau commanded the French army in America, he was asked in Connecticut, to his great amusement, "What he did when he was at home?"

could not have suggested a plan more ingenious than that of quartering a considerable body of troops in Boston. To quarter so many troops in a provincial town of England would, perhaps, have been thought a favor. The habits of society, the gayety, and the other stimulants to intercourse and trade, had long since blotted out in England the old prejudice against a standing army. But all the larger colonies had been formed while that prejudice still existed. All the old political writers of England, on whom the colonists greatly relied, regarded any standing army as an instrument of tyranny. And, as has been said, the experience of all their history had shown that in such states as theirs, at least, no standing army was necessary for order or tranquillity.

Castle William.

Up to the year 1767, the presence of English troops was unknown in New England, excepting in time of war; and even then, such troops were moved as soon as possible to the frontier. In the spring of 1768, in the midst of bitter irritation between the Governor and the Massachusetts Assembly, the newly-appointed Commissioners of the Customs had been compelled to remove to Castle William, about three miles below Boston, in the harbor, where the garrison then consisted of a detail from the militia of the neighborhood. The Governor was so far dissatisfied with this garrison, that he requested General Gage, the English Commander-in-chief at New York, to order one or two regiments of the King's troops from Halifax to hold the fort. He also moved three vessels of war down the harbor so as to cover it. Before his orders could be executed, the government in England, of their own movement, had anticipated them and sent their orders for quartering troops in the town. Early in September, an officer arrived to prepare their quarters. His errand was at once known, and the popular indignation was shown by the immediate provision of a tar-barrel, which was hauled up by night into the frame, long empty, of the beacon which gave its name to Beacon Hill,— the highest of the three hills of Boston. In preparation for such a purpose, the selectmen of the town had repaired the beacon. It may be doubted whether this beacon had been used since it summoned the people of the country to the overthrow of Andros.[1] It had been established in the very earliest days of the colony.

The Beacon.

Popular indignation in Boston. The beacon.

The town meeting of Boston sent a committee to the Governor,

[1] See vol. ii., p. 393.

[From an Old Print.]

asking him to issue precepts for a General Assembly, to take measures for the preservation of their civil rights and privileges. The Governor refused, and the committee of the town of Boston proceeded, on its own warrant, to summon an Assembly for the purpose named. The town meeting then voted that every inhabitant should be requested to provide himself with fire-arms for sudden danger in case of a war with France. As no war was probable, the design of this vote was evident. Meanwhile the Council declined to provide barracks for the troops in Boston. They said there were barracks for a thousand men at Castle William, and that these would accommodate all the troops expected from Halifax. The act of Parliament requiring them to prepare quarters for troops had provided that where barracks already existed, they should be used.

In the midst of this irritation the Convention met, and addressed the Governor. They asked him to convene the General Assembly. The Governor refused to receive their petition, but addressed a paper to them admonishing them instantly to separate. They remained in session nine days. Their moderation seems to have disappointed everybody, of both parties. The troops finally arrived off the harbor on the 28th of September, the Convention adjourned on the 29th, and on the 1st of October the troops landed. Even the regiment which was intended for the castle was brought up to the town. One regiment encamped on the Common, and the other was quartered in Faneuil Hall and the Town House. The local authorities still refused to provide barracks, and the commanding officer hired quarters for them and purchased supplies at the charge of the Crown. The Irish regiments in addition arrived on the 10th of November, and were quartered in a similar way. A fleet of eight men-of-war, with an aggregate of more than a hundred and eighty guns, was anchored off the town.

Troops sent to Boston.

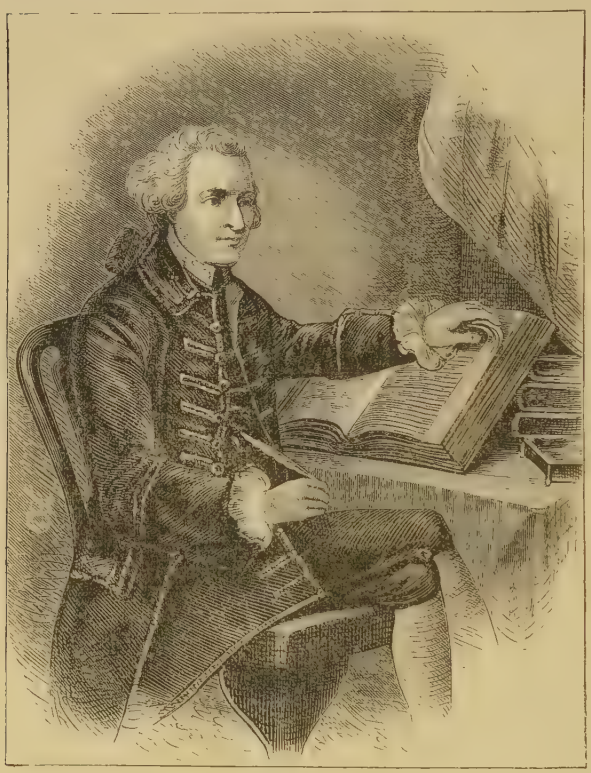
The justification made by the home government for sending a garrison to Boston was the news of a riot on the 8th of July. A schooner, laden with molasses, had been seized for violation of the customs. Thirty men entered her at night, confined the keepers, and carried off the cargo. The selectmen restored the molasses, but Governor Bernard, in reporting the matter to the government, said, with a sneer, "We are not without a government, only it is in the hands of the people of the town." This occurrence, and a similar riot in which some wines were landed from the sloop *Liberty*, belonging to John Hancock, seem to have given the motive to the English administration for severer measures than they had attempted before. A large garrison once in the town, there occasionally broke out the annoyances which might be expected after such circum-

Riots the pretext.

stances of irritation. So soon as the General Court met, in May, it proved that the result of this irritation was a stronger majority against the Governor than before. A committee was at once appointed to ask for the removal of the troops. The Governor answered that he had no authority over them. The General Court replied that it was only owing to exaggerated reports that the troops had been sent. They said there had been no disturbances which bore any proportion to similar tumults in the best regulated cities of Europe. Any disturbances here were far from being carried to that atrocious and alarming length to which riotous assemblies had been carried in Great Britain, "at the very gates of the palace, and even in the royal presence." They refused to proceed to business while surrounded with soldiers. Governor Bernard met this refusal by removing the General Court to Cambridge, where was no garrison; and the House proceeded to business there, under a protest. On the 27th, they voted a petition to the King for Governor Bernard's removal, who, as it happened, had the mortification of communicating to them the next day the King's orders that he should return to England to lay before him the state of the province. He had received these orders as early as April. The General Court asked to see the King's order, and it was laid before them. The Court replied that they "cheerfully acquiesced in the command of their sovereign for his return to Great Britain, and the order for a true statement of the

Removal of the troops demanded.

The Governor in conflict with the General Court.



John Hancock.

affairs of the province gave them peculiar satisfaction." On the departure of Bernard, Hutchinson, the Chief Justice of the Province, a gentleman of old New England blood, became acting Governor.

Such are, perhaps, the more important external signs of constant irritation which appear on the public records after more than a century. But, as a matter of course, the occasions of personal and private irritation, occurring almost with every hour, did more to alienate the people from the Crown than any formal passages, however bitter. Such were the daily parade of regiments, and their military instruction in the heart of the town, — duels between officers, and between officers and citizens, — the ridicule with which a body of English officers would regard the antiquated and provincial customs of the little sea-port, — and, worst of all, the quarrels, more and more frequent, between ignorant and brutal privates and the people of the lowest class of the town, equally ignorant and equally brutal. Of the population of Boston, which would not count more than four thousand able-bodied men, a large portion were seafaring men, with the habits of adventure and violence which are not unusual with sailors in all countries. Under such conditions, altercations constantly took place, of which the local annals are full. One of the most exasperating was the impressment by the officers of the *Rose* man-of-war of some seamen from a Marblehead brig. The seamen resisted, defied the English officer in command, and killed him. On the trial of the guilty person, he was acquitted by the Admiralty Court, which was wholly in the King's interest, on the ground that he acted in self-defence. It also proved that the statute which gave the right of impressment specially excepted the American coast from its execution.

Other sources of irritation.

Attempted impressments.

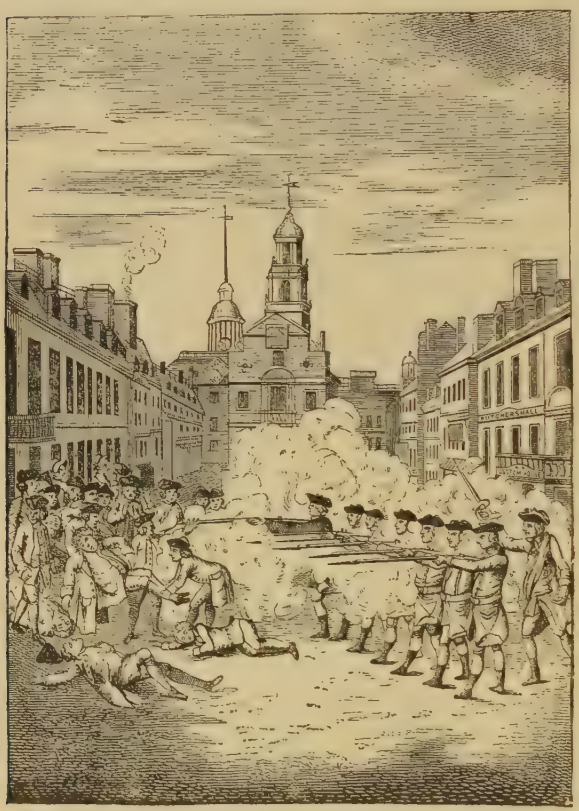
Such altercations and bitterness culminated, after a year and a half, in an occurrence which at the time received the exaggerated name of the "Boston Massacre," a name which it has never lost. In the experience of places always accustomed to quarrels between soldiers and civilians, this transaction would have been considered trifling. Its importance in this instance is due to the fact that it brought to a crisis a long series of annoyances in a community wholly unused to a garrison.

On the 3d of March, 1770, by mutual agreement, a party of soldiers and rope-makers had an encounter with clubs, near midnight, and several men on each side were badly wounded. The next night, a renewal of the fight was prevented with some difficulty. On the evening of the 5th of March, two young men undertook to pass a sentinel at the foot of Cornhill,[1] without answering

The Boston Massacre.

[1] The name "Cornhill" then applied to a part of what is now Washington Street.

his challenge. A struggle ensued, in which some of the soldiers from the neighboring barracks turned out, one armed with a pair of tongs and another with a shovel, and the offending citizen was driven back through the alley-way which he had attempted to pass. This encounter, trifling in itself, was sufficient to call out the soldiers in defence of the sentry, and the people of the neighborhood as well.



Boston Massacre. — From an Engraving by Paul Revere.

The assembly of people was, of course, much the larger. The officers succeeded in drawing the soldiers into the barracks; but the mob was now large enough to turn its attention to another sentinel, who stood not far off, in front of the Custom House.[1] A boy pointed him out as a soldier who had lately knocked him down, and some twenty young men attacked him with missiles. The man loaded his gun, and tried to retire within the building, but, finding the door locked, called for the main guard, whose station was within hearing. The officer in command sent a sergeant with six men to his relief, and also sent

When that name gradually absorbed the names of the short streets which run from south to north through Boston, the name of "Cornhill" lapsed. It was taken up and used again for the street which now bears it. As it happens, the altercation named in the text was at the foot of each Cornhill. It was in a narrow alley which passed from what was then the end of Washington Street, to Brattle Square. The opening of what is now called "the new Washington Street" swept away all local monuments of that spot, which is now a part of the great thoroughfare.

[1] In State Street, then King Street, where the building stands now occupied by the Union and State Banks.

a messenger for Captain Preston, the officer of the day, who was at an entertainment in Concert Hall.

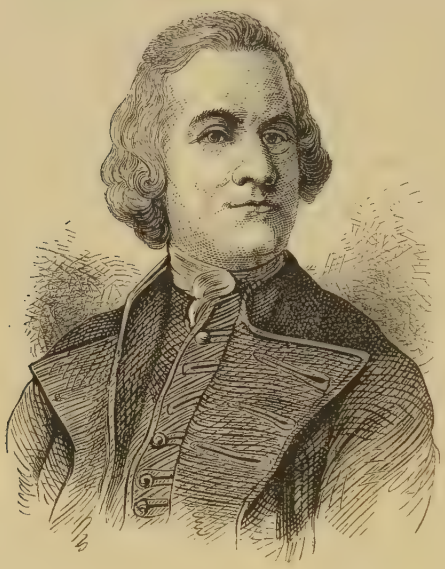
Meanwhile an immense mob was gathering, perhaps with the intention on the part of their leaders of attacking the main guard. But if this were so, that intention was diverted, when they saw this wretched little file in front of the Custom House. The bells had been set ringing, as if for fire, and the crowd constantly increased. The soldiers had found time to charge their pieces without orders. They were joined by Captain Preston, with six more men. By way of defence, they only presented their bayonets, falling back in a curved line in front of the Custom House. Their caution is shown, from the fact that there was time to send to Concert Hall for Preston, their commander, and for him to come down to the main guard and join them. He knew perfectly well, and the mob knew, that, by English law, his men must not fire without the order of a civil magistrate. Preston seems to have behaved with moderation and judgment to the last. The mob challenged the soldiers to fire. "Come on, you bloody-backs!" "Come on, you lobster-backs!" Such allusions to the red coat were, for ten years, favorite epithets of derision. "Fire if you dare!" "Damn you, why don't you fire?" At last a soldier received a severe blow from a club. He stepped aside a little, levelled his piece, and fired. Immediately after, seven or eight more of the men fired, and the mob fled. Three men lay dead on the ground, two others were mortally wounded, and six slightly.

The drums beat to arms, the Twenty-ninth formed in King Street, and an immense concourse of people also assembled, among whom were some of the most distinguished citizens. Governor Hutchinson addressed the people from the balcony of the State House. He promised that a full investigation should be made in the morning, and the crowds retired. A citizens' guard of a hundred men took charge of the streets, and peace was restored. Before daybreak, Preston had surrendered himself for trial, and was committed to jail, and the soldiers who had fired upon the people were committed also.

With the morning, the selectmen of Boston waited upon the Governor and Council. They said that, unless the troops were removed from the town, terrible consequences must be expected. A town meeting was called, which convened at once. It sent a committee of fifteen to demand the removal of troops; but the Governor replied that he had no power to remove them. He said the troops were under the command of General Gage at New York, but that Colonel Dalrymple was ready to withdraw the Twenty-ninth Regiment to the Castle, that being the regiment whose soldiers had had fights with the rope-makers, and had fired upon the people. The

Removal of troops again demanded.

committee reported this answer to the town meeting at the Old South Church, and the meeting voted it unsatisfactory. A smaller committee was sent to say that nothing would satisfy the meeting but a total and immediate removal of all the troops. Samuel Adams was the chairman. Hutchinson, having consulted Colonel Dalrymple in a whisper, said aloud that one of the regiments should be sent away. Adams replied with unhesitating promptness, "If the Lieutenant-governor or Colonel Dalrymple, or both together, have authority to remove one regiment, they have authority to remove two; and nothing short of the total evacuation of the town by all the regular troops will satisfy the public mind and preserve the peace of the province."[1]



Samuel Adams.

The Governor gave way. He was ridiculed in England for his compliance, and the colonists considered it a triumph. But there is no doubt that he had to give way; and his compliance postponed the outbreak of the war five years. A promise was given, and the first orders for the removal of the troops were issued. Some of the officers were very indignant, and expresses were sent to General Gage, in the hope that he would recall the orders. Another town meeting was called to quicken the movement. On application to Dalrymple, the Twenty-ninth Regiment was removed, and the next day the Fourteenth. Both were afterwards called by Lord North "Sam Adams's Regiments." The final removal took place on the 10th and 11th of March.

"Sam Adams's Regiments."

From this time until the arrival of Gage in 1774, no troops were quartered in Boston. The mistake had been made, however. To a people not yet unwilling to recognize the authority of the Crown, the worst symbol of that authority was foolishly displayed in a most exasperating way.[2]

[1] Governor Hutchinson says this remark was made to Colonel Dalrymple. But it is clear that all present heard it.

[2] In all the tumults of ten years before the war, there appear to have been seven lives lost. One was the English officer of the *Rose*. The others were Attucks, a half-breed

Preston, the officer in command on the night of the "Massacre," was tried for murder. He was defended by Josiah Quincy and John Adams, lawyers of the highest reputation among the patriots, and was acquitted. The soldiers were also acquitted, excepting two, who were found guilty of manslaughter, and, by the inhuman law of that time, were sentenced to be branded in the hand. Hutchinson, the Governor, excuses himself for permitting this sentence to be executed, because the remission would have had a tendency to irritate the people, and, "being of little consequence to the prisoners, it was thought most advisable not to interfere." Captain Preston's trial.

The history of America, however, was not to be decided on American soil. The fickle and wayward behavior of successive English ministries — behavior which could not be called a policy — swayed the course of events more than any decisions made in America. While the Duke of Grafton supposed that he directed affairs in England, as the head of King George's Cabinet, a Cabinet meeting was called on the first of May, 1769. Grafton urged on this occasion the remission of all the American duties; but in opposition to his opinion and to that of Camden, Granby, Conway, and Hooke, tea was still retained as a subject of taxation. The Cabinet agreed, however, that the circular to the Colonial Governors should "contain words as kind and lenient as could be proposed by some of us, with encouraging expressions."[1] These were distasteful to other members, among whom was Hillsborough, the Secretary for the Colonies. When, therefore, Hillsborough drew up the instructions, which we now have, all these "encouraging expressions," whatever they were, disappeared. There is nothing conciliatory in the despatch, excepting the statement that his Majesty's present administration had at no time intended to lay any further taxes on America, and that the duties on glass, paper, and colors are to be remitted. The Duke of Grafton says that Hillsborough not only garbled the minute in the Council Records, but accompanied it with a circular letter, which Grafton terms "unfortunate and unwarrantable, calculated to do all mischief, while our real minute might have paved the way to some good." In his manuscript Memoirs, he distinctly charges that Hillsborough made these changes at the instance of the King. Remission of duties.

It is one of the curious questions of history how far such a remission of all duties as the Duke of Grafton proposed, if made at this early period, might have affected the subsequent course of events.

Indian negro, Carr an Irishman, and three Americans, Gray, Caldwell, and Maverick, killed in the Boston Massacre, and a German boy, Snyder, killed by a soldier a short time before.

[1] These are the Duke's words.

On the other hand, this is certain, that where the administration of a nation was thus the prey of jealousies and intrigues, — when the responsible minister was thus foiled by the "King's friends," — no policy which deserves that name was possible. Indeed, he best reads the history of America, for that period which proved so critical, who understands that, on this side the water, her affairs were directed with substantial unanimity by thoughtful men not unused to govern, who had earned the confidence of the great majority of their countrymen, and who, for all the years of this crisis, were never without a specific plan to which they gave unbroken attention. The same reader must understand that, in England, American affairs were administered by men quite ignorant of the country with which they dealt, — jealous of each other, and mixed up in every sort of personal intrigue, — taking office or leaving it according to the event of certain local controversies, and all the time liable to be thwarted by a King who was very lukewarm in his love of constitutional government, and always hoping for accessions to his personal power. Let this reader remember also that an ocean three thousand miles wide separated the two countries; that all the disadvantages of this separation accrued to England, and all the advantage to America. He will then understand that, in the impending controversy, England, though she had an army, a navy, and an organized government, stood no real chance of subduing the United Colonies. Seven million people in England, indifferent to the subject, ignorant as to the real matters of controversy, and as to the place where it was carried on, contended, at every disadvantage excepting those of numbers and wealth, with three million people, substantially united, who maintained institutions to which they had always been accustomed, in the country to which they were born.

The King's speech.

The King met Parliament rather earlier than usual at the beginning of 1770. Even in England, the opening of the royal speech amused people, so inadequate did the etiquette of the occasion seem to be to the requisitions of an empire. At a moment when a rupture with France was imminent, when Hyder Ali was in the flush of his success in India, and when America was waiting, eager for a decision as to the policy which was to govern her, — the King began by saying, "My Lords and Gentlemen, it is with much concern that I find myself obliged to open the session of Parliament with acquainting you that the distemper among horned cattle has lately broke out in this kingdom."[1] Neither House was in any

[1] Junius, whose central passion was hatred of the Duke of Grafton, says: "Instead of the firmness and decision of a King, you gave us nothing but the misery of a ruined grazier."

mood to be satisfied with talk about diseases of cattle. Lord Chatham himself moved an amendment to the Address, promising attention to the nation's discontent, — discontent arising from the ejection of Wilkes from the House of Commons. After Chatham's speech, Lord Camden rose from the woolsack, and in so many words said he had been trammelled too long "by his Majesty, — I beg pardon, — by his Ministers." Camden, Conway, and Granby at once withdrew from the Cabinet. With them vanished the last real hope of any policy conciliatory to America. The Duke of Grafton resigned on the 28th of January, and Lord North became Prime Minister. The "King's friends" had triumphed, and their laurels, such as they were, are in the history of the next twelve years. Little credit is it to Lord North, that he personally disapproved of much of the policy to which for those twelve years he lent himself; that it was the King's policy, and not his. No English nobleman should have found himself long in any such false position. It is his excuse that he knew already the nature of the King's malady, which was still a secret to all but a very few.

Debate on the Royal Address.

Lord North.

As Lord North appeared at the time, and, indeed, as he has been represented in history, he has shown few of the traits which we associate with the hero of tragedy. A commonplace man, with a certain knack at affairs, who had the absolute confidence of a foolish King, and who used that confidence till he lost half that King's empire, — this is what appears at first, and it may be said to be the true verdict of history regarding him. But a tragic poet might go further, and, by introducing us into the secrets of his distresses and his decisions, might show that poor Lord North's position was one of the most pathetic in history. His world was indeed "out of joint," nor was it for such as he to "set it right." Whenever he proposed to abandon the enterprise, — as it is easy to say he should have done, — this poor, half-witted King, was ready with the appeal, "If you leave me, where shall I go?" And the helpless Minister, without the possi-

Lord North.

bility of advising with any human being, had to consider what would come to England, if, in the sudden shock of his resignation, his King should go mad, as he had every reason to suppose he would. Such a position would be tragic, indeed, if one of the really great men of history were placed in it. It is perhaps more tragic, certainly more pathetic, when such questions are to be solved by the unadvised wisdom and the uninstructed conscience of a man second-rate in everything. And such a man was Lord North.

The student of American history, reading the interesting record of the three years with which Lord North's administration began, searches with curious interest for whatever beginnings he may find of the policy which made the United States an independent nation. He follows thus the history of John Wilkes, of the prosecution of the printers and the beginning of reported debates; he studies the letters of Junius; he reads of the birth of the East Indian Empire of England; he follows the outbreak about the Falkland Islands; he is involved in the tragedy of the Queen of Denmark, and in the matrimonial alliances of the King's brothers. But these events and these scandals, while they intensely excite the people of Great Britain, seem to have no concern with the fortunes of America. On the other hand, the fortunes of America, through those years, seem to have no interest for the people or the statesmen of England. The votes on American affairs are taken in houses not full, and the views of the Ministry are always sustained by very strong majorities.

Attempt to repeal the duty on tea.

In the session of 1770, an effort was made to repeal the tea duty. But Lord North carried it by a majority of seventy-two. Dr. Franklin thought the House would have agreed to the motion but for what he called "lying letters," which asserted that the non-importation agreements were no longer favored in America, and that the zeal of the patriots was chilled. Two years afterwards Franklin won a personal triumph, and the colonies a substantial one, in the removal of Lord Hillsborough from the post of Colonial Secretary. The reader has seen that he was not friendly to America, in the trial of strength between the Duke of Grafton with his friends and Lord North with the King's friends. As time passed, Franklin brought forward his plan for a company for the settlement of Illinois, and secured the interest of three members of the Privy Council. But when the petition was referred to the Board of Trade, Hillsborough reported against it. He even took the ground that this would be a place of refuge for offenders, and would draw away too many people from Great Britain. Franklin replied in detail. When the petition came before the Privy Council, they granted it, setting aside Lord Hillsborough's report. Hillsborough resigned, thinking, perhaps, that

his resignation would not be accepted. But his colleagues were glad to get rid of him. Lord Dartmouth, who was really a friend of the colonies, succeeded him. Dr. Franklin thought, and had reason to think, that such an incident and such an appointment were good omens for the colonies. Governor Hutchinson notes that the government even proposed to withdraw the fleet from Boston to Halifax, which had been formerly the naval station. Other signs seemed favorable. "A general state of quiescence," wrote Arthur Lee, "seems to prevail over the whole empire, Boston only excepted."[1] But these hopes were illusive. At the same time a negotiation was in progress which, as the event has proved, made vain all such omens of peace. True, America seemed better satisfied. The removal of the regiments from Boston had been followed by the tranquillity which had been promised. But any hope of a permanent good understanding, or of a gradual forgetfulness of the causes of issues, was swept away at once by a blunder of Lord North's. This belongs to the poor tricks which James the First used to honor by the name of "king-craft," and it resulted in the dismemberment of the empire.

Hillsborough succeeded by Dartmouth, as Secretary.

For better or for worse, the Crown of England was allied to the East India Company, which even then was important, and which afterwards became imperial. This Company, at the end of a series of bad years, of which the misfortunes were due in part to the refusal of the Americans to import tea from England, found itself burdened with 17,000,000 pounds of tea in its English storehouses. It was necessary for the Government of the nation to save the company from bankruptcy by lending it a million and a half of money. The proposal was therefore matured, that the Company might export to America as much tea as it wished, and receive back, as drawback, the tax of sixpence a pound which the teas had to pay into the English exchequer. The teas would then have to pay in America only threepence a pound, the one remaining tax left, after eight years of dissension.

East India Company.

Lord North probably thought that in this way he should please two parties not easy to please. He served the East India Company, and he seemed to grant to the Americans what they wanted, a virtual suspension of the Navigation Act, so far as teas were concerned. For this plan he obtained the permission of Parliament. The wiser directors of the East India Company distrusted the gift. They knew men better than Lord North. They begged to be permitted to pay to the exchequer the sixpence duty in England, and to land the teas free in America. But this Lord North refused, probably at the King's

[1] To Reed, February 18, 1773.

direction. "There must be one tax," said the poor King, "to keep up the right." Lord North, therefore, with fatal resolution, held to the principle involved. He confessed that the whole revenue obtained would be, at the best, but twelve thousand pounds. The East India Company consented at last to the scheme, and, as the summer passed, freighted several ships for America, on their own account, consigning them to merchants in the different sea-ports. Information as to these consignments began to arrive in America in September.

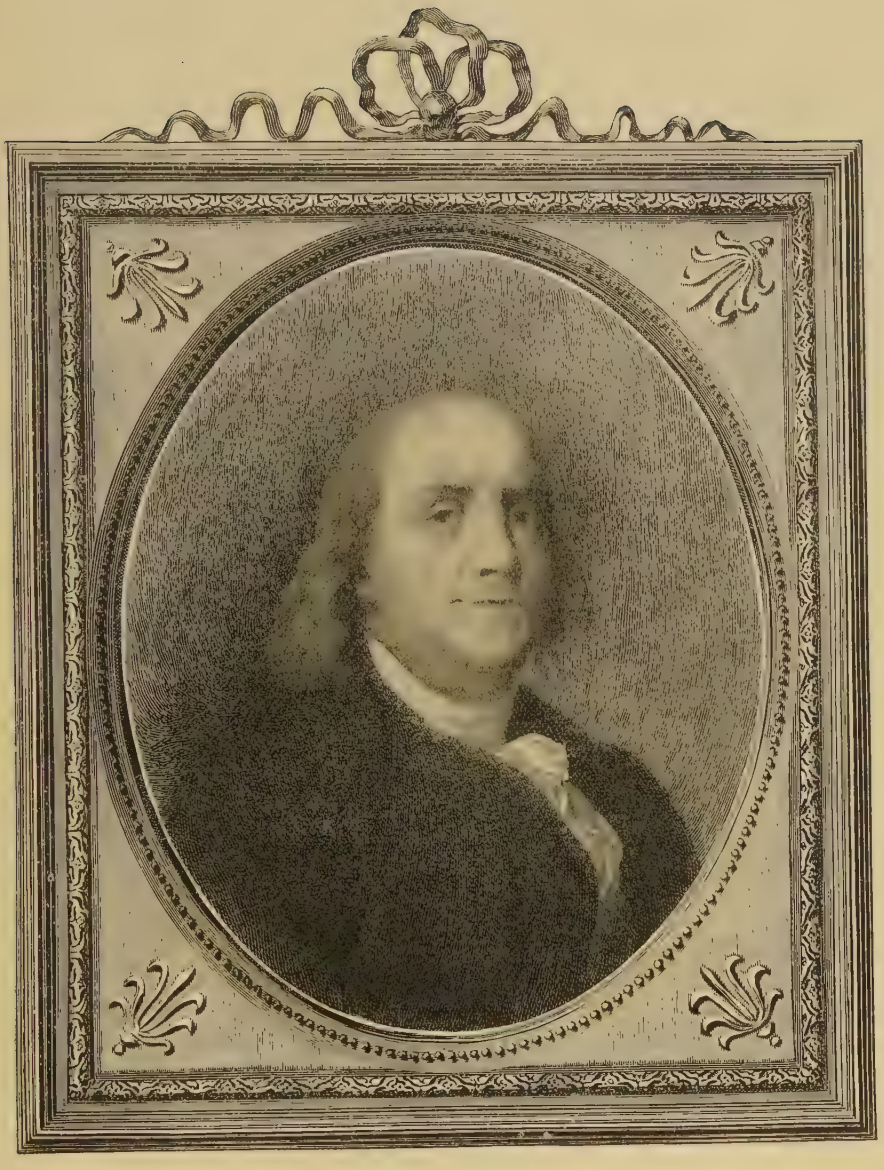
The duty on tea retained.

Franklin's hopes of peace from Lord Dartmouth's appointment, or whatever other cause, were rudely dispelled by another incident, of which the germ showed itself in this same year, 1773. Confidential as his relations were with many members of Parliament and of the Government, it was mentioned to him one day, apparently as no secret, that the Government had been guided, in quartering the troops in Boston and in its other severe measures, by the advice of Americans born, — men of character and position. Franklin said he did not believe this. To satisfy him, twelve letters were brought him, written by Hutchinson, the Governor, and Oliver, the Lieutenant-governor of Massachusetts, both natives of that province. These letters confirmed to the full the statement which had been made to him. They proposed the introduction of troops, and one of them proposed the establishment of a "patrician order." In one letter, which was particularly outspoken, Hutchinson said there must be an abridgment of what are called "English liberties." He said he doubted whether it was possible that the people of a colony should enjoy all the liberty of the parent state.

The Hutchinson Advice Letters.

Franklin obtained permission to send the originals of the letters to America, on condition that they should not be copied or printed, and sent them in his official letter, as Agent of the House of Assembly, to the chairman of their Committee of Correspondence. They might, he said, be read to that committee and a few other gentlemen. So soon as they arrived in Boston, they awakened a storm of indignation against Hutchinson. He had been affecting a conciliatory part. In the midst of the contest between him and the Assembly, — which was eager that the colony should pay his salary in accordance with the ancient usage, — he had affected to be, not indeed a champion of the extreme views, but a mediator between the colonies and the Crown. Here came evidence that in all such affectation he was a liar. The colonists were wounded by a man who should have been their friend. A Governor of their own religion, of their own blood, born in their chief town, and educated among them, had turned against them.

Sent to Boston by Franklin.



BENJAMIN FRANKLIN.

(After the portrait by Duplessis in the Boston Public Library.)

Echoes of the storm which rose in Boston soon resounded in London. A duel between Mr. John Temple and Mr. Whately, brother of the gentleman to whom these letters were addressed, made the matter one of universal interest. The Privy Council itself was so far moved that it took up the petition of the Massachusetts Assembly for the removal of Hutchinson and Oliver, — a petition which, under ordinary circumstances, would have been left to sleep. There followed a most exciting meeting of that great body of state, — a body which in our time acts only on occasions of mere form. It was the fullest meeting of the Council which Edmund Burke remembered. Everybody of note was there. The petition was read, with the resolutions of the Assembly, and the letters on which those resolutions were founded. John Dunning, afterward Lord Ashburton, supported the petition as counsel, and supported it temperately and ably. Then followed what was called at the time a "bull-baiting." Wedderburn, a lawyer whom Lord North's favor had hurried forward, and who was afterward Lord Chancellor, under the title of Lord Loughborough, spoke, as Solicitor-general, in opposition to the petition. He spoke for three hours, — largely in violent personal attack on Dr. Franklin, who of course was present. He charged Franklin with stealing the letters of Hutchinson and Oliver, and said that men would hide their papers from him in future. In a classical allusion, he called him "a man of three letters," by which the Romans meant a thief, and charged him with intriguing to make himself Hutchinson's successor. His triumph was complete. "No speech was so much applauded," says Hutchinson, "since those of Cicero against Anthony." The Council pronounced the petition of the House of Representatives of Massachusetts groundless and scandalous. In the method which the Council took to do this, it had insulted the great American who was the admiration of half England and of all Continental Europe. The scene excited public criticism everywhere. The wit of Wedderburn's address was highly praised; but the dignity of Franklin's manner made him new friends.[1] Afterward, William Pitt the younger, in the House of Commons, alluded to this scene in the "Cockpit." [2] He bade the House recollect how the future Chancellor of England had called the future plenipo-

The Temple-Whately duel.

Wedderburn insults Franklin.

[1] On the interview in the Council Chamber, Horace Walpole wrote this epigram: —

"Sarcastic Sawney, swollen with spite and prate,
On silent Franklin poured his venal hate;
The calm philosopher, without reply,
Withdrew, and gave his country liberty."

[2] The Cockpit and Tennis Court. These two appendages to the palace at Whitehall had been built by Henry the Eighth, close to St. James's Park. The Treasury now occupies the site of the Cockpit, and the Privy Council Office the site of the Tennis Court.

tentiary of the United States "a hoary-headed traitor," and how, as they walked away, men were ready to toss up their hats and clap their hands for joy, as if they had obtained a triumph. "Alas, sir, we paid a pretty dear price for that triumph afterwards." What they paid is shadowed in Wedderburn's own speech: "How will it hereafter sound in the annals of the present reign, that all America, the fruit of so many years of settlement by this country, the fruit of so much blood and treasure, was lost to the Crown of Great Britain in the reign of George the Third?"

This incident took place on the 29th of January, 1774. It was, in the last degree, an outrage upon Franklin, but was not in itself singularly important, for the result arrived at could have been easily predicted. It became, however, a visible, or dramatic exhibition of the conflict, which had thus far been somewhat concealed in despatches or debates. But this conflict had already passed such limits. The England which applauded the speech of Wedderburn as nothing had been applauded since Cicero, was waked now by a sudden shock, — to feel that the real contest was not a "bull-baiting" in "the cockpit," as the hall of the Privy Council was aptly called. It was to be on another continent and on a larger scale.

On the 27th of January arrived in England the first news of the reception of the vessels which had been sent out with the East India Company's tea. The people of America understood very well who made this great consignment. Although the patriots had winked at trifling private imports from England, so that, in certain cases, men had paid the duty, they did not therefore close their eyes when the Government of England, by the agency of the East India Company, invited them to give way on the matter of principle. The offer of a drawback for the Company's benefit and a consequent reduction of the price, was only an insult to such men, as Lord North might have known it would be. The Committees of Correspondence provided for the occasion long before the teas arrived. They must be sent back. In most instances they were. But in Boston Hutchinson refused to give a permit for the return of the ships, acting with that happy obstinacy about trifles which distinguished all his administration. The tea was at the wharf, and the town meeting of Boston was called to consider the crisis.

Arrival of the tea ships.

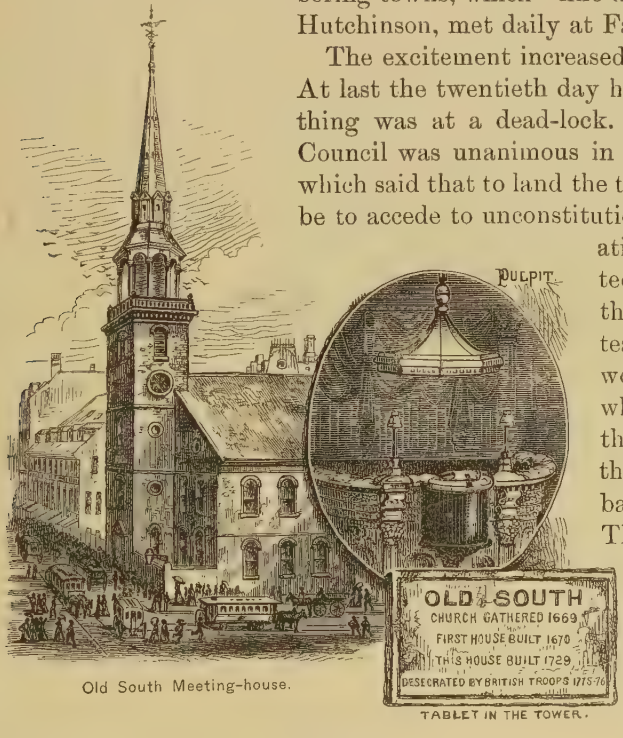
The *Dartmouth*, the first of the tea vessels, arrived on the 28th of November. A town meeting was called the next day, and because Faneuil Hall was not large enough it adjourned to the Old South Meeting-house, which was so often used for such purposes, that it gained the name from an English Governor of being the "seed-bed of rebellion." In twenty days from the arrival of the first ship the Collector would make a formal demand for duties.

In the town meeting Samuel Adams himself moved the action, which, as chairman of the Committee of Correspondence, he had suggested to the other colonies, "that the tea should not be landed, that it should be sent back in the same bottom, to the place from which it came, at all events; and that no duty should be paid on it." This resolution passed unanimously, and the owner and master were directed at their peril neither to enter the tea at the custom-house, nor suffer it to be landed. A watch was set on the ship, and six post-riders were appointed to notify the country towns of any effort to land it by force.

While negotiations were going forward between the Committee of the town and the consignees, two more tea ships arrived. By direction of the Committee, they were anchored near the *Dartmouth*, that one guard might be enough for all. This Committee, which took the whole direction of the controversy on the part of the people, was made up of the Committees of Correspondence of Boston and from neighboring towns, which "like a little senate," said Hutchinson, met daily at Faneuil Hall.

The excitement increased from day to day. At last the twentieth day had come. Everything was at a dead-lock. The Governor's Council was unanimous in accepting a report which said that to land the tea would be to accede to unconstitutional taxation. The Committee would not permit the landing of the tea. The Governor would not give a pass which should enable the ship to go by the Castle on her way back to London. The Admiral had placed ships of war to guard the channels, that no vessel without a pass should go to sea. The meeting of the people was held again at the Old South, which was crowded. It was no longer a town meeting. A citizen of Weston, Jonathan Williams, was chosen moderator, as if to show that the coun-

Not allowed to be landed.



Old South Meeting-house.

TABLET IN THE TOWER.

try and the town were together. When it had been kept waiting all day, a messenger came from the Governor's country seat on Milton Hill, at a quarter before six, announcing his refusal to grant a pass. Samuel Adams said, "This meeting can do nothing more to save the country." There was a moment of silence. A voice in the gallery cried, "Hurrah for Griffin's wharf." The meeting instantly dissolved, and the immense throng proceeded to the point where the ships lay. Two bodies of young men, whose faces were blackened, and who were otherwise so disguised that they should not be known, were all ready for the exigency.

A public meeting.

Passing to the shore, at the wharf they took possession of the ships. They bade the captain and crew furnish hoisting-tackle, and they obeyed. The chests were lifted on deck and split open, and the tea poured into the water. The great majority of the men of Boston, standing on the shore, watched the business, as, through the moonlight of a winter's night, the chests were emptied into the silent bay. The business was conducted without noise or disorder. When every box was destroyed, the working party withdrew their sentinels, and the town was at peace. It was well nigh dawn.

The tea thrown overboard.

Hutchinson's Country Seat.

It was evident that the most careful preparation had been made by the leaders for the crisis. It was equally clear that their orders were well obeyed. Even in the traditions of Boston, not more than two or three names can be certainly given of those who made up the working party. All the town saw the act. But not more than fifty, at the most, joined in the work. They kept their secret, which had probably the sanction of an oath. It is believed that a list of the actors was preserved for more than half a century, but this list probably exists no longer.[1]

[1] So well was this great secret kept, that, with two or three exceptions, it is certain that

Attempts were made by some of the spectators to carry off small portions of the tea, but probably with little success. The descendants of one of the party on board the vessel long preserved as a sacred relic — perhaps still preserve — a few leaves which their ancestor found in his shoes on returning home. A heavy bank of the tea leaves was thrown up on the Dorchester shore. One Captain O'Connor, it is related, filled his capacious pockets, but was seized as he jumped from the vessel, and left the skirts of his coat in the hands of the person who attempted to stop him. O'Connor was a well known resident of Charlestown, and his coat-tail was the next day nailed to the whipping-post in that town, — a ludicrous but effective penalty for his want of patriotism.[1]

How earnest and wide-spread the feeling was on this subject, is shown by the public records in other places besides Boston. In Frederick County, Md., in Norfolk, Va., in Piscataqua, N. H., and in other places, petty dealers who had clandestinely received a few pounds were haled before public committees and forced to confess their misdeed and deliver up the tea for destruction. At Stamford, Conn., in June, 1775, one Sylvanus Whitney appeared before the Committee of Observation, and confessed that he had been "guilty of buying and selling Bohea tea, since the first of March last past, whereby I have been guilty of a breach of the Association entered into by the Continental Congress; and sensible of my misconduct, do, in this publick manner, confess my crime, and humbly request the favor of the publick to overlook this my transgression." "Whereupon," says the official record, "the committee passed sentence against him, agreeable to the direction of the Continental Congress. His punishment being greater than he was able to bear, he requested the liberty to advertise himself, and offering to deliver up the unfortunate tea to be burnt, the committee were of the opinion that it would satisfy the publick, who are requested to accept of the following concession as a satisfaction for his crime." In the evening the tea was hung upon a gallows erected for the purpose, in the presence of a great crowd of citizens, and finally a large bonfire was built under it, "as it was thought dangerous to let the said tea hang all night, for fear of an invasion from our tea-lovers." [2]

A meeting of citizens in New York compelled the consignees to decline receiving the cargo sent thither, and when the ship arrived, a

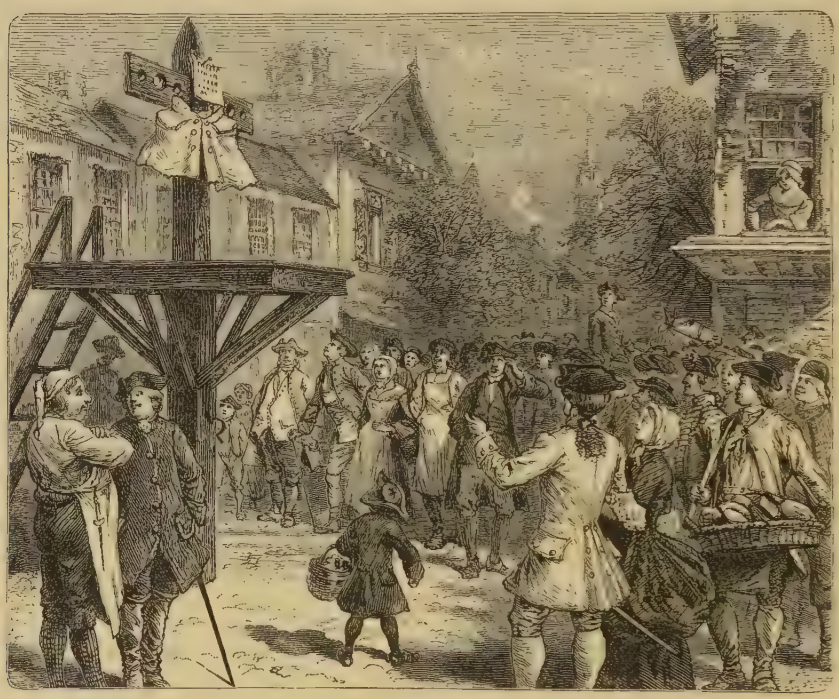
if a man's descendants say "he was certainly on the tea-party, for he always said so," that man was not of the working party, but was only a bystander. If on the other hand a person who was questioned in old age declined to say whether he was of that party, there is a possibility that he was.

[1] *Memoirs of George R. T. Hewes*, etc.

[2] Force's *American Archives*, Fourth Series, vol. ii., page 920.

vigilance committee took possession of her, and after some days she sailed again for England with all her tea on board. The captain was inclined to be stubborn; but after being escorted to the town, he was convinced that any attempt to land his cargo would only insure its destruction. Another ship had brought a few chests as a private venture, and when the fact was discovered, a mob threw them into the river. The ship sent to Philadelphia was stopped before she reached the city, and when her captain heard what had happened to the cargoes in Boston harbor, he wisely

Disposition of tea in other places.



Captain O'Connor's Coat-skirts nailed to the Whipping-post.

turned her prow toward home. The tea sent to Charleston was landed, but, purposely perhaps, was stored in damp cellars, and in a short time was found to be useless.

Intelligence from Boston reached England at the moment when Wedderburn was uttering his new philippics. The Government, which had seriously entertained the project of withdrawing the fleet, heard of this act of defiance in the harbor where that fleet lay. The King was prompt in taking up the quarrel. On the 7th of March a royal message was sent to Parliament with the principal documents received from America. On the 14th of the same month Lord North brought in the measure which proved, in the event, to be the

The Boston Port Bill.

declaration of war, — which is generally known as the Boston Port Bill.[1] This bill, by way of punishing Boston as the hot-bed of rebellion, provided that after the 18th of June, no persons should load or unload any ship in that harbor. The customs and commerce, it was hoped, would be transferred to Salem. Another measure, called "the Massachusetts Government Bill," revised the charter. The Council was to be appointed by the Crown, and the magistrates by the Governor. A third bill provided for the trial in England of persons engaged in the late disturbances, and a fourth provided for the government of Quebec. All these bills were opposed by the most liberal members, who were regarded as the friends of America, and Pownal and Johnston, who had been Royal Governors, and generally voted with the ministry, spoke against the Port Bill. Pownal said boldly that, in Hutchinson's case, he would have called on the troops without the consent of the Council, — for Hutchinson had excused himself by the Council's backwardness. He had withdrawn some companies from Castle William and posted them in neighboring towns, — not, however, in Boston. But the truth there was, that "Sam Adams's regiments" were nothing as against the array, not of a mob, but of an organized force which the Committees could have brought against them. It is in Johnston's speech on this occasion, that the statement occurs, — for which he doubtless had good warrant: "If you ask an American who is his master, he will tell you he has none, — nor any Governor but Jesus Christ." The bills all passed by large majorities. The Quebec bill was opposed with most energy. It has proved in a hundred years the source of great difficulties in the civilization of Canada.

Massachusetts Government Bill.

These acts were received in the colonies with every token of disgust and rage. The people of the sea-port towns of Massachusetts were eager to show that they would not profit by the losses of Boston. The people of other colonies were eager to show that they were ready to go as far as Massachusetts. The Port Bill was printed with black lines about it, as if it described a tragedy, and with the title, "A barbarous, cruel, bloody, and inhuman murder." On the back of one of the editions was printed a private letter from London, without a name, which contained these words: "I can assure you that the commander has private orders not to fight unless they can prove you to be aggressors, — nay, they have orders not to commence hostilities without orders."

[1] It is not the only instance where a law generally resisted has retained the title of a "Bill," as if it had never passed from that embryo condition to become an "act." Thus the Fugitive Slave Law, which was law for many years in America, is still sometimes called the "Fugitive Slave Bill."

The sympathy of the other colonies had been promised in advance. The Virginia Assembly, in March, 1773, had formed a colonial Committee of Correspondence, and had invited all the Assemblies "on the continent" to join them. Printed copies of their resolution were sent by the Massachusetts Committee of Correspondence to every town in their province. Connecticut, Rhode Island, and New Hampshire joined in the appointment of legislative committees, and a second Continental Congress was proposed. Curiously it happened, that, at the moment when the English Ministry dismissed Franklin from his place as Postmaster-general, the colonists were planning a post-office of their own.

Action of the Virginia Assembly.

The Port Bill provided that the trade of Boston might be recovered on proper apology, and, in particular, if the tea were paid for. But a meeting of the towns around Boston, held in Faneuil Hall, urged that no attention should be given to this offer; they prepared to join their suffering brethren of Boston in every measure for relief. They drew a circular letter proposing general cessation of trade with England. Other colonies resolved to assist the people of Boston. "Don't pay for an ounce of the damned tea!" is the pointed phrase with which Christopher Gadsden accompanied a generous contribution from South Carolina.

Had Lord North advised diligently as to the measures best fitted to unite the colonies, he could not have done better than he did. To carry out those measures in Boston, he appointed General Thomas Gage Governor in Hutchinson's place. After a very short passage of twenty-four days only, Gage arrived, immediately after the news of the passage of the bill, which would close the harbor on the first of June.

Gage appointed Governor of Massachusetts.

A Profile View of the Heights of Charlestown.

CHAPTER XV.

BEGINNING OF THE WAR.

Loyalty of the Americans to the Crown. — Outbreak of Hostilities. — Colonel Leslie's March to Salem. — The Anniversary of the Massacre. — Altercations with the Troops. — Excursion to Jamaica Plain. — The Committee of Safety. — Colonel Smith's March to Lexington. — Signal Lights in North Church Belfry. — The First Shot. — Concord and Concord Bridge. — The Fight at Lexington. — The English Retreat. — Lord Percy and his Reënforcement. — The Siege begins. — Arrival of more Troops from England. — Skirmishes in Boston Harbor. — Bunker Hill fortified by the Americans. — The Battle. — Results of the Battle.

A century after the outbreak of the war which parted the United States from any political dependence on England, the recurrence of the anniversary of every battle of that war was enthusiastically celebrated by the people of every place concerned. Tradition yielded its doubtful authority; contemporary records gave up from the dead their living testimony; and orators and poets became historians, to make real the finest details of the past to the imagination of the children's children of the actors. In such eager study of every detail of history, it is certain that the springs of movement and the precise facts are better known to us than they were to those who were enveloped in the dust and smoke of action. The time has come when the history of those days can be written with near approach to accuracy.

When the year 1775 opened, it found the colonies exasperated to the last degree by the persistent efforts to subject them to the arbitrary rule of the King. Unwilling to give up the traditions of loyalty by which, for two generations, the House of Brunswick had been regarded as the apostles, not to say martyrs, of Liberty, the popular writers and orators in America charged the violations of their rights and customs, not on the King, but on the Ministry of the time. They were undoubtedly sincere in this use of language. The unpopular acts were spoken of as the "Ministerial Acts," and the army which was sent to enforce them was the "Ministerial Army." The revelations of a century have proved that this loyal effort to palliate the conduct of George III. was

Affairs at the beginning of 1775.

all wrong. He was the centre of the whole scheme of American taxation. In a certain wrong-headedness which was perhaps the first symptom of his insanity, he imagined that in the colonies, at least, he might play the part of an absolute monarch. The satire of another generation has called him at this period a "Brummagem Louis XIV.," and that phrase perhaps sufficiently describes his relations to American history.[1]

A conflict inevitable.

In this aspect of affairs, with a little English army stationed at Boston, and a handful of royal troops at other capital towns in the colonies, it was a question of time only, a question even of days and hours, when the bolt should fall. And, since it has proved that a new empire was born on the day of the first open collision between the colonists and the authorities of the Crown, every place in America which can present any claim to that honor has urged it eagerly at the bar of history.

First hostile meeting at Salem, Mass.

It is thus that the people of Salem, in Massachusetts, on every fit occasion, are proud to remind their countrymen that on Sunday, the 26th of February, 1775, they met the English troops in arms, and met them successfully. Nay, more, it seems certain that, when an English infantry soldier used his bayonet against a Salem boatman, the first blood of the Revolution was shed there. But, fortunately or unfortunately, as the reader may judge, the royal commander withdrew his troops without battle; and the very success of the preparations of the people of Salem and Essex County, the very promptness with which the Essex regiment under Timothy Pickering stood to its arms that day, has deprived Salem, in the mind of the American people, of the honor of beginning the American Revolution.

At the request of some friends of the royal government in Marshfield, Plymouth County, Massachusetts, General Gage had sent a small detachment to that town, to protect them from insult. This detachment had landed there, and had taken up its quarters without resistance from the people. It was, perhaps, because he was encouraged by this slight success that Gage struck next at Salem. He had heard there were some cannon there. He sent out Colonel Leslie, with a de-

[1] A passage in a speech of Dunning, afterwards Lord Ashburton, denouncing Lord North's bill for the government of Massachusetts Bay, intimates a feminine influence in the Crown counsels. "When I talk of the Minister, I mean to speak with all due respect to the noble Lord, though I do not consider him as the immediate actor of all this. I know not the age, the person, *or the sex;* but, that I may not be wrong, I will use the language of Acts of Parliament, which I imagine will comprehend, and will say, he, she, or they, — to that person or persons alone do I mean to address myself." — Speech in House of Commons, May 2, 1774. The allusion is to the King's mother. Walpole speaks of "that cool dissimulation in which he had been so well initiated by his mother, and which comprehended almost the whole of what she taught him."

tachment, to seize them, on Sunday, February 26, 1775. The party landed at Marblehead in the morning, while the people were at meeting, and set out by land for Salem. The news had been sent from Marblehead before them, and the Salem people were not surprised. The detachment marched through the town of Salem; but when they reached the "North Bridge," they found the drawbridge up, and the commander was then told by the assembled people that really this was a private way, and that neither Colonel Leslie nor any one else could use it without the owner's permission. Colonel Leslie seems to have recognized that they had the law on

Leslie's expedition.

Salem Bridge.

their side, but in answer he appropriated two scows or "gondolas," [1] and began to embark his men. On this, the owners of the scows leaped into them with the soldiers, and began to scuttle the boats. Here Colonel Leslie's respect for private right gave way, and the owners were expelled with bayonet-thrusts. This was the first bloodshed of the Revolution.[2]

At Salem Bridge.

But Leslie did not follow up this advantage. One of the Salem ministers, Rev. Thomas Barnard, had proposed a compromise, which he accepted. The bridge was lowered, and the troops marched over, and fifty yards beyond. Then the Colonel shook hands with the min-

[1] "Gondola," the Italian word, was in use in English literature as early as Spenser's time. "Scow" is a local phrase in New England for a large flat-bottomed boat, generally towed from place to place, or propelled across shallow water by poles. "Gondola," pronounced "gundalo," is still familiarly used in New England, as a synonym for "scow," by people who never heard of Venice.

[2] But before this a man had been hanged in the Hampshire Grants, now Vermont, for resisting the Crown authority.

ister, and marched his command back over the bridge. As he left Salem, the Danvers company of minute-men, the "flank company" of the Essex regiment, arrived. But their services were not needed. Colonel Leslie continued his retreat to Marblehead and Boston without seizing the cannon he was sent for.

Warren's oration.

On the 5th of March, Dr. Warren delivered the fifth annual oration on the Boston Massacre, in that town. It was his second oration on this subject. The church was crowded with people of both parties. Even the steps of the pulpit were covered with British officers. So dense was the crowd, that Warren and his friends entered the church by a ladder through the pulpit window. There was no disturbance while the orator spoke. The oration was pointed and vehement, but always carefully avoided anything which could be called treason. This passage hints to the gentlemen around him what Warren and his friends were learning: "Even the sending troops to put these acts in execution is not without advantages to us. The exactness and beauty of their discipline inspire our youth with ardor in the pursuit of military knowledge. Charles the Invincible taught Peter the Great the art of war. The battle of Pultowa convinced Charles of the proficiency Peter had made." He said, as had been said before, that he and his friends were not seeking independence. But there were men in that house who were. "But if these pacifick measures are ineffectual," he said, "and it appears that the only way to safety is through fields of blood, I know you will not turn your faces from your foes, but will undauntedly press forward until tyranny is trodden under foot, and you have fixed your adored Goddess Liberty fast by a Brunswick's side on the American Throne."

George III. and Liberty, on an American throne, seated side by side, like William and Mary, probably made their last appearance then, even in prophecy. The oration ends with these words: "Having redeemed your country, and secured the blessing to future generations, who, fired by your example, shall emulate your virtues, and learn from you the heavenly art of making millions happy with heart-felt joy, with transports all your own, you cry, *The glorious work is done!* Then drop the mantle to some young *Elisha*, and take your seats with kindred spirits in your native skies."

As Warren spoke, an officer of the Welsh Fusileers, who sat on the pulpit stairs, drew from his pocket a handful of bullets and held them out in his hand for the rest to see. Warren dropped a white handkerchief over them.

The theme of the orators on all these occasions was the danger to liberty and order when standing armies are quartered in towns.

With the return of the garrison to Boston, the necessity of this lesson returned. That King George quartered soldiers among the people, became one of the indignant complaints of the Declaration of Inde-

Warren's Oration.

pendence. Only a week after Warren's address, appeared an illustration of the danger he described.

A man named Ditson, from Billerica, had bargained with a soldier for a gun. As soon as he had paid his money he was seized by half-a-

dozen of the soldier's comrades for breach of the act against trading with soldiers. They kept him locked up all night, and the next morning the officers condemned him without a hearing, to be tarred and feathered. The soldiers were only too glad to execute this punishment, and then paraded him through the streets with a placard inscribed "American Liberty, or a Specimen of Democracy."

Arrest of Ditson.

The Billerica selectmen remonstrated to General Gage, in a paper which ends with ominous words: "May it please your Excellency, we must tell you we are determined, if the innocent inhabitants of our country towns must be interrupted by soldiers in their lawful intercourse with the town of Boston, and treated with the most brutish ferocity, we shall hereafter use a different style from that of petition and complaint."

There is something of real pathos in such protests from the government of little country towns, which, but for the result, would seem ridiculous. That in "town meeting" a town which had not fifty voters, should vote money to buy powder and flints with which to make war against a King who, within fifteen years, had humbled the French monarchy, seemed absurd. But the history is full of such declarations. And when the selectmen of Billerica sent their warning to that King's Lieutenant-general in America, the illustration of what they meant was at hand.

To try the country, and at once to display his little army and to exercise it after a winter cramped in quarters, General Gage sent out on the 30th of March, a large body of troops on what was called "an excursion." Earl Percy, afterwards Duke of Northumberland, then a young officer of high rank in Gage's army, commanded the party, which consisted of five regiments. "It marched to Jamaica Plain, a village about four miles south of Boston, then crossed the country to Dorchester, a town nearer the sea, and so returned to Boston, after a march of about ten miles. The season was early, and it was said that the gardens and fields of the farmers were unnecessarily injured by the soldiers.

Gage's excursions.

It was to check just such "excursions" that the "Committee of Safety," since celebrated, had been created by the Provincial Congress of Massachusetts as early as February 9 of this year. This committee, consisting of five men, was a permanent executive. Its "business and duty" were, to "alarm, muster, and cause to be assembled with the utmost expedition, and completely armed, accoutred, and supplied, such and so many of the militia of the province as they shall judge necessary, and at such place and places as they shall judge proper." Such levy was to be made when

The Committee of Safety.

the committee should think an attempt was made by force to carry out the "Boston Port Bill." The committee did not judge that such an occasion was presented by Percy's "excursion" to Jamaica Plain. It had no military objective. "It marched without baggage and without artillery," says Warren in a letter written at the time. "But," he adds, "had they attempted to destroy any magazines, or to abuse the people, not a man of them would have returned to Boston."

The Provincial Congress of Massachusetts had been collecting at several points such stores, both of arms and of provisions, as their means permitted. One of the most indignant outbursts in the English Parliament, the year before, was in ridicule of the audacity with which the General Court of Massachusetts had sent for the royal approval a bill for the purchase of twelve brass cannon. Many stores had since been purchased without King George's approval. The towns kept theirs in their own magazines; those which belonged to the province were at Concord and Worcester, the county towns of Middlesex and Worcester counties. Concord is about twenty miles northwest of Boston. General Gage first sent two officers in disguise to reconnoitre each of these places and the routes to them,[1] and on Tuesday evening, the 18th of April, he sent a detachment of about eight hundred men to seize and destroy the guns, munitions, and stores at Concord. To insure a surprise, his troops were to march at night. Under the command of Colonel Smith, they left Boston in the boats of the squadron at the water edge of the Common,[2] landed at Lechmere's Point, now East Cambridge, and marched across the salt marshes, so as to strike the road to Menotomy, or West Cambridge. The night was clear and frosty.

Gage's expedition to Concord.

Meanwhile the country was alarmed, and the patriot leaders in Boston were well informed of every step taken by the General and his troops.

Legend and poetry have illustrated every minute of that night; but no imagination can make incidents more dramatic than the precise facts as they come out in their purity, after all the tests of the sternest examination. Dr. Warren had returned to Boston from a meeting of the Provincial Congress at Concord. It was as early as the 16th, when Gage gave warning of his plans, by launching the boats of the transports, which had been laid up all winter. On Sunday, the 16th, Warren sent Paul Revere from Boston to Lexington, to tell Hancock and Adams that the boats were launched. Paul Revere

[1] It was not a hundred years, since Worcester had received that name in direct insult to Andros, in memory of the Worcester where the son of the King of England fled for his life before the army of Cromwell.

[2] Near what is now Park Square.

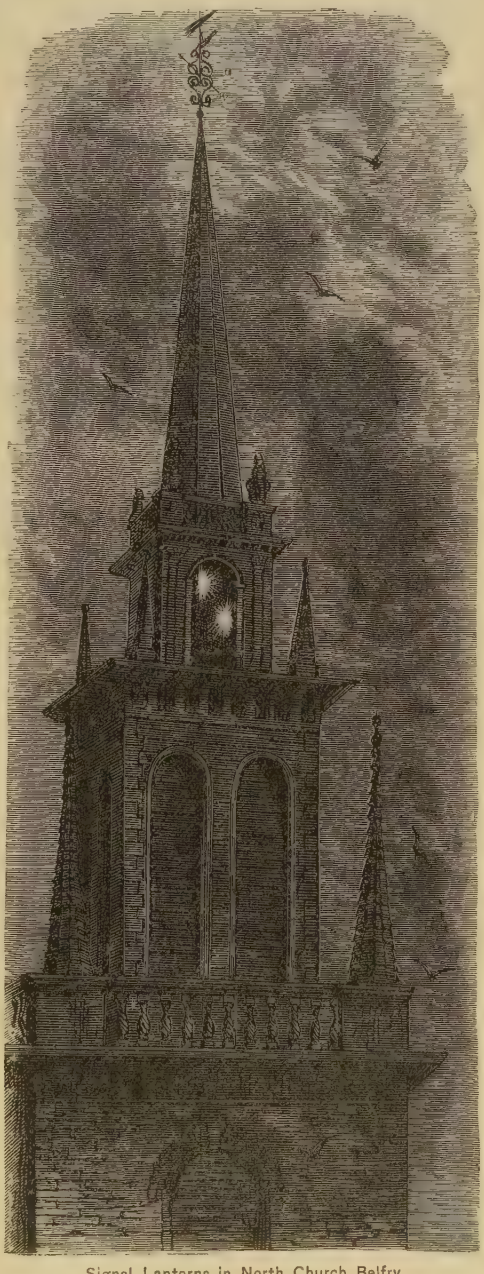
was a coppersmith and engraver. He was one of thirty "North End" mechanics who through the winter had made it their business to patrol the streets of Boston at night, in order to note every movement of the English troops. Revere took his message to Hancock, and returned through Charlestown. At Charlestown, on the night of the 16th, he agreed with "Colonel Conant and other gentlemen that if the British went out by water, we would show two lanthorns in the North Church steeple, — and if by land one, as a signal." Returning to Boston, he reported his arrangements to Warren.

On Monday and Tuesday General Gage did nothing; but the two Committees — of Safety and Supplies — were preparing for him at Concord. They passed more than twenty votes relating to the removal and disposition of cannon, ammunition, and stores. Tuesday evening Warren discovered in Boston that the troops were to move at once. He sent in great haste for Revere, and begged him to set off for Lexington. This he did, first calling — as his own narrative relates — "upon a friend," and desiring him to hang out the two signal lanterns from the tower of North Church.[1] He took his coat and boots for his ride, and, in his boat, which was in readiness, was rowed over by his men to Charlestown. When he came into the little town, he found that Colonel Conant and others had already seen his signals. Here he met also Richard Devens, who had just returned from a meeting of the Committee of Safety, and who told him he had met ten British officers riding towards Lexington from Cambridge. These were a party who had dined at Cambridge, in the futile hope that by disposing themselves on the road to Lexington after night-fall, they might cut off all news of the advance.

Revere found a good horse in Charlestown, he says; the night was pleasant, and at eleven o'clock he started on the eventful ride which, in Longfellow's version of it, has made him immortal. The moon was already up. He had scarcely left Charlestown, and was passing "where Mark was hung in chains," when two English officers on horseback tried to take him. But Revere and his horse were too quick for them. In Medford he waked the captain of the minute-men. From Medford to Lexington he alarmed almost every household. He came to Lexington about midnight, and gave his news to Hancock and

[1] "I left Dr. Warren, called upon a friend, and desired him to make the signals," is Revere's statement (*Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, vol. v.). Who the "friend" was is a disputed point, on which there is no evidence except family tradition. The descendants of Robert Newman claim that he, who was the sexton of Christ Church, at Revere's request made the signals. The descendants of John Pulling declare that he was the intimate friend of Revere, and that it has been handed down in their family from generation to generation that it was he with whom Revere had an agreement to hang out the lanterns. It is not even certain which of the North churches was used, though that learned body, the mayor and aldermen of Boston, have decided that it was Christ Church.

Adams, who were at Rev. Mr. Clarke's house. Here he was joined by William Dawes, whom Warren had sent out by land, over Boston Neck. And after a little stay with Dawes and Dr. Prescott, "a high son of liberty," he started for Concord between one and two in the morning. Prescott, who was thus preordained to take the torch when it fell from the hand of the first messenger, had lingered thus late, on that critical night, with his sweetheart, a young lady of Lexington, whom he afterward married. The three rode on together toward Concord. On the way, while Dawes and Prescott stopped to alarm a house, Revere was surrounded by four English officers. Prescott escaped, and reached Concord with the news. Revere was taken prisoner, and carried back by the English officers and the other six of their party to Lexington, where he arrived a little before the column of whose movements he had given information.



Signal Lanterns in North Church Belfry.

The Provincial Committee of Safety had adjourned from Concord to Menotomy.[1] On the sudden arrival of the troops, in the middle of the night, they were awakened, and, without dressing, ran into the

[1] Afterwards West Cambridge, now Arlington.

fields to escape. These were Orne, Lee, Gray, and Heath. Dr. Warren, the fifth member of the committee, was in Boston, watching what passed there. He remained till about seven in the morning, when he left Boston, forever, as it proved, with the words: "They have begun it; that, either party can do; and we 'll end it; that, only one can do."

Colonel Smith, as has been seen, had made every effort to arrest any person who could alarm the country, but had wholly failed. Conscious of his failure, he sent back for a reënforcement. Gage received his message at five o'clock. He had anticipated it, and at four o'clock had ordered out the first brigade, under Lord Percy. But by a series of those petty blunders and delays which befall armies unused to war, it was nine o'clock before this brigade was ready in Tremont Street, in Boston. The boats could not be used, because they were at Cambridge, and Percy marched by the circuitous land route through Roxbury and Brookline. Smith, meanwhile, pushed forward six companies of his light infantry with a body of marines, under Major Pitcairn, of the Marine Corps, directing him at the earliest moment to take possession of the bridges over the Concord River at Concord. This was a military precaution against attack from the militia north or west of that little stream. On Major Pitcairn, therefore, and his immediate command, was thrown the responsibility, which soon proved so critical, of the outbreak of the war.

Pitcairn at Lexington.

The sun had not yet risen when Pitcairn, hurrying on his men, approached Lexington Common. This was a little green in front of the meeting-house. Obedient to the alarm, the Lexington minute-men had formed some time before. They had sent scouts down the silent road, who had returned saying there was no enemy, so slow had been Smith's progress. On this announcement the men had withdrawn into the meeting-house and other houses around the green. At a second alarm they paraded again. They were under the command of John Parker, a veteran of the French war. As the column under Pitcairn approached, each party could observe the numbers of the other. Parker saw that his command was wholly outnumbered, and directed his men to retire. Pitcairn, at the same moment, rushed forward, with the words, which were long after repeated in every household, —

"Disperse! rebels, disperse!"

On each side there was the most eager wish that the responsibility of the first shot should be thrown upon the other party. The Continental Congress had indicated this wish earnestly. The Provincial Congress, anxious to conform to its directions, had cautioned the town committees to use the utmost forbearance. On the other side there

was equal caution. General Gage went to the verge of pusillanimity, in directing his officers not to assume the offensive. Colonel Leslie had been ridiculed, not in print only, but in song and talk, for retiring without a struggle at Salem, and yet he had simply obeyed Gage's instructions.

Each party, in a word, wanted to show that the other struck first. And it has long been one of the mooted questions of this great struggle, whether the English or the Americans fired the first shot. Major Pitcairn, in command on the one side, and Captain John Parker, who commanded on the other, declared that their orders were strict, that no man should fire till he was fired upon. But that somebody fired, a war of seven long years was the evidence.

Lexington Green.

Sifting to the very bottom the testimony which has accumulated on both sides, it seems that the witnesses, who spoke with caution, all spoke the truth. Pitcairn probably gave no order to fire, — even commanded his men not to fire, as he always said. It is admitted on all hands that at the last moment he struck his sword or staff down, as a signal to them to forbear firing. Parker ordered his men to disperse, and not to fire, — very properly declining to attack with seventy men, not even in array, a column of six companies of royal infantry. But Pitcairn also says he saw a "flash in the pan" on the other side. What happened was probably this: One of Parker's men, without order, drew trigger, and his gun missed fire. The

The first shot.

powder flashed in the pan. Some English soldiers, without order also, considered this to be, as it certainly was, a sufficient signal that war had begun, and fired some irregular shots in return. These shots hurt no one ; but a general discharge from the English line followed, in which many of the Lexington party were killed and wounded. They then returned the fire, and the war was begun.

Had the unknown Protesilaus lived, the flash of whose disobedient musket, in the gray of the morning, precipitated at that moment the certain storm, he would afterward have told the story. It was not a moment to be forgotten, nor to be ashamed of. It must be that he was one of the seven men who were found by their wretched wives and mothers dead on Lexington Common, after the English column had passed by.[1]

It is true, then, that the Americans did not fire first. It is also true that one unknown Lexington soldier tried to fire and failed. It is true that the English commander and his men did not mean to fire first. It is also true, that as events were ordered, they fired the first shot, and took the first lives lost in the war. In the return fire of Parker's men, one English soldier was killed, and one or two wounded. Of Parker's little force one fourth were killed or wounded by one volley.

The English troops fired another volley, in triumph, on the Common, and pressed on to Concord. As has been already said, Colonel Smith knew that the country was alarmed, and had sent back for reënforcements. From Lexington to Concord, as they marched, is about eight miles, by a road which, as they must have noticed then, could be easily obstructed by an adverse force. It was still early morning, and they arrived at Concord without further interruption. They had already made what a prudent officer would consider a good day's march, and had been without sleep through the night. The General's intention must have been that they should take position for that day and the next night, at least, at Concord.

The march from Lexington to Concord.

But the whole country was now alarmed, and the towns showed what they meant when they defied King George. The arrangements made by the committees of correspondence and the Provincial Congress, to carry information of any emergency, worked wonderfully well. To this hour there are traditions in northern Middlesex and Worcester counties of the "man on the white horse," who passed through before daybreak, to say that the English had left Boston, and

[1] Ten men more were wounded, — seventeen in all, out of seventy, disabled by one volley. This fact is a sufficient evidence that their military array was not considerably broken, and that the firing was at very close range. Such a proportion of loss would be remarkable at the end of a battle.

that the war had begun. Nay, it would not be hard to find those who have heard that this message came before mortal horse could have reached the spot where it was heard, and that no man can tell who this fatal messenger was, or whither he went. Without supposing that any Castor or Pollux of the eighteenth century brought the fatal tidings, it is certain that they advanced with a celerity till then unknown. The reader has been told that Colonel Smith had notified General Gage that he should need reënforcements. This was before four o'clock in the morning. But long before the tardy forms of the officials in Boston had sent off Percy's brigade to him, the minute-men of the colony, for thirty miles around, had been summoned by the prompt prevision of the patriot authorities, and were on the march.

Thus the Concord minute-men had formed, and some of their neighbors from Lincoln, the next town, had joined them before Pitcairn and Colonel Smith arrived there. Some of the companies marched down the road toward Lexington, far enough to see that they were quite outnumbered, and then withdrew. They formed on a bold hill eighty rods behind the village. Here Barrett, their Colonel, joined them. He had been engaged, under personal and secret orders from the Provincial Congress, in concealing musket-balls and removing provisions which the colony had collected there. These were beef, flour, molasses, rum, and candles. Barrett found that he was outnumbered, and withdrew his whole force across the Concord River, where he held them watching the English column in their native village. Colonel Smith, the English commander, attended to the duty assigned him. He broke off the trunnions of three new cannon, which Barrett had not been able to remove; he destroyed some wooden spoons and trenchers, and other articles in the humble commissariat provided for the army which his march of that day was calling into the field. But this did not last long. Shots at the North Bridge told all men, if any man had doubted before, that war had begun.

The fight at Concord Bridge.

The Concord and Lincoln companies, on the hill above the North Bridge, were joined by different companies of minute-men from the towns of northern Middlesex. They could see smoke, which showed that the English were firing houses or goods. The court-house was in flames. They could see at the bridge three companies of English troops, who were under an officer named Laurie. It was when these men began to take up the bridge that the little army of militia acted.

The Lincoln minute-men volunteered to clear the bridge. Captain Davis, of Acton, made the remark, now a proverb, "There is not a man in my company that is afraid." Colonel Barrett commanded the

column to pass the bridge without firing; but, if fired upon, to return the fire. The New England passion for law appears in the language of his order. "It is the King's highway, and we have a right to march on it if we march to Boston. Forward, march!" They marched to the quickest air their fifes could play — the "White Cockade."

Laurie, who commanded the detachment of English, recrossed the bridge. Major Barrett, in command of the attacking party, hurried upon it. When they were within a short distance, the English fired three distinct volleys, and Davis and Hosmer were killed. The Concord minister, Mr. Emerson, was nearer to the English than either of

Concord Bridge.

them, on the Concord side of the river. He wrote in his diary that night that he "was very uneasy till the fire was returned." When Davis and Hosmer fell, the militia returned the fire. The English retreated. The minute-men crossed the bridge, and some of them ascended the bold hill where the Concord men had formed in the morning. Another party of English, with Parsons in command, returning from Colonel Barrett's house, crossed the bridge from the northern side, and were allowed to join the main force undisturbed.

In this encounter at the bridge, the American militia first attacked the King's troops. The English lost here one soldier killed and several wounded. Colonel Smith now abandoned any idea of posting himself at Concord. As soon as he could collect proper carriages to

carry his wounded, he started on his return. Meanwhile, from every quarter, the minute-men were pouring down. They did not know what was the true "objective." But they meant to be in time, and they were in time. The whole country between Boston and Concord was aroused. The Provincials, knowing every inch of it, chose their own best places to attack the King's troops. So soon as these had passed, their unseen enemies would take some cross-road and attack again. "They are trained to protect themselves behind stone walls," writes General Gage. "They seemed to drop from the skies," says an English soldier. Smith and his men, after their hard march of nearly thirty miles, came back to Lexington exhausted. Smith himself was wounded. They had marched from Concord, nearly eight miles, in two hours. The retreat.

"A number of our officers were wounded," says Bernicre, an English eye-witness, "so that we began to run rather than retreat in order. The whole behaved with amazing bravery, but little order."

A little beyond Lexington Common, at about three o'clock, Smith and his hard-pressed party, as they approached Boston, met the reenforcement under Lord Percy, so long desired. Lord Percy had moved at nine in the morning, in a direction almost directly opposite that of Lexington, because he was obliged to leave Boston by land. It was remembered afterwards, that as he passed through Roxbury, his bands played "Yankee Doodle," and that a prophetic boy insulted him by crying out, "You march to Yankee Doodle; you will come back to Chevy Chase." This allusion to the "woful hunting" so celebrated in literature in the history of his house, appeared again and again in the pasquinades of the time. At Cambridge he had to cross Charles River, and the Committee of Safety, or Colonel Heath, one of their number, had directed that the planks should be taken from the bridge. Percy was thus still further detained. As soon as possible he pressed forward with his troops, leaving the train of stores to follow when the bridge should be more firmly repaired. The officer in command of this convoy lost his way, and to the inquiries he made in Cambridge, such false answers were given that with only scant military escort, he fell into the hands of some West Cambridge "exempts," led with intelligence and success by a negro soldier who had served in the French war. Percy's column.

Lord Percy, without his train, pressed on in time, as has been said, to meet Smith just below Lexington, about two or three o'clock. His field-pieces are always spoken of as awing the militia. The exhausted columns rested a while, "the men's tongues hanging from their mouths, like dogs;" such was the tradition repeated for generations. The united force then took up the march The return to Boston.

to Boston, and met with the same resistance everywhere, from a force constantly increasing. At last, as the sun was going down, the head of the column crossed Charlestown Neck. Beacon Hill, in Boston, was covered with people, watching for their return, and, as it darkened, one could see thence the musket-flashes on the road from Cambridge to Charlestown. Percy had to use his field-pieces again. At West Cambridge, Dr. Warren, while exposing himself to the enemy's fire, had the pin on his earlock shot away. By this time Colonel Heath, of the Committee of Safety, was in some sort commanding. The English had just reached Bunker Hill in Charlestown, when one of Colonel Pickering's aids rode up to Heath with the news that the Essex regiment was just behind him, on the road from Salem. The Danvers company had marched direct to Menotomy; the rest of the regiment had gone straight to Charlestown. But Heath thought it too late for any further offensive operations. The English posted sentries on their side of Charlestown Neck; Heath placed his sentries on the other side, and ordered the militia to lie on their arms at Cambridge.

The results.

The loss of the English in the march and retreat was reported by Gage as sixty-five killed, one hundred and seventy-eight wounded, and twenty-six missing, a very large loss from a force of eighteen hundred men. The loss of the Americans was forty-nine killed, thirty-six wounded, and five missing.[1]

The gathering of the American militia.

All that night the march of the minute-men from every town in Massachusetts, from Rhode Island, from Connecticut, and from New Hampshire, kept the country towns awake. Before morning on the 20th, before Gage's tired troops were ferried back from Charlestown to their barracks, an American army was at Cambridge. The intelligence had flown over the land, that the English troops had fired on the Lexington militia, and with it had gone the news that the column had been driven back to Boston. The story grew as it went from province to province. By the time it came into western Connecticut, it took a form which was carried by express to New York, and was there relied upon as in some sort an official narrative. In that form the New York Committee of Safety despatched it southward, and so it sped to Charleston, S. C., rousing a country. No fiery cross ever stirred a nation to more eager enthusiasm. That despatch is therefore worth copying now, — although, in literal fact, every material statement in it was untrue. It was in these words: —

[1] These figures are taken from Gage's return, and from Phinney's *History*.

THE RETREAT FROM CONCORD.

"WALLINGFORD [Conn.], Monday 24th, 1775.

"DEAR SIR: Colonel *Wadsworth* was over in this place most of yesterday, and has ordered twenty men out of each Company in his Regiment, some of which had already set off, and others go this morning. He brings accounts, which came to him authenticated, from *Thursday* in the afternoon. The King's troops being reënforced a second time, and joined, as I suppose, from what I can learn, by the party who were intercepted by Colonel *Gardner*, were then encamped on *Winter* Hill, and were surrounded by twenty thousand of our men who were intrenching. Colonel *Gardner's* ambush proved fatal to Lord *Percy*, and another General Officer, who were killed on the spot the first fire. To counterbalance this good news, the story is, that our first man in command (who he is I know not) is also killed. It seems they have lost many men on both sides; Colonel *Wadsworth* had the account in a letter from *Hartford*. The Country beyond here are all gone, and we expect it will be impossible to procure horses for our wagons, as they have and will, in every place, employ themselves all their horses. In this place they send a horse for every sixth man, and are pressing them for that purpose. I know of no way, but you must immediately send a couple of stout, able horses, who may overtake us at *Hartford* possibly, where we must return Mrs. *Noyes's*, and *Meloy's* if he holds out so far. Remember the horses must be had at any rate. Lockwood's letter.

"I am in the greatest haste, your entire friend and humble servant,

"JAMES LOCKWOOD.

"N. B. Colonel *Gardner* took nine prisoners, and twelve clubbed their firelocks and came over to our party. Colonel *Gardner's* party consisted of seven hundred men, and the Regulars one thousand eight hundred, instead of one thousand two hundred, as we heard before. They have sent a vessel up *Mystick* River, as far as *Temple's* farm, which is about half a mile from *Winter* Hill. These accounts being true, all the King's forces, except four or five hundred, must be encamped on *Winter* Hill." [1]

This curious mixture of the account of personal need for horses and of the outbreak of a civil war, is hardly intelligible when compared with the facts. History has not known better than James Lockwood who was "the first man in command" on the American side. The rumor of his death probably rose from the death of Captain Davis, of Acton, in the attack on Concord Bridge. The account of Percy's being intercepted at Winter Hill is an instance where the wish was father to the thought. For a generation after, Colonel Pickering was

[1] Preserved at Charleston, S. C. Published in Marshall's *Remembrancer*.

blamed unjustly, because he did not effect this consummation with the Essex regiment.[1]

The siege of Boston.

With the twentieth of April, therefore, the "Siege of Boston" began. The patriots had studied, through the whole winter, a plan for withdrawing all the inhabitants from Boston, which Gage, naturally enough, had resented. But, with the shock of battle, the departure of the inhabitants came of course; and, eventually, when Gage found he was really besieged on the land side, he did not oppose it.

As the minute-men arrived, they were posted in that part of Charlestown (now Somerville) which is outside Charlestown Neck, in Cambridge, and in Roxbury. Works were thrown up on Charles River and on the salt marshes, to prevent any movement of English troops by boats. The only egress from the city by land was over Boston Neck, by which Percy had marched out. This passage was commanded completely by a strong fort on the highland above the Roxbury Meeting-house.[2] General Artemas Ward, of Shrewsbury, was the senior officer in command of the Massachusetts troops, and a deference was yielded to him by Spencer, of Connecticut, Greene, of Rhode Island, and Folsom, of New Hampshire. These were the senior officers of the contingents from those colonies. But his orders to them take the form of requests. And his own commission as General and Commander-in-chief of the Massachusetts troops was not given him till the 20th of May. The works which have been alluded to were planned, and well planned, by Henry Knox, a young Boston bookseller, who had interested himself in military studies, and by Gridley, who had served in the French War. During all this period, there was a wretched deficiency of powder in the stores of this suddenly enlisted army. The Provincial Congress, in fear of a bold attack by Gage, which very probably would have resulted in their defeat, made provision for securing their records and stores, such as they were, in case of the necessity of a retreat.

General Artemas Ward.

The exodus from Boston.

As early as the 26th of April,[3] a letter from Dr. Warren to Gage proposed that the people of Boston be allowed to leave the town. Gage agreed, but said their arms must be given up; and on the 27th a great number of arms were deposited at Faneuil Hall. The military habit of the time appears in the fact that there was almost one weapon for every grown man. At first, Gage

[1] "And vanquished Percy, to complete the tale,
Had hammered stone for life in Concord jail." — LOWELL.

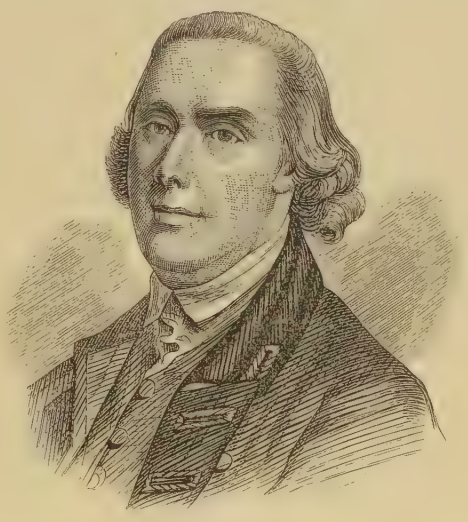
[2] Now a little ornamental square, in which is the stand-pipe of the Boston Water Works. The "Meeting-house" was that made famous by the ministry for half a century of Eliot, "the Apostle to the Indians." See vol. i., p. 539.

[3] Not the 20th, as printed by mistake in Force's *Archives*.

allowed the inhabitants to depart on the condition that only thirty wagons should leave the town daily. But so large a number left that the Tories in Boston, remembering the patriot plans of the last winter, took alarm, and compelled Gage to rescind his permission. On the day of the expedition to Concord, almost two hundred Tories were enrolled under General Ruggles, of Hardwick, said to be the best soldier in the colonies.[1] Fearing that, unless the inhabitants should remain in the town, it would be burned by the American army, they told Gage that they would leave the town themselves if the emigration were not stopped, and he was obliged to yield.

News of the outbreak sent to England.

The Provincial Congress, immediately after the events of Lexington and Concord, prepared an account of the battles, confirmed by depositions from the principal actors. These they entrusted to Captain John Derby, of Salem, with the order to sail to some convenient port of Ireland and thence to hasten to London, and deliver his papers to the agent. With these orders Captain Derby started, and outsailed every other vessel on the way. Captain Brown, in the *Sukey*, with Gage's despatches, had sailed before him; but Captain Derby reached London eleven days before any other news arrived. This early announcement of the outbreak, which naturally enough took the view most favorable to the patriots, produced an immediate effect in England, such as the government deprecated. The impression, of course, gained ground every day that they had news which they dared not publish.



General Gage.

Movements in and around Boston.

On the 8th of May, so distinct a rumor was circulated at Cambridge that Gage intended to march out, that the minute-men of the towns near Boston were called into service. Gage had another opportunity to see how large was the reserve force at the service of his enemy. On the 13th, Israel Putnam — who, when the news of the fight at Lexington and Concord reached him, left his plough in the field at Pomfret, Conn., mounted

[1] The same who had presided at the first Continental Congress, ten years before.

his horse, and the next morning was in Concord — marched a little army of two thousand three hundred men from Cambridge to Charlestown Neck, and through Charlestown to the ferry there. Had any permanent works on Bunker Hill been intended by Ward and the American officers, that was the better time, before Gage was reënforced. On the 27th, a skirmish, in which Putnam led, took place at Hog Island, northeast of Boston, in the harbor. Besides the sheep and cattle which were the object of the raid, the English lost a sloop, twelve swivels, and several men. An exaggerated account of the exploit gave to it at the south the character of a battle; and it was to this affair that Putnam owed a certain prominence at the time, which helped in securing the rank given him in the Continental army a few weeks afterward.

Several skirmishes of this character, which generally resulted to the advantage of the Americans, gave confidence to the new levies, and showed that they held the English at disadvantage. They were the result of an order of the Committee of Safety, passed on the 14th, that such live stock should be removed from the islands, and they prepared the way for the action at Bunker Hill. Gage did not seem to understand how soon he should need the provisions thus taken from him. In two of these affairs alone, thirteen hundred sheep, which he might have used, were lost.

Arrival of Howe, Clinton, and Burgoyne.

On the 25th of May, Generals Howe, Clinton, and Burgoyne arrived with large reënforcements. As they entered the harbor, they hailed a tender bound to Newport, and asked the news. When told that Boston was surrounded by ten thousand men in arms, they asked how large was the English force, and were told it was five thousand men. "Ten thousand peasants keep five thousand king's troops shut up! Let us get in, and we 'll soon find elbow-room." The story was circulated everywhere, and the nick-name "Elbow-room" was applied to Burgoyne all through the war, never with more sting, of course, than at the period of his own reverses.

The English plans. Strategic importance of Charlestown

The highest hill on the peninsula of Charlestown commands the northern part of Boston and the northern part of Boston harbor. The hills on the southeast of Boston, now part of South Boston, but then called Dorchester Heights, on Dorchester Neck, command the southern part of Boston and all the harbor. Of course both parties saw the evident necessity of immediately occupying both Charlestown and Dorchester Heights. General Burgoyne, in a letter to Lord Stanley, says it was absolutely necessary that the English should occupy these heights, and that it was thought best to begin with Dorchester. He says he has never

differed from Clinton and Howe, and they, with General Gage, formed the plan. The troops under Howe were to land on the point of Dorchester Neck now known as City Point, Clinton's in the centre, while Burgoyne cannonaded from Boston Neck, if necessary, to keep clear the line of approach from the American forces in Roxbury. These operations were to take place on Sunday, June 18. The Provincial Congress and General Ward knew all this in advance, as appears from their Report made to the Congress at Philadelphia.[1]

"*June* 20, 1775.

"We think it an indisputable duty to inform you that reënforcements from Ireland, both of horse and foot, being arrived (the numbers unknown), and having intelligence that General Gage was about to take possession of the advantageous posts in Charlestown and on Dorchester Heights, the Committee of Safety advised that our troops should prepossess them, if possible."

Artemas Ward.

It must be remembered that in this disturbed state of affairs the Committee of Safety was the only executive of the insurgents. This report to the Continental Congress is made simply for their information. Under an order of the Committee of Safety, General Ward formed a detachment to take possession of the hill above Charlestown. It was made up of Prescott's, Frye's, and Bridge's regiments, under Colonel Prescott, and a party of Connecticut men drafted from several companies under Captain Thomas Knowlton, of General Putnam's regiment. They were ordered to furnish themselves with packs, blankets, intrenching implements, and provisions for twenty-four

Measures taken by the Americans.

[1] Major Wemyss, who served under Gage, has left in his manuscript papers the following frank notice of this general, which probably contains an explanation of the way in which news leaked out from his counsels. "Lieut.-General Gage, a commander-in-chief of moderate abilities, but altogether deficient in military knowledge. Timid and undecided in every emergency, he was very unfit to command at a time of resistance and approaching rebellion to the mother country. He was governed by his wife, a handsome American; her brothers and relations held all the staff appointments in the army, and were, with less abilities, as weak characters as himself. To the great joy of the army, he went to England soon after the disastrous attack at Bunker Hill" Mrs. Gage was a daughter of Stephen Kemble, of New York.

hours. Colonel Gridley's company of artillery, with two guns, made part of the command. The expedition started from Cambridge at nine o'clock on the evening before the 17th, crossed Charlestown Neck, and reached Bunker Hill, the highest point of Charlestown, about ten. From the English battery on Copp's Hill to Bunker Hill is about one mile; from Beacon Hill, in Boston, to Bunker Hill is nearly a mile and a half. At that time Beacon Hill was one hundred and thirty-eight feet above sea-level; Bunker Hill was one hundred and ten, and Copp's Hill about sixty feet. If the object of fortifying Bunker Hill was to command the harbor, a redoubt there would hardly carry out the design, because a spur projecting southward from the hill, making an eminence of about sixty-two feet above the sea, rose between the top of Bunker Hill and the sea, and would protect the shipping to some extent. On the other hand, if the design was merely to keep the English from seizing the heights, both Bunker and the southern eminence, afterwards called Breed's Hill,[1] should be fortified at the same time. If the Provincials had contented themselves with fortifying the higher part of Bunker Hill only, the English troops might have formed under cover of the lower hill; or their commanders might have intrenched themselves on the south side of that hill, where they could not be reached by firing from Bunker Hill, from any guns in use at that time.

Bunker Hill.

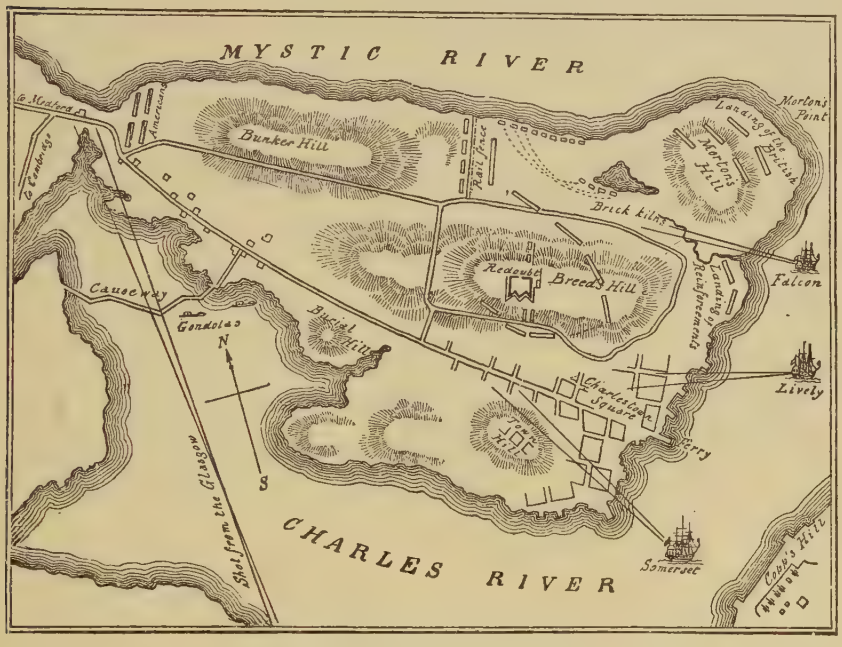
When the American officers found themselves on the crest of Bunker Hill, about ten in the evening, Prescott called the field-officers around him, and showed them his orders. They deliberated for a long time as to whether it would be more advisable to fortify the top of Bunker Hill, or take the lower eminence from which they could with greater ease harass the English fleet. After some time it was determined to proceed to the lower hill, half a mile nearer to Boston, and take post there. General Putnam, who was present, strongly advocated intrenching the upper hill as well as the lower one. The Committee of Safety, after the event, said that fortifying a point so near Boston was a mistake. But it is justified by the highest military authority, for the reasons which we have given. Colonel Gridley, the engineer officer, insisted on some decision being made without further loss of time, and when it was resolved to fortify the lower hill, he marked out the lines of a redoubt there. This re-

The fortification of Bunker Hill.

[1] The height on which the battle was fought had no distinctive name before that time, but was known as pastures belonging to different men, Breed being one of them. After the battle the hill was called Breed's Hill; but as the detachment was sent to put up fortifications on Bunker Hill, that designation clung to the fight. Hence the confusion of names which puzzles every reader out of Massachusetts. Though many insist upon calling the hill on which the tall monument stands, to commemorate the battle, Breed's Hill, the monument itself is called Bunker Hill Monument.

doubt was skilfully planned. It measured eight rods on its longest side, which fronted Charlestown. The other two sides were not quite so long. The side toward Bunker Hill was lower. A breastwork extended for about a hundred yards to the north, and stopped at a marshy place at the north side of the hill. This work was begun at midnight and continued till nearly eleven o'clock on the morning of Saturday, when the intrenching-tools were sent back to General Putnam, that he might use them to throw up fortifications on Bunker Hill strong enough to hold that height as well as the other.

It was a clear moonlight night. But so quiet was the working



Plan of Bunker Hill.

party, that it attracted no attention till morning. It was after daybreak when Linzee, the commander of the *Lively* frigate, which lay in the stream opposite where the navy-yard now is, saw the new fortification and opened fire upon it, waking the town to the bold enterprise of the night.

It was the morning of St. Botolph's day, the festival day of the saint from whom Boston derives its name.

Colonel Gridley returned Linzee's fire from his field-pieces, and the fire from the ship was soon suspended by Gage's order. He was roused from his repose, and on conference with his officers determined to attack the works before they could be strengthened.

The English and American accounts of the battle which followed, differed, at the time, as if two scenes had been described.

The Battle of Bunker Hill.

The best English account published in London, when the news arrived there, was General Burgoyne's, in a letter to Lord Stanley.[1] He says that, seeing that the enemy had fortified the heights of Charlestown during the night, the English generals thought it necessary to attack that side instead of seizing Dorchester Heights, as it had been proposed to do on the next day.

Burgoyne's account.

General Howe, and under him General Pigot, with about two thousand men, landed at Moulton's Point (where the navy-yard now is) and advanced up Bunker Hill where the strength of the enemy lay. "Howe's disposition was exceedingly soldier-like." As the first force advanced up the hill, "they met a thousand impediments from strong fences, and were also injured by a musketry-fire from Charlestown." Howe sent back to Burgoyne on Copp's Hill, in Boston, to set Charlestown on fire, which was instantly done by a number of red-hot shot from the batteries which afterward, together with the shipping, kept up a vigorous fire upon the heights. In this published letter, Burgoyne owns that Howe's left was staggered, and that reënforcements were sent. They remained upon the beach, however, not knowing where to march. Immediately General Clinton, without waiting for orders, crossed in a boat to command them, and arrived in time to be of service.

Burgoyne closes his letter by saying: "The day ended with glory, and the success was most important, considering the ascendency it gave the regular troops; but the loss was uncommon in officers, for the numbers engaged."

On the other hand, the Committee of Safety published an account by Rev. Peter Thacher, who saw from the eastern side of Mystic River, what could be seen by a spectator there. This was sent to Arthur Lee, and others, in London, as a correction of the report made by General Gage in a circular letter to the governors of the other colonies.

The American account.

This account says in substance, that about noon several barges approached Charlestown and landed on the beach westward of the American works. The troops formed upon landing, and waited till a second detachment arrived from Boston, when they took up their march to the redoubt. They moved slowly, with large flanking parties. At this instant, smoke and flames arose from Charlestown, which had been set on fire by the enemy, either that the smoke might cover their attack, or to dislodge one or two regiments of provincials which had been placed in the town. But the wind, shifting suddenly, blew away the smoke.

[1] The letter already referred to p. 396.

Meanwhile, according to this account, the Americans, within their intrenchments, waiting impatiently for the enemy, reserved their fire until they were within ten or twelve rods, and then delivered a terrible discharge of small arms. The enemy faltered, stood still a minute, and then ran with great precipitation towards their boats, some even seeking refuge in the boats themselves. Here, the spectators on the opposite shore could see the officers run down to them and urge the men forward with passionate gestures, even goading them on with their swords. As soon as they had rallied, they marched up towards the intrenchments, apparently with great reluctance. Again the Americans waited until they were within six or seven rods, and then fired, and again put the regular troops to flight.

A. Boston Battery. B. Charlestown. C. British Troops attacking. D. Provincial Lines.

Bunker Hill Battle.

From a Contemporary Print, entitled "View of the Attack on Bunker's Hill, with the Burning of Charlestown, June 17th, 1775."

The officers, making greater exertions than ever, once more urged on the men to a third assault. This time they brought cannon to bear upon the breastwork, raking it from one end to the other, so that the provincials retired within their redoubt. The "ministerial army" now made a great effort. The ships and batteries redoubled their fire, the officers increased their exertions, and the redoubt was attacked on three sides at once. The breastwork outside the fort had been abandoned; the ammunition of the provincials was exhausted, and there were but very few bayonets. Not until the redoubt was half filled with the British was the word given to retire. The retreat must have been cut off, however, had not the flanking party, whose place it was to attack the rear of the fort, met with a body of provincials, who kept them from advancing farther than the

beach. These two parties fought with the utmost vigor, and not until the provincials saw that the main body had left the hill, did they retire. Such is the official account as published by the Committee of Safety.

There is no doubt that Thacher's statement that there were three attacks is correct, although neither Gage in his despatches, nor Burgoyne, says anything about them.

Howe's flank movement.

While Pigot with the left wing was attacking the main body of the Americans, General Howe, with the right, marched along the Mystic River, to try to turn the American flank on its left. Against him Colonel Prescott had sent Captain Knowlton with his Connecticut men, and two field-pieces. Knowlton had taken his place behind a fence on the southern slope of Bunker Hill proper, extending northeasterly toward the water. This fence, which was made of stones, with rails of wood above, he strengthened by a parallel line of fence, filling the spaces between with new-mown grass. While he was doing this, reënforcements of New Hampshire troops under Stark arrived.

On the firmness of this body of men on the American left, eventually depended the retreat of the whole party. As Howe advanced, Colonel Callender opened fire on him with his field-pieces, which were between the redoubt and the fence. Knowlton's men at the rail fence held their fire until the enemy were within fifteen rods. When they did fire, the English retreated, terribly cut up, at about the same time that Pigot was repulsed before the redoubt.

In the second attack, Howe's guns were charged with grape. Through the whole action they had no proper balls.[1] They moved up on a road running between the redoubt and the rail fence nearly as far as the breastwork. The design was, to rake the redoubt. This time, also, Howe was on the right of his attack before Stark and Knowlton. At the rail fence and at the redoubt the Americans held their fire till even a shorter distance intervened.

In both cases the English broke and retreated. It was at this period of the action that Clinton arrived from Boston with reënforcements, as narrated by Burgoyne. The havoc at the attack thus made by Howe in person was even more terrible than that at the redoubt; the annals of war have, perhaps, no parallel to it. One light com-

[1] Thanks to the "dotage of an officer of high rank, who spends all his time with the school-master's daughters." This is the verdict of an English writer of the day. The officer was General Cleaveland, "who was enamored of the beautiful daughter of Master Lovell," and in order to gain favor with her had given her young brother an appointment in the ordnance department, for which he was not fitted. The beauty of the lady has been handed down to later generations by transmission more sure than that of verbal tradition.

pany of the Fifty-second Regiment had every man killed or wounded. Howe himself bore a charmed life, but every officer of his staff was killed or wounded. It was to the accuracy of the marksmen, whether at the redoubt or at the fence, that the terrible carnage of the day was due, and around these volleys have clustered the most frequent traditions of the fight. The efforts made by American officers who had been under fire before, to restrain the eagerness of young troops, are recollected in a hundred stories. "Fire low," "Aim at the handsome coats," "Aim at the waistbands." And there is no boy in America who does not believe that Putnam and Prescott bade their men wait, till "they could see the whites of the eyes" of the English. This order was probably familiar to the officers, who had studied with eagerness the memoirs then fresh of the wars of Frederick. It was recorded that Prince Charles, when he cut through the Austrian army in retiring from Jägendorf, gave this order to his infantry: "Silent, till you see the whites of their eyes." This was on the 22d of May, 1745. And this order, so successful that day, was remembered twelve years after at the battle of Prague, when the general Prussian order was, "By push of bayonets, — no firing till you see the whites of their eyes."

In the third attack the English artillery gained their position and drove the defenders of the breastwork into the fort. Most of the Americans had now only one round of ammunition, and few had more than three. But Prescott bade them hold their fire, and they did so until the enemy were within twenty yards. The English, taught by experience, did not attack in platoons, but were drawn up in column. The column wavered under the fire, but the men rushed on with the bayonet; and Clinton's and Pigot's men, on the south and east, reached the walls. At Prescott's order, those who had no bayonets retired to the rear of the redoubt, for their ammunition was all gone. The men in the front rank, as they scaled the walls, were all shot down. But these were the last shots, and as the English leaped over the parapet, Prescott unwillingly gave his order to retreat. His retreat was covered, as Thacher's account explains, by the firmness with which Stark and Knowlton held the rail fence. The gap between the breastwork and the rail fence had been enfiladed by Howe's artillery. The whole action had lasted about two hours of a hot summer afternoon. The English once in the redoubt had little spirit to follow the enemy. On the other hand, General Putnam, at the other work, on the crest of Bunker Hill, found it impossible to hold the retreating parties there.

The American retreat.

As the party in the redoubt left it, General Warren, as he is that day called for the first time, was killed. He had been, till this mo-

ment, the efficient leader of the popular movements in Massachusetts since Samuel Adams had left for the Congress in Philadelphia. He drew out the popular enthusiasm as no other leader had done. He had shown eloquence, energy, and wisdom. He was brave — so brave as to throw away his life. But the records of the Committee of Safety, and his own letters, show that he knew how to be prudent. Only three days before the battle he had been made a major-general by the Provincial Congress, to hold command second to Ward. His commission had not been issued, and on the day of the battle he served as a volunteer. But his presence alone, when he arrived at the redoubt late in the day, was everything to the exhausted men there. His death was regarded as a national calamity.

Joseph Warren.

Colonel Prescott, who from first to last had commanded the movement, and who ordered the retreat, escaped unhurt. But he was enraged that he was obliged to leave the ground which he had so well maintained. When he returned to headquarters, he offered to take both sets of works again, if he might only have fifteen hundred men. But General Ward very wisely refused. Prescott could probably have done what he promised; but there was no military object worth the attempt.

Ward's action reviewed.

Through that day, and afterwards, it was suggested that Ward might have reënforced the working-party more efficiently than he did. But the criticism is unjust. It was impossible that Ward could believe that his enemy would attack the works in front and on the eastern flank only. It was entirely in Gage's power to cut off the Bunker Hill party from their base by landing a party on Charlestown Neck, under the protection of the men-of-war. He did use the fire of the ships to enfilade the Neck, and materially to retard all movement in each direction. He also kept up, all day, a heavy fire on Boston Neck from his works. General Ward had every reason to suppose that the British leaders would thus attempt to divide his army, instead of taking the resolution

which proved so nearly fatal to them, of attacking Prescott's works in front. General Ward knew, also, what he would not tell, even to save his reputation, that on the day of the battle he had, for the use of his whole army, only sixty-three half-barrels of powder (sixty-nine hundred pounds), hardly half a pound for every soldier in his command. General Ward had been overruled, as the event has proved, wisely, in the council which ordered the fortification of Bunker Hill. He had himself opposed this measure, as Warren had done, which had been ordered by the Committee of Safety in opposition to them. He now decided, and decided rightly, not to risk more than a reënforcement comparatively small in the attempt to hold the hill. As it was, he had men enough there, could he only have supplied them more fully with ammunition. Prescott even reported that with bayonets he should have successfully resisted the final charge of the English left; and at his instance two thousand spears were at once made for the army. But all the bayonets in the world would not have protected Prescott's men after the gap between the redoubt and Knowlton had been passed by the English. That gap was already covered by Howe's field-pieces when Prescott ordered the retreat. A fair review of the day shows that that retreat was ordered at the proper moment, not too late and not a moment too early.

The losses by the battle.

The loss of the Americans in this battle was one hundred and fifty killed, two hundred and seventy wounded, and thirty taken prisoners. Gage's return of his loss was two hundred and twenty-four killed, and eight hundred and thirty wounded. According to his own statement of the English engaged — about two thousand men, — this was more than half the attacking force. But the British force was, in fact, somewhat larger than that estimate. Of his total loss of one thousand and fifty-four, one hundred and fifty-seven were officers. In some parts of the field the havoc was without precedent. Howe is said to have exclaimed, "They may talk of their Mindens and their Fontenoys, but there was no such fire there!" The remark is true, whether Howe made it or not. And it is certain that the impression made upon Howe and Clinton on that day, governed their lead of the British armies for the next seven years. They were wary of leading troops against intrenched men.

At the moment, and for many years after, the memory of Bunker Hill carried with it, in the minds of New Englanders, especially of those in the army, a bitter feeling of annoyance, as if "some one had blundered;" as if a victory well earned had become a disgraceful defeat. The implication was freely made that some American officers misbehaved, an implication never sustained by evidence. Courts-

martial were held, to try some of the most seriously accused. Colonel Callender was degraded from his command, for inadequately serving the wretched artillery. But in seven years of faithful service afterwards, this misused gentleman amply retrieved his reputation. From the recent publication of Burgoyne's letters, we now know that the English officers thought their privates misbehaved.[1] This was never publicly intimated at the time, either in published dispatches, or by courts of inquiry or courts-martial. The charge of cowardice made by officers hot under disappointment, does not need to be challenged by men proud of the English reputation for bravery. It will be remembered that the English privates were, in general, as new to actual war as their enemies. The critic who reads that one company of the Fifty-second Regiment had every man killed or wounded in the battle, will not ask many questions as to the bravery of the survivors.

As time has passed, and both sides of the picture have been opened to examination, it has become certain that that battle was the decisive battle of the war. From that moment the English generals understood that they were contending with soldiers.[2] From that moment the Home Government had really no permanent policy but in offers of conciliation, — more and more liberal till they granted the whole. From that moment there was no possibility of a return to a colonial position. And though more than seven years of battle followed before the last serious conflict, this battle of the beginning, the most bloody of all, and the most sharply contested, has proved to be, also, the most critical.

[1] Burgoyne to Lord Rochford. He says there is a melancholy reason for the disparity of the loss of officers, — that not only were they left unsupported by their men in the attack, but that "all the wounds of the officers were not received from the enemy." He begs Rochford that this shall not pass "even in a whisper" to any but the King. He says he trembles as he writes.

[2] "The men in all the corps having twice felt the enemy to be more formidable than they expected, it will require some training under such Generals as Howe and Clinton, before they can prudently be intrusted in many exploits against such odds." — Burgoyne to Rochford.

CHAPTER XVI.

THE SIEGE OF BOSTON.

WASHINGTON APPOINTED COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF. — MAJOR-GENERALS COMMISSIONED BY CONGRESS. — WASHINGTON'S ARRIVAL AT CAMBRIDGE. — SCARCITY OF POWDER. — WEAKNESS OF THE ARMY. — RELATIVE POSITIONS OF THE CONTENDING FORCES. — RECALL OF GAGE. — CONDITION OF BOSTON. — PROPOSED INTERVIEW BETWEEN BURGOYNE AND LEE. — MEASURES FOR SUPPLIES OF AMMUNITION. — NAVAL PREPARATIONS. — MISREPRESENTATIONS OF THE CAUSE OF THE AMERICANS IN EUROPE. — BURNING OF FALMOUTH IN MAINE. — CAPTURE OF AN ENGLISH VESSEL WITH SUPPLIES. — TREACHERY OF DR. BENJAMIN CHURCH. — HOWE'S DIFFICULTIES AND PROPOSALS TO THE MINISTRY. — CONGRESS SUGGESTS THE DESTRUCTION OF BOSTON. — DORCHESTER HEIGHTS FORTIFIED. — THE TOWN COMMANDED BY THE AMERICANS. — EVACUATED BY THE BRITISH. — THE AMERICAN ARMY TAKES POSSESSION.

ON that hot Saturday in June, while the battle was fought at Bunker Hill, the Continental Congress at Philadelphia, all unconscious of what was passing, unanimously appointed George Washington, of Virginia, to be General and Commander-in-chief of the armies raised for the maintenance of American Liberty. They appointed Artemas Ward, of Massachusetts, his First Major-general, Gates, of Virginia, his Adjutant-general, with the rank of Brigadier-general, and Charles Lee, an English half-pay officer, the Second Major-general. Two days afterward, Schuyler and Putnam were also appointed Major-generals.[1]

Washington appointed Commander-in-chief.

Appointments of Major-generals.

The nomination of Washington had been pressed upon Congress by the leaders of opinion in Massachusetts, and by no man more than by Warren himself, till this moment the popular leader of Massachu-

[1] The following is the list of the appointments made by the Continental Congress in June: —

George Washington, Esq., General and Commander-in-chief of all the forces raised or to be raised for the defence of American Liberty; Artemas Ward, Esq., First Major-general; Charles Lee, Esq., Second Major-general; Philip Schuyler, Esq., Third Major-general; Israel Putnam, Esq., Fourth Major-general; Seth Pomeroy, Esq., First Brigadier-general; Richard Montgomery, Esq., Second Brigadier-general; David Wooster, Esq., Third Brigadier-general; William Heath, Esq., Fourth Brigadier-general; Joseph Spencer, Esq., Fifth Brigadier-general; John Thomas, Esq., Sixth Brigadier-general; John Sullivan, Esq., Seventh Brigadier-general; Nathanael Greene, Esq., Eighth Brigadier-general; Horatio Gates, Esq., Adjutant-general, with the rank of Brigadier-general.

setts. On the day, and perhaps at the hour, when the direction of the war passed from his hands, his great successor was appointed. The nomination of Ward,[1] who was actually in command, as the second general, was almost a matter of course. The other appointments of this day, those of Gates and Lee, were suggested by the natural feeling that the great deficiency of the national army would be military skill. Here were two Englishmen, who had attained a certain rank in the English army. They never hesitated about proclaiming their own merits. And the appointments had at the moment the advantage that they gave no preëminence to one colony over another. They were well received by the people; but, in the end, both appointments proved signally unfortunate, and intensified the national dislike of everything English.

House of the President of Harvard College. — Washington's first Cambridge Headquarters.

Washington and Gates proceeded almost immediately to Cambridge. At New York they met the news of the battle of Bunker Hill. A well authenticated anecdote says that Washington expressed his joy at learning that the American soldiers had stood as firmly as they did. But he was still six days from the army, and the danger that the English officers might follow up their success was imminent. He, his aid, Mifflin, and his military secretary, Joseph Reed, with General Lee, travelled together. The eagerness of the towns through which they passed to receive the little party with honor, somewhat delayed their progress. But on Sunday noon, the

Washington starts for Cambridge.

[1] It is one of the most pathetic bits of satire in American history, that the name of the first commander of the Continental army should now be remembered by nine people in ten, only as that of an imagined humorist, — half philosopher, half showman. Even the misspelling "Artemus" of the showman will be found in Judge Marshall's reference to the Major-general.

2d of July,[1] they arrived at Cambridge, where they were received for a few days in the house of Langdon, the president of the college. On the 4th of July, with appropriate ceremony, his commission was read in the presence of a detachment of the army, and of the Provincial Congress of Massachusetts, and he assumed the command. Nothing is more interesting than the careful deference with which, all along, he treated the local authority, such as it was, and, on the other hand, the equal deference with which the Provincial Congress of Massachusetts regarded his wishes. They had carried on their affairs without any chief long enough to feel the need of one in war. He was too wise to trespass, in the least, on an authority which was so freely conceded. He was somewhat disappointed at the lack of military precision which he found in the army that had been called into existence in a little more than two months, and was greatly alarmed at the deficient supply of what came to be called in correspondence "a necessary article." By this circumlocution men tried to conceal the fact that powder hardly existed in the thirteen States in sufficient quantity for the use of one general action.[2] Even the material for manufacture could not be obtained in large quantities. Thus the apothecaries' shops in New York were searched for saltpetre, and, in the correspondence of the leaders of the time, the discovery of a hundred pounds of that article is spoken of as if it were indeed a priceless treasure.

His arrival and assumption of the command.

Condition of the army and its supplies.

The three other appointments made on the day with Washington's were not unfavorably received in the army; but the selection of officers afterward made was not such as altogether to satisfy either him or the officers of highest rank who were actually in the field. In addition to his other difficulties, Washington had the care of persuading officers whom he wanted to remain in service, and of inducing Congress to revise their estimate of others. He appointed Joseph Trumbull, of Connecticut, Commissary-general, and named John Trumbull one of his aids. He afterwards recommended Henry Knox to the command of the artillery. After-experience indicated the profound wisdom of these appointments. In one word, it may be said that Washington instantly acquired the enthusiastic

Later appointments of officers.

[1] Not the 3d, as by an oversight Washington himself said in the letter usually cited.

[2] At the battle of Buena Vista, in the Mexican war, 300,000 rounds of ammunition for musketry were used by the American army, and 3,750 pounds of powder by the cannon. This is a consumption of four tons for the battle, in which 5,000 Americans engaged 20,000 Mexicans. Colonel Baylor, of the American army, finds on observation of the war of the Rebellion, that the average use of a cannon in position is forty-two rounds a day, for a battle. The amount of powder is about one quarter the weight of the ball, in artillery. Washington's stock on the 3d of August was 9,937 lbs., a little less than five tons.

love of New England, though the men of New England were supposed to be so widely unlike his own Virginians; and that love he never lost.

Numbers of the opposing forces.

For many weeks, all military men in the American army lived in expectation, — it would be fair to say in dread, — of an attack from the English lines. A return of the number of the army, which Washington obtained in the week after he arrived, showed a total of sixteen thousand seven hundred and sev-

Washington Elm, Cambridge.[1]

enty-one New Englanders,[2] of whom nearly two thousand were sick, furloughed, or absent on duty. A council of the American generals, held on the 9th, determined that at least twenty-two thousand men were needed to defend the lines. Their estimate of the force of the English, including their sailors and marines, was eleven thousand five hundred, which has proved to be correct. The English generals could make their choice of Charlestown Neck, or Boston Neck, for a place of egress, if they chose to attack the American lines. These extremi-

[1] This tree, under which Washington's commission was read to the army, is still standing.

[2] From Massachusetts, 11,689; from Connecticut, 2,333; from Rhode Island, 1,085; from New Hampshire, 1,664.

ties of what may be called the American right and left wing, are many miles from each other, by circuitous routes, — separated also by Charles River, over which the Americans had but one poor bridge. It was clear, therefore, that in any attack the American army might be outnumbered. Washington had, however, the resource — of which he availed himself when he needed — of calling in the minute-men from the neighboring towns, who were always ready for duty, and moved with a promptness worthy of their name.[1]

Their relative positions.

But the English generals made no movement, not even a menace. The truth was, their loss at Bunker Hill had been more severe than the Americans at first suspected. As has been seen, it had affected the morale of their men, and made the commanding officers much more cautious. In the heat of the summer the wounded fared ill. The report from England, of the way in which the news of Lexington and Concord was received, was not encouraging to men in command. Gage was removed from his bed of thorns, and recalled to England by a despatch of August 2d. He was virtually disgraced, and no other command was ever offered to him. The command of the army was given to Howe, and was retained by him for three years, when he in turn was removed. The departure of Gage from Boston, in October, was regarded by the patriots as in some sort a victory. "Through this pane of glass," wrote Josiah Quincy, with a diamond, on his window, "I saw Gen. Gage sail out of the harbor of Boston."

Gage removed: Howe in command of Boston.

The government were certainly justified in removing Gage. They never had any reason for appointing him, but that he had served in America, and that he had an American wife. General Burgoyne charges on this handsome wife the unintentional communication of all Gage's secrets to the enemy.

Boston suffered also, all through the summer, from the lack of fresh provisions. In August, Gage was willing enough to renew the arrangements which he had quashed before, and to permit the egress of the inhabitants. They were sent out, day after day, by way of Winnisimet, and on their arrival, became, in many instances, a charge on the generous charity of the people of the country towns. While the population diminished, death was as frequent as it had ever been in the most populous days of Boston. A well informed native of the city says that the reënforcements received by

Second exodus from the city.

[1] This recourse was so considerable, that Hilliard d'Auberteuil, a French author of matchless absurdity, coolly doubles Washington's force in his statements, saying, simply, that one half was not kept in the field, but was occupied in cultivating the land! He thus gives Washington, what perhaps he would have been glad to have, an army of 60,000. In similar style he gives Howe 50,000 in Boston.

the army, before September, had not made up the losses caused by battle and disease.

Such were the reasons, so far as we can state them, why the English officers in command did not move upon Washington's army at the terrible period when it had not powder enough even for a few hours' fighting. The news of Gage's recall was received early in September. In the despatches then sent, Lord Dartmouth, Secretary for the Colonies, distinctly intimated that it would be better to make no further inroads into the country. He suggested that it would be better to leave Boston altogether, and take post at New York. If this were impossible, he asked if the army could not be divided between the ports of Halifax and Quebec.

Plans suggested in England.

To this despatch Howe replied, on the 2d of October, that nothing could be gained, except reputation, by a march into the interior. He considered that New York should be taken and held; that the "foundation of the war should be laid" by having troops in force there, large magazines and stores, and the whole well fortified and secured. He says that as Castle William in Boston Harbor is of no use to him, he had destroyed the shore battery, and mined the fort so as to destroy it when Boston should be evacuated. He also advised the seizing of the island of Rhode Island. Nothing is now said of merely reducing a rebellion. It is the "foundation of war" which is to be laid. Nor is a word now said about punishing Boston for its factious persistency, or reducing New England, as an example to the rest. The drift of the letter is, that it will be better to operate where there is less opposition. In truth, New England, by her unyielding firmness in the

General Howe.

beginning of the war, earned for herself the exemption, almost complete, from its presence, which she enjoyed for the last six years before the peace. The pressure of an enemy's army was to be chiefly felt in those very regions which the Crown officers thought at first least infected by the contagion of rebellion.

Soon after General Lee arrived at the American camp, from Virginia, General Burgoyne, who had served with him in the English army, wrote him a long letter from Boston, such as he was fond of writing. He proposed an interview at an inn on "Boston Neck,"[1] with the hope of bringing about some adjustment of grievances. He did not misapprehend his man. They were men of much the same type, — conceited and arrogant, with little skill in words, but thinking they had much, and with far less skill in arms than in words. Lee sent Burgoyne's letter to the Provincial Congress of Massachusetts, and asked their instructions, saying, at the same time, that he should wish some American gentlemen to accompany him to the interview. The Congress consented, and appointed Elbridge Gerry to accompany Lee; but the language of their reply to him was so cool that he abandoned the project.

Proposed interview between Burgoyne and Lee.

All through this period of apparent quiet, the utmost efforts were made in every quarter, by the American authorities, to provide powder, lead, flints, clothing, tents, and other material for a campaign. Even the smallest quantity of powder or of saltpetre was begged for. General Cooke, of Rhode Island, Governor Trumbull, of Connecticut, Robert Livingston, of New York, and Franklin, now acting on the Committee of Safety in Philadelphia, appear prominent among those most active. Livingston established a powder-mill, and did it so secretly that the English agent who had charge of the government stock of saltpetre was in ignorance of its existence till a bold raid on his stores emptied them, and taught him its value. The Committee of Safety in Georgia got hold of a supply of powder intended for the Florida Indians. A bold push into the Gulf of Mexico brought back a hundred barrels from a trading vessel there. An attack on Bermuda brought off a considerable quantity from that island. Far away, in Orleans, in Louisiana, Oliver Pollock, an American citizen, was making arrangements to send the precious commodity up to Pittsburg by the river. So soon as the English cruisers were withdrawn in the autumn, Governor Cooke sent a fast sailing vessel of eighty tons to Bordeaux, to purchase powder on the account "of the Continent." By this proud name, which should never have been given up, was the new nation

The collection of ammunition.

[1] The inn was the "George." It was burned before the evacuation, but reappeared as the "George Washington."

beginning to call itself. Lead was obtained from the mines of Connecticut, which had been little worked in times of peace.

The germ of an American navy.

Meanwhile, and partly in connection with this terrible necessity, a little navy was coming into existence. As early as the 5th of May the people of New Bedford and Dartmouth, in Buzzard's Bay, southwest of Cape Cod, indignant at the incursions of the *Falcon*, one of the British sloops of war, fitted out a vessel with which they attacked and recaptured one of her prizes, with fifteen prisoners, in the harbor where she had taken refuge in Martha's Vineyard. This was the first naval victory of the war.

On the 12th of June a plan was formed in Machias, in Maine, for taking the *Margaretta*, an armed sloop in the service of the Crown, then lying at that port. This scheme was carried out with success; the *Margaretta*, another King's sloop, and a sloop that was loading with lumber under her protection, being taken. Her captain and one of her crew were killed, and five wounded. The armament of the *Margaretta* was then transferred to another vessel, which was placed under the command of Jeremiah O'Brien. He was soon afterwards made marine captain by the Provincial Congress of Massachusetts, and sent to intercept vessels bringing supplies to the troops in Boston. Many other affairs similar to that in which the *Margaretta* was captured took place on various parts of the coast. So soon as Washington's attention was called to the possibility of cutting off the supply vessels of the English, as they entered Massachusetts Bay, he commissioned officers in command of vessels, to take such supplies.[1] Their instructions were to avoid fighting, even if they were of equal force with their enemy, — the object being to seize supplies. The Massachusetts Provincial Congress at once legalized such captures. Washington supplied armaments and money from the Continental treasury, and, with little delay, six small vessels were commissioned, — the *Lynch*, *Franklin*, *Lee*, *Warren*, *Washington*, and *Harrison*. Rhode Island had at sea a vessel under Whipple, who went as far as Bermuda, where he found the inhabitants friendly to the American cause, but terrified by Gage's threats of vengeance for the loss of the powder stored there. Connecticut had a small vessel in service also.

Destitution at Boston.

A petty war on sheep and oxen on the coasts was kept up by the smaller British vessels, that Boston might be provisioned. Yet Gage hardly brought in more animals by such raids, — which embittered all the seaboard against him, — than he had permitted the Americans to carry off from under his own eyes in Boston Bay. So severe was the destitution of his troops that on the 4th

[1] The first of these commissions dated September 2, 1775.

of September, after the royal cruisers had brought in more than a thousand sheep and oxen, the cattle brought, at a public sale in Boston, prices ranging from fifteen to thirty-four pounds, and the sheep thirty shillings and upward.[1]

While the English army was thus confined, and reduced by sickness, the forces under Washington were steadily enlarging. Recruiting officers were bringing up the numbers of the regiments more nearly to the complement, and furloughs were granted more charily.

The Craigie House, Washington's Headquarters at Cambridge.

A return of August 19th shows a total on paper of 19,060, — an increase of 2,390, in six weeks since Washington took the command. Among the recruits were several companies of riflemen from Virginia, — one of them under the command of Captain Daniel Morgan, who at the news of the battle of Bunker Hill had started on the long march to Boston. These skilful marksmen, who, while rapidly advancing, could hit a target of seven inches at a distance of two hundred and fifty yards, were posted along the lines and were especially dreaded by the enemy. But the American army, as well as the

[1] A camp song of the period asks : —

"And what have you got, by all your designing,
But a town without dinner to sit down and dine in ?"

English, suffered from sickness. Thus, at the end of August, more than a quarter of the Connecticut contingent were returned as sick and unfit for active service.

Washington pushes on his works.

With the first moment of relief from the terrible lack of powder, Washington displayed that spirit of enterprise which was an essential trait of his character. He advanced his works on his extreme left by fortifying Ploughed Hill; though he supposed this might bring on an action, as the fortifying of Bunker Hill had done. The enemy did not move, however. Indeed, their only victory of the summer was an extraordinary paper victory. In two issues of the "Public Advertiser" in London, full detailed accounts were published of an attack led by General Howe in person, on the rebel works in Roxbury. These works were stormed and taken, and Generals Putnam and Lee were made prisoners, with twenty-five hundred of inferior rank. The English loss in this wholly fictitious victory was one hundred and fifty killed. For all this detail there was not the slightest foundation. Later intelligence, of course, showed that the readers of London had been imposed upon. It is but one of many such stories, which we must pass without mention, although they engaged public attention in their day, and had their share in influencing the opinion of the world. On the Continent such fictions were not so easily exposed as in England. Their circulation resulted in the most extraordinary notions of the contest, — absurd to any well-informed person, but not the less received because absurd. Such notions and the fictions from which they are formed, are not yet wholly eradicated from the popular impressions of Europe.[1]

English attack on Falmouth.

Until October, the English naval force, under Admiral Graves, had made no attack upon any point on the coast, except for the seizing of sheep or oxen for the army. But in that month, Graves, having consulted with Gage, before he left, sent the *Canceau*, Captain Mowatt, and an armed transport, the *Cat*, with two other vessels, to destroy Cape Ann (by which Gloucester is meant) and Falmouth, now Portland, in Maine. In Howe's despatch to the ministry, describing the result, he seems to wish to throw the responsibility upon Graves. The only excuse offered for burning the towns is, that they were distinguished for their opposition to Government.

The selectmen of Falmouth speak of the affair as Captain Mow-

[1] No more ridiculous illustrations of such exaggerations can be found than in Hilliard d'Auberteuil's Essays, already alluded to. Under the pen of this well-meaning writer, the forests of America, being as old as she is, furnish no wood young enough for the building of large ships! Charles Lee appears as the orator whose eloquence created the Revolution, which he then passed to Washington's more prudent hand.

att's personal retaliation on them, because he had been seized by some provincial troops soon after the battle of Lexington. He had been released at that time, but the town had refused to give up their guns or to send away the troops. Notice had afterwards been sent to Falmouth, that unless they permitted Captain Coulson, who had a ship there, to sail for England, their town should be "beat about their ears." This threat was accomplished by burning it on the 17th of October. Captain Mowatt offered at the last to spare it if the town would give up their cannons, small arms, and ammunition. But this was refused. One hundred and fifty houses were burned,[1] with all the churches and other public buildings.

This attack on an open town which offered and could offer no resistance, was the real declaration of war by England against America. Up to this time there had been a lingering notion among the Americans that the army in Boston was the objective, and that war existed only in Boston Bay. The royal commanders, not unnaturally, did not choose to be confined by any such understanding. Finding no enemy in arms anywhere else, they had nothing to attack but defenceless towns. General Greene says, in a letter from Cambridge of this date, "we are at loggerheads here, but at other places only sparring." The conflagration at Falmouth showed the country that war was war, — lawless and cruel. The correspondence and journals of the time all show that in this event a step and a long step was taken. So much further was reconciliation put out of the question.

Beginning of a navy.

The destruction of Falmouth proved the imperative necessity of measures to meet the enemy on the sea as well as on the land. Connecticut and Rhode Island had been peculiarly exposed, during the autumn, to incursions from the enemy. It was the sufferings of their people, probably, that moved the delegates of the latter province in Congress to suggest the formation of a navy, of which Esek Hopkins was appointed commodore. The frigate *Rose*, under the command of Captain Wallace, was, with a number of other vessels, stationed along the southern coast of New England, and their depredations upon the people were for months unceasing. Newport was seriously threatened in October, and many of her people fled with their household property to the surrounding country in the midst of a violent storm. Wallace consented to spare the town only on condition of being supplied with fresh provisions. Bristol fared even worse, for the town was bombarded, and many houses destroyed. At Jamestown, on the island of Conanicut, opposite Newport, a force landed in December, burnt houses and barns, plundered the people, and carried off all their live stock. Governor Cooke called out all the

[1] Howe, in his despatch to England, says five hundred.

minute men of the province, and asked of the commander-in-chief that a regiment of the line might be sent for its protection. The request was complied with, though it came at that critical moment when Washington was reorganizing the army around Boston, and not long after the troops from Connecticut, whose term of enlistment had expired, were in a state of mutiny. General Lee was sent to Newport at the head of eight hundred men.[1] He so disposed them as to give protection to the inhabitants in that neighborhood; and he suppressed with a strong hand those among the Tories who encouraged the enemy and gave information which made the depredations upon their neighbors easy, and at the same time insured their own protection.

The equipment of the little fleet of the New England colonies was slow, and its operations were insignificant, till, late in November, by a fortunate stroke, Manly, in the *Lee*, took the brigantine *Nancy*, bound from London, with military stores, which were most acceptable. "Two thousand muskets," "one hundred and five thousand flints," "sixty reams of cartridge-paper," thirty-one tons of musket-shot," "three thousand round-shot for 12-pounders, four thousand for 6-pounders." Such were some of the heads of the invoice of her stores as it opened before the delighted eyes of the general officers and their hard-pressed chief of engineers, who not long before had prepared a list, not dissimilar, of the necessities of the army. For the rest, the naval service was not yet organized. Washington says, bitterly, in a private letter, in November, "Our privateersmen go on at the old rate, — mutinying if they cannot do as they please." Such has proved to be the habit of privateersmen in most wars.

[1] Lee exacted an oath from the Tories, which Washington sent to Hancock as "a specimen of his abilities in that way." This "iron-clad" oath, Arnold (*History of Rhode Island*) gives in full, as follows: —

"I, John Bours, here, in the presence of Almighty God, as I hope for ease, honor, and comfort in this world, and happiness in the world to come, most earnestly, devoutly, and religiously swear, neither directly nor indirectly to assist the wicked instruments of ministerial tyranny and villany, commonly called the King's troops and navy, by furnishing them with provisions or refreshments of any kind, unless authorized by the Continental Congress or the Legislature, as at present established in this particular colony of Rhode Island. I do also swear by the same tremendous and Almighty God, that I will neither directly nor indirectly convey any intelligence, nor give any advice to the aforesaid enemies so described, and that I pledge myself, if I should, by any accident, get the knowledge of such treason, to inform immediately the Committee of Safety. And as it is justly allowed, that when the sacred rights and liberties of a nation are invaded, neutrality is not less base and criminal than open and avowed hostility, I do further swear and pledge myself, as I hope for eternal salvation, that I will, whenever called upon by the voice of the Continental Congress, or that of the Legislature of this particular colony, under their authority, take arms and subject myself to military discipline in defence of the common rights and liberties of America. So help me God. Sworn at Newport, December 25, 1775.

"JOHN BOURSE."

The attention and anxiety of the army, and of the Continental Congress, as well as the Congress of Massachusetts, were excited in the autumn by the discovery that Dr. Benjamin Church, a member of the House in Massachusetts, was communicating secretly with his brother-in-law in Boston. Church had been a prominent patriot, the friend of Warren and of the other Boston leaders. On the discovery of a letter in cipher from him to his brother-in-law, he was arrested. The letter was deciphered, and proved to contain accounts of the force of the Americans, with disparaging allusions to their commanders. Church was expelled from the Massachusetts Assembly. In his defence he said the letter was written not long after the battle at Bunker Hill. "Was there a man," he said, "who regarded his country, who would not then have sacrificed his life to obtain a tolerable accommodation?" He called attention to his exaggeration of the resources of the American army, and affected to have carried on the correspondence in the true interest of the country. But it was clear enough that his conception of that interest was not that of men who were now committed to open war. The Continental Congress took his case as their own, and put him in close confinement.[1]

Church's treachery.

The Continental Congress was still urging an attack upon Boston, "to break up the nest there," as Washington says. He held a council of general officers on the 18th of October, to consider the subject. They decided unanimously that such an attack was impracticable. Meanwhile the army itself was near its end. The enlistments did not hold the men, except in a few instances, beyond the close of the year. A committee, consisting of Franklin, Lynch, and Harrison, came from Philadelphia to Cambridge, to make the best arrangements for its renewal. But this renewal was attended with endless care and anxiety for all parties concerned. The original idea, to make an army in which there should be no regard to colonial lines, proved impracticable. Even if the officers assented, the men would not enlist unless they knew who was to command them. The abolition of the old colonial systems, which gave small regiments in some colonies and large ones in others, made another difficulty. A general order for the enlistment of the new army was issued as early as October 22d, but on the 28th of November only 3,500 men had enlisted on "the new establishment," as it was called. The change enabled the generals to drop officers of the lower grades, who had in any way forfeited confidence, and in the end it greatly improved the condition of the army. Yet to disband one

Condition of the army. Enlistments.

[1] He remained in prison for some months, and was then permitted to sail for the West Indies. The vessel in which he took passage was never heard of afterward.

army and recruit another in the face of an enemy, was, as Washington often said, a matter for the most serious anxiety. Changes, however, were absolutely necessary, and a great point was gained when, by the first of the year, the rëorganization was complete, though the army was reduced in numbers.

"The day [January 2, 1776] which gave being to the new army," Washington wrote to Reed, "but before the proclamation came to hand, we had hoisted the Union Flag, in compliment to the *United Colonies*." It happened that the King's speech had just been received in Boston, and copies of it were sent out to the American camp. The raising of this flag, and the discharge of thirteen guns that saluted it, were, not unnaturally, supposed by the British officers to be a token of rejoicing at the King's speech; for the flag itself, though it contained the thirteen stripes emblematic of the thirteen colonies, still retained the union of the British standard, the Crosses of St. George and St. Andrew. The Americans, when they learned of the misunderstanding of the English, indignantly made a bonfire of the royal speech, and it was in allusion to this incident that Washington wrote to Reed the words we have just quoted.

The American Flag.

Union Flag.

Previous to this time there had been no national flags. "Union Flags," as they were called, were sometimes used, but they were simply the British Standard, with the legend, "Liberty and Property," or "Liberty and Union," inscribed upon the field. It is not certain that there was any American flag displayed at the battle of Bunker Hill, though tradition says that one floated over Prescott's redoubt emblazoned with the words "Come if you Dare!"[1] A month after the battle, however, when the Declaration of the Continental Congress, setting forth the causes and necessity of taking up arms, was publicly read in the camp on Prospect Hill, a red flag, sent from Connecticut to General Putnam, was raised, on which were inscribed the words, "*Qui transtulit, sustinet*,"[2] and "An Appeal to Heaven." The flag of Massachusetts was white, with a pine tree in the centre, also bearing the motto, "An Appeal to Heaven," words taken from the closing paragraph of the "Address of the Provincial Congress of Massachusetts to their brethren in Great

Pine Tree Flag.

[1] Frothingham's *History of the Siege of Boston*.

[2] This is the motto of Connecticut.

Britain." This flag was on all the floating batteries, was borne by New Hampshire as well as Massachusetts regiments, and was suggested in October by Reed as the flag of all naval vessels. A blue flag with a white crescent was raised over the fortifications in South Carolina the same year, and the first naval flag was yellow, with a rattlesnake in the act of striking, and beneath, the motto, "Don't tread on me!" But the first recognized Continental standard was that alluded to by Washington in his letter to Reed, as raised in the camp around Boston on the 2d of January, 1776. This was superseded by a resolution of Congress, on the 14th of June, 1777, declaring "that the flag of the thirteen United Colonies be thirteen stripes, alternate red and white, and the union be thirteen stars, white in a blue field, representing a new constellation." With the addition of stars, this has continued to be the national standard.

Rattlesnake Flag.

But General Howe, shut up in Boston, was in a condition even more critical than that which gave Washington so much anxiety. It was easy enough to say in England that he had command of the sea. But, in truth, the naval force was crippled, or the officers said it was, for want of seamen; and Howe writes earnestly that more may be sent out. So weak was it, that he could not even provision his little army from the raids on the shores of a continent which his vessels should have commanded for a thousand miles. There was also a serious misunderstanding between Howe and Admiral Graves. Provisions of every kind, not only salt meats and flour, but corn, butter, potatoes, and eggs, were shipped to Howe from England and Ireland, sometimes, alas! to fall into the hands of the insignificant American cruisers in Boston Bay. Even live oxen, sheep, and hogs were sent from England in great numbers. But the vessels met bad weather at the outset. An exaggerated account, published in English journals at the time, says the English channel was covered with the bodies of sheep which had been thrown overboard. It is now known that not one animal from this extraordinary shipment ever arrived in Boston. That the Government made it, was a concession that their cause was desperate. How could they expect to regain a continent on which a little army of ten thousand men could not find enough provisions to keep them alive?

Howe's condition.

At this period public opinion continued to declare itself in England by the generous offerings of private subscriptions, either to solace the army by national sympathy, or to rebuke the Government by charities to those whom it was oppressing. "The King's friends," through all England, were not satisfied with

English aid to Howe's forces.

addresses formally presented, and subscribed liberally for comforts to be sent to the soldiers and sailors in Boston. On the other hand, when the news of the repulse at Lexington was received in England, friends of America placed one hundred pounds in Franklin's hands for the widows and orphans of the men killed by the troops that day. Afterwards, even to the end of the war, money was thus raised by subscription for American prisoners.

General Howe found difficulty even in providing barracks for his troops for the winter season. In summer many of them were encamped on Boston Common and on Bunker Hill. On the 26th of November, he wrote a despatch to Lord Dartmouth, explaining that he must winter in Boston, because he had not transports sufficient to move the force, as Dartmouth had suggested. For this purpose, he supposed that 35,000 tons of shipping were needed, and the whole force at his command was not 26,000 tons. Unwillingly, therefore, he stayed through the winter. He pulled down one meeting-house for fuel. He even mined coal in Cape Breton for the use of his army in Boston. As late as the 27th of November, some of his regiments were still under canvas. At this period he sent out to the Americans three hundred more of their countrymen, mostly women and children. These were provided for in Hampshire County, in western Massachusetts.

Amusements of the Boston garrison.

To amuse the officers and men, theatrical entertainments, almost for the first time in Puritan Boston, were given in Faneuil Hall. Up to this time General Burgoyne's reputation had been that of a man of letters rather than a soldier. Indeed, his military fame rested on a success in Portugal which, according to modern notions of war, can scarcely be called a skirmish. For the present purpose Burgoyne wrote a little play called "The Siege of Boston." While the play went on, a sergeant rushed upon the scenes, and announced that the Yankees were on Bunker Hill. The audience laughed, regarding the announcement as a part of the performance. But in a moment more the officers were ordered by General Howe to repair to their posts, and the audience broke up in the utmost confusion and alarm. One of Knowlton's Connecticut companies, by a bold raid, had crossed the Neck and had fired the bakery of the English contingent at Charlestown. In the midst of the severities of the campaign and the summer, Howe reports, with just pride, that he had lost but thirty-three men by desertion, in seven months after the battle of Lexington.[1] Burgoyne gave up his literary and

[1] This report gives a good test of the accuracy of our materials for history. It would not be difficult, from the American reports, to say at what dates most of these men deserted. Indeed, we have the accounts which many of them brought in. At a later period the desertions from the English force weakened it sorely.

military duties for the moment, and returned to England at the end of November. He had been six months in Boston, and had not yet made "elbow-room."

In a despatch of this date, General Howe confirms the ministry in a plan they had already determined on, for raising mercenaries in Hanover and Hesse. He says that the only recruits they can send from Great Britain will be men of the worst kind. Six or seven thousand will be needed, "who will be Irish Roman Catholics, certain to desert if put to hard work, and, from their ignorance of arms, not entitled to the smallest confidence as soldiers." To obviate this difficulty, he suggests incorporating with each English regiment one hundred trained soldiers from Hanover or from Hesse. Such were the reasons for Howe's inactivity during the critical period when Washington was renewing his army. The loss of the storeship *Nancy* brought another source of anxiety, which hung on him for three months more.

German mercenaries for the English army.

On the 3d of December, in a letter to Lord Dartmouth, he says: "The brigantine *Nancy* has been taken with four thousand stand of arms.[1] The circumstance is unfortunate, as it puts in the enemy's hands the means of setting the town on fire, as the vessel contains carcasses and other materials of like nature." Howe wrote as a soldier, and contemplated such a mode of attack as it might have been his duty to pursue under like circumstances. Had Washington acted only as a soldier, he would very probably have fired the town. The policy of doing so was openly considered in the American councils. On the 22d of December, the Continental Congress resolved, "That if General Washington and his council of war should be of opinion that a successful attack may be made on the troops in Boston, he do it in any manner he may think expedient, notwithstanding the town and property in it may be destroyed." In communicating this resolve, President Hancock wrote: "You will notice the resolution relative to an attack upon Boston. This passed after a most serious debate in a committee of the whole house, and the execution was referred to you. May God crown your attempt with success. I most heartily wish it, though individually I may be the greatest sufferer."

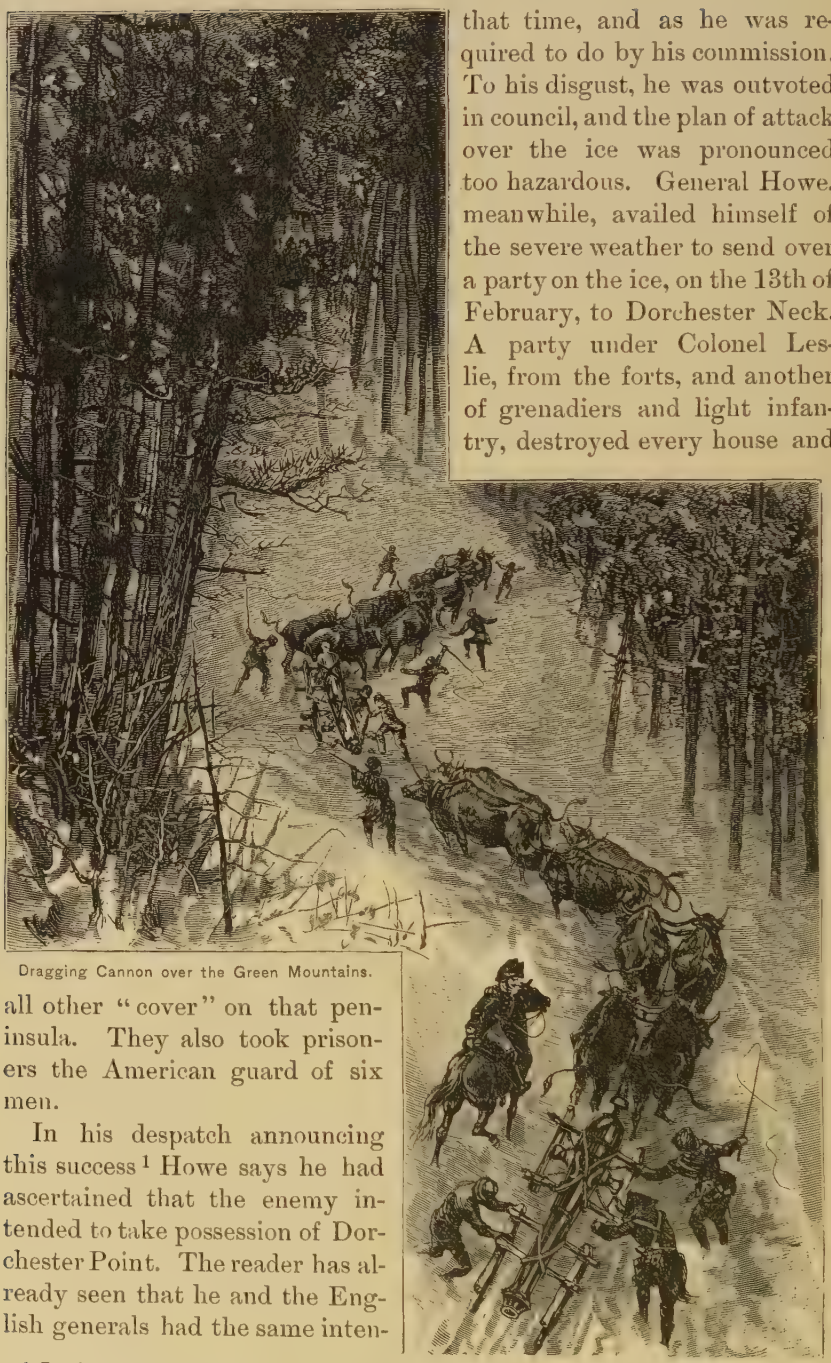
Suggestions for an attack on Boston

But Washington's intention was to cross on the ice, so soon as the Charles River, and what was known as the "Back Bay,"[2] should freeze. In most winters, this bay, at least, was frozen over. But this winter proved unusually mild, and no such opportunity offered itself until the middle of February. Washington then called a council of war, as was the fashion in all armies at

Dorchester Neck laid waste.

[1] An over-statement, as the reader has seen.

[2] Now covered with streets and houses.



Dragging Cannon over the Green Mountains.

that time, and as he was required to do by his commission. To his disgust, he was outvoted in council, and the plan of attack over the ice was pronounced too hazardous. General Howe, meanwhile, availed himself of the severe weather to send over a party on the ice, on the 13th of February, to Dorchester Neck. A party under Colonel Leslie, from the forts, and another of grenadiers and light infantry, destroyed every house and all other "cover" on that peninsula. They also took prisoners the American guard of six men.

In his despatch announcing this success[1] Howe says he had ascertained that the enemy intended to take possession of Dorchester Point. The reader has already seen that he and the English generals had the same inten-

[1] In all instances, we quote from Howe's manuscript despatches, now preserved in the English State Paper Office. Only a part of them have been printed in full.

tion as early as June of the preceding year. Why they did not seize these heights, after they were reënforced, it is difficult to say. Washington had refrained, not simply for want of powder, but from lack of heavy artillery. This lack was now supplied by the capture of the *Nancy* and the arrival of a train — brought as never cannon had been brought before — from Ticonderoga. So soon as the snows of winter served, the heavy guns needed for the American lines were brought, under the admirable direction of Henry Knox, now at the head of the artillery, on forty-two sleds, drawn by long teams of oxen, through the passes and over the ridges of the Green Mountains, and down through the hill country of New England, over roads which never bore a cannon before and have never borne one since. Their arrival at Cambridge was welcomed with enthusiasm. Had Howe only known it, with that arrival his easy winter was ended.

The American movement on Dorchester Heights.

Washington asked the Provincial Congress of Massachusetts to call out the militia of the neighborhood, and this was immediately done. Ten regiments of soldierly men came in at once, and so far reënforced his army. Ward, who commanded at Roxbury, was intrusted with the oversight of the movement upon Dorchester Heights, and the immediate direction of it was intrusted to John Thomas, also of Massachusetts, one of the brigadier-generals, an officer whose early death, before this year was ended, was a serious loss to the American cause. The earth was frozen hard, so that such works as were thrown up on a summer's night at Bunker Hill were impossible. Fascines were collected, and what the military language of that day called "chandeliers," which were a kind of foundation for fascines.

On the night of Saturday, the 2d of March, 1776, a vigorous cannonade was begun from the American works to the north of Boston, and it was maintained through the nights of the 3d and 4th, to divert the attention of the English. At the least, the noise of the cannonade might overpower the sound made by Thomas's long train as it passed over frozen ground. As soon as this firing began on Monday evening, he moved from Roxbury with twelve hundred men, and took possession, without discovery, of the higher hill, that farthest from Boston, which at that time commanded Nook's Hill, nearer to the town. Four hundred yoke of oxen drew the materials for the works, and this train passed unnoticed by the English sentries, hardly a mile away on Boston Neck. When Thomas was fairly intrenched, a heavy reënforcement joined him. The movement corresponded precisely to what the movement on Bunker Hill would have been had the party intrenched the higher summit there. The men worked with energy, and by morning a respectable defence and battery were constructed,

wholly to the surprise of the English officers. The work was planned, as was that so well tested at Bunker Hill, by the veteran Gridley, who had the assistance of Colonel Putnam. Howe was astonished. He wrote to the minister that this must have been the work of twelve thousand men. One of his officers said the suddenness of the whole recalled the wonderful eastern stories of enchantment and invisible agency. Howe knew, of course, and the Admiral immediately notified him, that the fleet could not remain in safety under the fire of these guns. That evening, Howe sent three thousand men, under Lord Percy, to Castle William, which is on an island about a mile from the extreme point of Dorchester Neck, most distant from the town.

North End of Boston. From an Old Print.

Washington's plans.

Percy's instructions were, to attack the newly-built works on their eastward or southern side, where it must have been supposed that they were not so strong as in front. But a violent storm that night and the next morning broke up his plan of attack, and that day was lost. Washington, of course, expected such an attack. He relied on Thomas and his party to repel it, from works which were much stronger than those on Bunker Hill. While it engaged the enemy, Putnam was to attack the town on the western side, where Greene's and Sullivan's brigades of four thousand men were in readiness. Greene was to have landed with his men near the ground now occupied by the gardens of the Massachusetts Hospital. Sullivan was to land a little farther south, — not far north of the present line of Beacon Street. Had they succeeded, they would have moved south on the English works at Boston Neck, to admit the American troops at Roxbury. Three floating batteries were prepared, which should move in advance of the troops, and clear the ground for their landing.

BOSTON
With its Environs
in
1775 & 1776.
Miles
1
2
MEDFORD
to Lexington
Winter Hill
Fort
Mystic River
Ploughed Hill
Redoubt
Prospect Hill
Fort
Charlestown Neck
Malden River
to Malden
to Watertown
Washington's Head quarters
College
CAMBRIDGE
Fort No. 2
Cobble Hill
Fort No. 1
Redoubt
Mill Pond
Floating Battery
Phips's Farm
Redoubt
Battle
June 17th 1775
Morton's Pt
Brooking Pt
Sewall's Farm
Gun Battery
CHARLESTOWN
Winnisimet Ferry
Mill Pond
Noddles Island
North Battery
Hancocks Wharf
Long Wharf
Foot Battery
Floating Battery
South Battery
Gibbs's Hill
Mudd River
3 Gun Batty
Redoubt
ROXBURY
Roxbury Fort
to Providence
Right Wing
Gen.l Ward
Nooks Hill
Dorchester Heights
3 Gun Batty
DORCHESTER
Dorchester Point
Castle Island

We shall never know what would have been the success of this bold plan, — bold enough to redeem Washington from the imputation, sometimes thrown at him, of excessive caution. He thought well of it. His officers thought well of it. The men were in high spirits and well led. The 5th of March, when he supposed it would be executed, was the anniversary of the Boston Massacre. Only a year before Warren had told Knox and others of those men in the Old South Meeting-house, of the dangers of standing armies. Only a year ago he had painted that touching picture of George and Liberty seated together on an American throne. Everything had happened since that commemoration!

But the English did not move on the new works, which with every hour's delay grew stronger. Washington now prepared to extend them, and to seize Nook's Hill, closer to Boston, — immediately opposite it, indeed. To continue the comparison with the other peninsula, Nook's Hill was for Dorchester Neck what Breed's Farm, the site of Prescott's redoubt, was for Bunker Hill. On the night of the 9th he would have intrenched that hill. But on the 8th a flag of truce from Howe appeared, with a note from the selectmen of Boston, giving information that General Howe was determined to leave Boston with the army under his command. They said that he had assured them he would not destroy the town unless his troops were molested in their embarkation. They said their fears were quieted with regard to General Howe's intentions; and they begged "that they might have some assurance that so dreadful a calamity might not be brought on by any measures from without."

Howe was not unwilling to adopt this indirect way of communication with his enemy, for which he had no lack of precedents in the etiquette of the wars of Frederick. Washington would not receive the message, which was not, indeed, addressed to him. But it answered every purpose, and without other official communication on either side, Howe was permitted to embark his forces without molestation. He had abandoned the plan of assaulting Thomas's works, and had determined to evacuate Boston.

Howe evacuates Boston.

On the nights of the 9th, 10th, and 11th, Washington continued the bombardment, and the enemy replied. But these were the last movements of offence or of defence. All Saturday night the explosions were heard, by which Howe destroyed the property he could not take away. On the morning of Sunday, the 17th of March, he sailed with his whole army, hastened, as it appeared, by the work on Nook's Hill, which Washington had at last fortified. It was just three months since he had notified the English minister that he had not transports sufficient for more than two thirds of his force. Not a vessel had

joined him in the interval. But under the spur of necessity the navy and the transports proved sufficient. General Putnam immediately marched into Charlestown, and took the English fort on Bunker Hill, which was held by two wooden sentries. General Ward sent a party from Roxbury across the Neck, and the siege of Boston was ended.

Entry of the Americans.

The selectmen notified Ward that the small-pox was in the city, and advised that those of the army not "protected" should not enter. But on Monday the great body of the army marched in. The returns of Howe's force, on the day he left, show that he had in all eight thousand nine hundred and six officers and men. They sailed in seventy-eight ships and transports. With him he took about eleven hundred loyalists, either old residents of Boston or others who had come into the town from the country to escape the persecutions of their neighbors. Many of these never returned to their native land. A large number of them settled in Nova Scotia, and were a valuable addition to the population of that colony.[1]

The larger part of Howe's squadron proceeded directly to Halifax. The naval ships loitered in the outer harbor of Boston, and elsewhere in Massachusetts Bay, to give notice to vessels from England, that they might not fall into the hands of the American army. But "the continent," from Canada to Florida, was freed from the royal army. Less than one year of vigorous assertion of the rights under which they had lived from the beginning, had, for the moment, given such an answer to the repressive measures of the English Crown. The joy was universal. The handful of residents left in Boston received the army as liberators. Washington entered the town with ceremony which is still remembered in tradition. The long street by which he came, yielded in time its historical names to his. "The Neck," which was the local name of the Isthmus, "Orange Street," which commemorated the Liberator of England, "Newbury Street," which told the tale of Charles's disgrace, "Marlborough Street," named in honor of the conqueror of Blenheim, and "Corn Hill," which fondly recalled memories of London, — all these names gave way, that "Washington Street" might remind the town of him who freed it from the first army of strangers that ever stood within its borders. Congress ordered a gold medal struck, to be presented to him. It is the first in the numismatic history of independent America, and bears the proud motto, "HOSTIBUS PRIMO FUGATIS."[2]

"As I passed through the town," — wrote one who entered it the day after the evacuation,[3] — "it gave me much pain of mind to see the

[1] See, for details, Sabine's *American Loyalists*.

[2] The original medal, in the fortunes of an expiring family, and afterward of civil war, came into the possession of the Massachusetts Historical Society.

[3] Diary of Ezekiel Price, published in *Proceedings of Mass. Hist. Soc.*, November, 1863

havoc, waste, and destruction of those houses, fences, and trees in the town, occasioned by those sons of Belial, who have near a year past had the possession." The Old South Church had been used as a riding-school for the soldiers; the West Church and the church in Hollis Street, at the South End, had been used as barracks; the Old North had been taken down and used as fire-wood, — in revenge, it was said, of the signal lanterns hung in its belfry on the eve of the movement on Concord. Faneuil Hall had been made a play-house. But the wonder is that there had not been more destruction of private and of public property, when it is remembered that this town, beleaguered for nine months, was in possession of the enemy. If Howe made use of public buildings, and permitted the destruction of some old buildings for fuel, let it be said that he used all his authority to restrain wanton destruction and robbery. There was much of it in the last week of British possession, but he threatened death to the perpetrators.

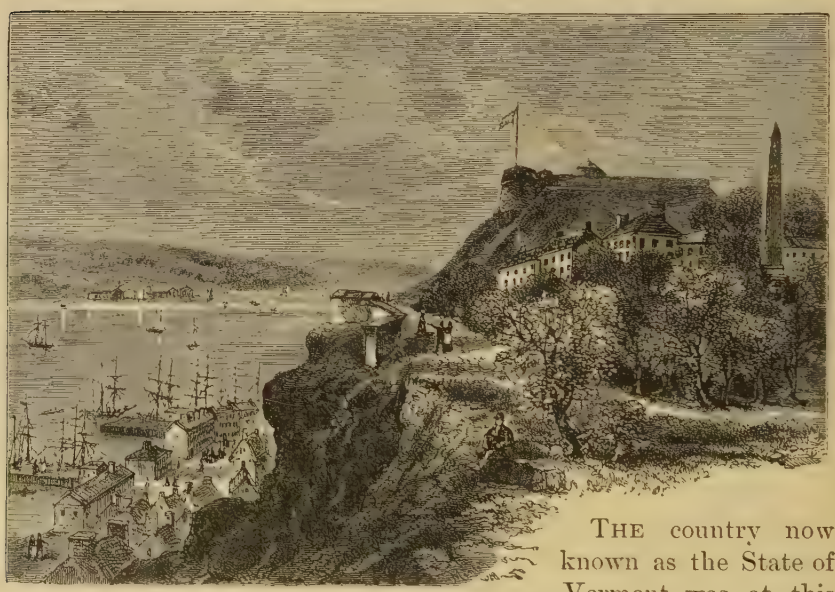
Washington's Medal.

It had been known ever since October, that English expeditions were proposed to seize Hudson River and New York. To arrange the resistance to these, General Lee had been stationed at New York, and extensive works of fortification had been planned. Now, when Howe left Boston, Washington believed that New York was the destination of his fleet and army. He immediately sent forward General Heath with the whole body of riflemen and five battalions, and General Sullivan with six battalions, to meet this expected invasion. General Putnam was ordered to New York to take command, and to carry out, so far as he thought advisable, Lee's plans of defence, till the Commander-in-chief should arrive and assume the direction of affairs.

CHAPTER XVII.

THE NORTHERN CAMPAIGN OF 1775.

THE DISPUTE CONCERNING THE TERRITORY OF VERMONT. — THE GREEN MOUNTAIN BOYS. — ALLEN'S EXPEDITION AGAINST TICONDEROGA. — ARNOLD CLAIMS COMMAND. — CAPTURE OF TICONDEROGA AND CROWN POINT. — EXPEDITION DOWN LAKE CHAMPLAIN. — RICHARD MONTGOMERY. — SIEGE OF ST. JOHN'S. — EXPEDITION TO FORT CHAMBLY. — CAPTURE OF MONTREAL. — ARNOLD'S EXPEDITION THROUGH MAINE TO CANADA, AND ITS SUPPOSED IMPORTANCE. — ITS UNEXPECTED DIFFICULTIES. — OPERATIONS BEFORE QUEBEC. — DEFEAT AND DEATH OF MONTGOMERY. — WOOSTER TAKES COMMAND. — THE FINAL FAILURE.



Citadel of Quebec.

THE country now known as the State of Vermont was at this time a wilderness, just beginning to be occupied, and was the scene of intercolonial strife.

The Vermont dispute.

"The Grants" was the popular name for a tract first settled by emigrants from New Hampshire, who held the title to their lands under grant of the Governor of that State. But New

York claimed a prior right to the territory as far east as the Connecticut River. In 1749, the township of Bennington, the first in the territory, was granted under a patent from Governor Benning Wentworth, of New Hampshire; and although New York remonstrated, successive grants continued to be made until 1764, when an appeal to the Crown brought the decision that the Connecticut River, north of the Massachusetts line, was the boundary between New York and New Hampshire. It would have made little difference to the settlers in this new country, who had come not only from New Hampshire, but from the western districts of Massachusetts and Connecticut, under which colony they held title to their land, but the New York government, under this decree of the Crown, began to grant new patents covering the property already occupied and improved, and requiring fees and other charges to secure New York titles. The colonists, almost without exception, resisted these claims, and a warm conflict followed. The colonists were without regular government; they had no town, for it was not till after 1780 that Bennington had even a country store. There were no wagon-roads, and scarcely even foot-paths through the wilderness; but blazed trees marked the thin lines of routes that were afterward to become highways. At first the action of the New York government was resisted in the courts of Albany, and that proving of no avail, the colonists in the Grants formed a league for mutual protection, and received the officers of the Crown, who came with writs of possession, in a manner that was termed rebellious by the authorities, and self-defensive by the mountaineers. Under the name of Green Mountain Boys, they held a rude military organization, and resistance to the processes of law was so far formal and combined that a price was set on the heads of the leaders, and they were treated as outlaws.

Condition of the country.

The Green Mountain Boys.

The nearest military posts were Ticonderoga and Crown Point. From the former, especially, officers of the Crown came with their demands to the farms that lay scattered on the slopes of the Green Mountains, and the fort was looked upon as the gateway to the Grants from New York. At this time (1775), it was falling out of repair, and was garrisoned by about fifty men, but contained a considerable supply of military stores. It held at once the outlook toward Canada and the nearest approach to the unruly people of the Grants. To western New England it was the best known fortified post, and the one most identified with the frontier life, while in the East it had a wide fame through its recent history. To this point, therefore, many eyes were turned when the difficulties with Great Britain began to reach open warfare. The Green Moun-

Importance of Ticonderoga.

tain Boys, by a succession of individual encounters, had become accustomed to the idea of fighting, and there were no such restraints upon them as held back the people of more conservative and law-abiding sections. The first tidings of war found them eager to act on the offensive, especially toward the point which represented to them the only British tyranny they had known.

John Brown's mission to Canada.

In the winter of 1775, John Brown, of Pittsfield, a lawyer and an ardent patriot, who was in the counsels of the Boston committee, made a journey through the Grants to Canada, to discover the temper of the Canadians towards the British Government, and to secure, if possible, assurances of organized aid for the other colonies. In his letter from Montreal to the Committee of Correspondence in Boston, — Adams and Warren, — dated March 29, 1775, he informs them that he has established a channel of communication through the New Hampshire Grants, which may be depended upon, and adds: "One thing I must mention, to be kept a profound secret. The Fort at *Ticonderoga* must be seized as soon as possible, should hostilities be committed by the King's troops. The people on *New Hampshire Grants* have engaged to do this business, and, in my opinion, they are the most proper persons for this job." It does not appear that the Massachusetts Committee took, at the time, any steps to accomplish this object. But when the news of Lexington was spread abroad, both Massachusetts and Connecticut were alive with volunteers hurrying to the camp at Cambridge, while delegates to the Congress, about to assemble at Philadelphia, were passing through the country, consulting with patriots on the road. In Connecticut and western Massachusetts, the first thought was at once of Ticonderoga; its stores were coveted, and its undefended condition was known.

Effect of the Battle of Lexington.

Colonel Parsons, of Connecticut, was on his way from Oxford to Hartford, when he fell in with Captain Benedict Arnold, who was hurrying from New Haven over the same road to Watertown. Captain Arnold's intention was to obtain a commission from the Provincial Congress at Watertown, that he might raise a company for the capture of Ticonderoga. Parsons reached Hartford on the morning of the 27th of April, immediately consulted with five other gentlemen, communicating to them Arnold's information, and proposed that they should at once take secret measures for an expedition against the fort. Procuring £300 from the treasury on their own responsibility, they sent off two men, — Romans, who had been an engineer in the British service, and Noah Phelps, of Simsbury, on their way to the Grants, apparently, for no positive information exists on this point, — with instructions to put means in the hands of

Action of Parsons and Arnold.

the Green Mountain Boys to carry out their plans.[1] On Friday, the 28th, Captain Edward Mott, arriving in Hartford, saw Leffingwell, one of the gentlemen who had engaged with Parsons. In answer to inquiries respecting affairs at Boston, he said that the great lack of military stores could be best remedied by a sudden attack upon Ticonderoga. Leffingwell, consulting with Parsons and Silas Deane, determined that Mott should take five or six men with him, overtake Romans and Phelps, and act in concert with them; his instructions being to proceed at once to the Grants, and there enlist men for the expedition.

Designs on Ticonderoga.

Mott overtook Romans and Phelps at Salisbury on the 30th, and the party, consisting now of sixteen men, held on together northward. At Sheffield they sent two men, Halsey and Stephens, to Albany, to discover the temper of the people there, and proceeded to Pittsfield, which they reached on the first day of May. Here they lodged at Colonel Easton's, and fell in with John Brown. Their instructions had been to keep their own counsel, and not to enlist men until they reached the Grants; but Brown, who knew the country well, and was already a prominent patriot, at once won their confidence, and, with Easton, strenuously advised them to raise a portion of their forces in the more closely-settled country in which they then were. Both Easton and Brown joined them, and the former assisted Mott in enlisting men in Williamstown and Jericho, now Hancock. At Bennington there was a rendezvous, and two men — Hickok and Phelps — made an excursion to Ticonderoga to get exact information of the condition of the fort. Phelps, disguising himself, entered the fort as a countryman who desired to be shaved, and, while hunting for the barber, asked questions and kept his eyes open, playing the part of an ignorant rustic. Men were sent out on all the roads leading to the lake, to intercept passers and prevent knowledge of the movement reaching the fort, and the whole company was instructed to meet at Castleton for a final rendezvous. Here Allen, with his Green Mountain Boys, was ready for the attack, and the command of the principal body of troops was given to him. On the 8th of May the final plans were laid. Allen, with one hundred and forty men, was to go to the lake by way of Shore-

Ethan Allen.

[1] Romans and Phelps's expedition became at once merged in Mott's, whose course is clearly laid down; but in Bernard Romans's account with the Colony of Connecticut for moneys expended in the capture of Ticonderoga, there is this item: "*Paid Heman Allen going express after Ethan Allen, 120 miles,* £2. 16*s.*" (*Rev. Papers*, vol. iii. p. 26.) Heman Allen was a brother of Ethan, living in Salisbury, Conn., and Ethan's acknowledged leadership of the Green Mountain Boys indicates that Romans's first business was to send with despatch to the leader of the forces that were relied upon to take Ticonderoga. Something, moreover, of the nature of these first orders may be inferred from the subsequent orders given to Mott.

ham, opposite Ticonderoga. Thirty men, under Captain Herrick, were to advance to Skenesborough and capture Major Skene and his party, and then drop down the lake to join Allen, carrying boats from Skenesborough to assist in transporting the troops.

Allen had gone forward to Shoreham on the 8th, and the party under orders for Skenesborough was in readiness, when suddenly an officer appeared through the woods, attended by a servant, and hurrying to the camp. It was Benedict Arnold, who had remained in Cambridge and Watertown only long enough to lay his plans before the Committee and to receive a commission as "colonel and commander-in chief over a body of men not exceeding four hundred," to be enlisted for the reduction of Ticonderoga. He had set out at once for western Massachusetts to raise men for his command, and there learning that a party from Connecticut had just been over the same ground, he left a few officers to enlist troops, and made all haste to Castleton. Presenting himself before Mott and Easton, he announced the action of the Massachusetts Committee, and asserted his right to command the forces. They showed him their plans and took him into their counsels, but he declared they had no proper orders, and insisted upon his own superior rank and commission. The movement on their part was indeed voluntary, appointed by a self-elected committee in Connecticut, and associated with an outlaw military organization. Arnold's claim was strong, if the Massachusetts Committee had legal authority, with the right to punish for contumacy; but then Mott and Easton had the men whom they had engaged, and had promised they should be commanded by their own officers. They refused to surrender the command to Arnold. He was not to be put down, but the next morning set off to overtake and supersede Allen.

Arnold overtakes Allen's expedition

And claims the command.

He came up with Allen apparently some time before nightfall of the same day, when the advance party was at Hand's Cove, on the eastern shore of the lake, preparing to cross. Here he found himself in the midst of men making ready for action. With them he took part in the crossing of the lake, which, owing to the difficulty of procuring boats, was not wholly effected when day broke on the morning of the 10th of May. Allen was impatient of delay, and fearful lest if they waited for the entire body to cross they should lose the golden opportunity of surprising the fort, he addressed his men, eighty-three in number, telling them of the hazard of the enterprise, and calling for volunteers to follow him in an immediate attack. Not one of the men drew back. A lad living near by, familiar with the approaches, was their guide, and Allen gave the word to advance. Arnold again stepped forward and claimed the command. He was a reckless, daring

man, and the adventure exactly suited his nature, but it was an adventure where he must lead and not follow. Allen, having his own men behind him, was no less courageous and was naturally enraged at this interference. He was for putting Arnold under guard; but one of his friends, seeing the peril of the enterprise, if the dispute continued, proposed that the two men should march side by side. The compromise was accepted, and the column advanced quickly to the wicket-gate. A sentry posted there snapped his fusee, but it missed fire, and as Allen rushed upon him, he retreated with a shout through the covered way within the fort. The assailing party followed at his heels, Allen and Arnold vying in the race for leadership. The fort was surprised, and the victory was already won without a blow, as the Green Mountain Boys set up a shout on the parade facing the barracks.

Surprise of the fort.

It was so early that the garrison was still asleep. Allen forced one of the sentries to show him the commanding officer's quarters, and standing at the entrance he called on Captain Delaplace to come forth and surrender his garrison. The Captain sprang out of bed, and, half dressed, made his appearance at the door: "By what authority?" he said. "In the name of the great Jehovah and the Continental Congress!"[1] was Allen's answer. Delaplace, seeing the uncouth figure before him, was ready to dispute the commission; but Allen, with his sword, was an unequal disputant. The commander yielded, and ordered his men to be paraded without arms. The surrender threw into the hands of the Green Mountain Boys one captain, one lieutenant, and forty-eight subalterns and privates, exclusive of women and children, all of whom were sent to Hartford. The capture of stores and military material included a hundred and twenty pieces of cannon.[2] The first surrender of the British was on the day of meeting of the second Continental Congress.

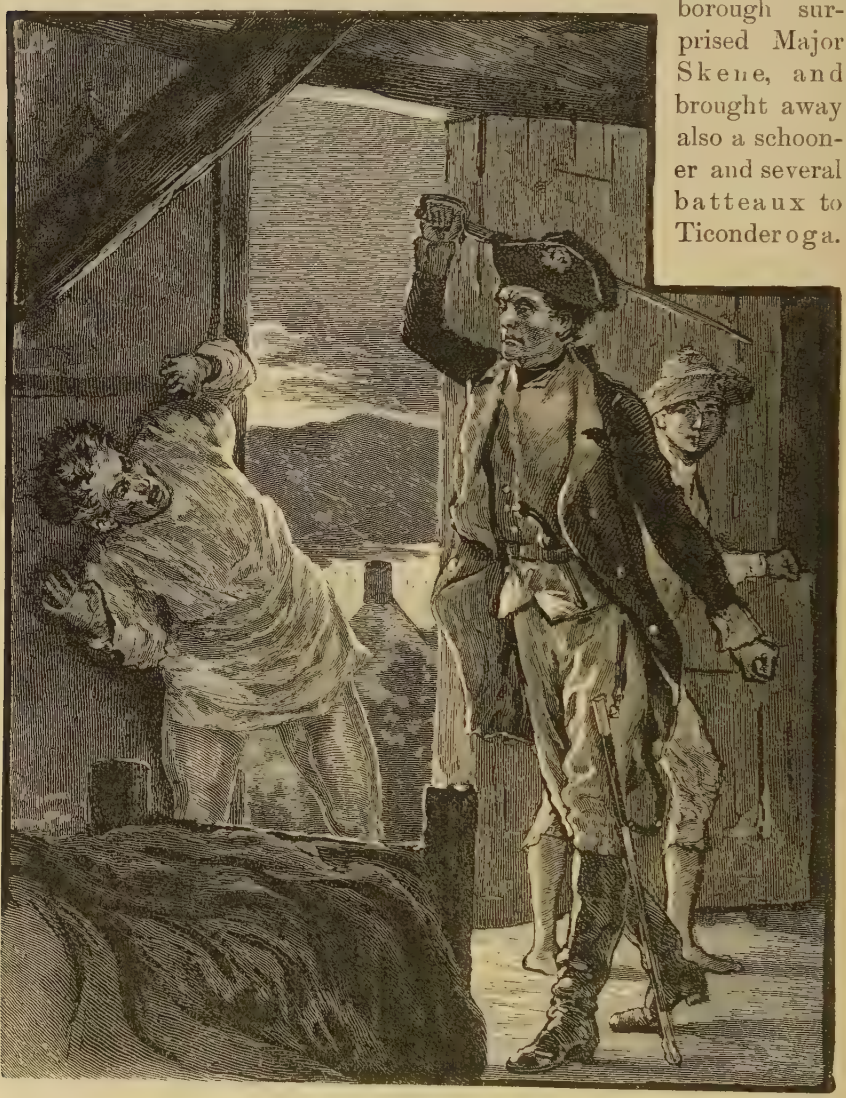
While these events were occurring in the fort, Colonel Seth Warner

[1] This swaggering demand rests upon Allen's own narrative, and has been called in question by those who, looking closely, perceive that Allen was a disbeliever in Jehovah as having anything to do with American affairs, and that the Congress, though called, had not actually assembled. It is quite possible that Allen has glorified himself somewhat; but the phrase was possible to him, for, though a vain, he was a genuinely brave man.

[2] The authorities for the movement against Ticonderoga are chiefly to be found in Captain Mott's Journal, with illustrative documents, published in *Conn. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, vol. i., pp. 163–188, Ethan Allen's narrative of the capture of Ticonderoga, and the correspondence and newspaper reports collected in the appendix to Hon. L. E. Chittenden's address before the Vermont Historical Society, October 2, 1872, published by the society. See, also, Governor Hiland Hall's paper, read before the same society, October 19, 1869, and other contributions to the controversy by B. F. De Costa in *The Galaxy* magazine for December, 1868, Prof. George W. Benedict, in the *Burlington Free Press*, and J. Hammond Trumbull, in the *Hartford Courant*.

was bringing the rear guard across the lake, and was immediately despatched with about one hundred men to take possession of Crown Point, which was garrisoned only by a sergeant and twelve men. The capture was effected without difficulty, and a hundred cannon were secured. The party sent to Skenesborough surprised Major Skene, and brought away also a schooner and several batteaux to Ticonderoga.

Capture of Crown Point and Skenesborough.



Allen capturing Delaplace.

An armed force was now in possession of these two strongholds, with considerable material of war and transports. The quarrel for

command was at once renewed by Arnold. He wrote letters stating his grievances to the Massachusetts committee; but Allen was the accepted leader of the men, and Massachusetts, upon an understanding of the situation, complimented Arnold, but referred him for orders to Connecticut, since that colony had actually planned the expedition. Connecticut was in no mind to prefer Arnold to Allen.

Meanwhile, the operations went on, and Arnold and Allen carried on a species of off-hand freebooting together, for Arnold's audacity, and a knowledge in certain directions superior to Allen's, made him a useful ally. There was a sloop-of-war lying at St. John's, and it was proposed to take the schooner and batteaux already captured, get possession of the sloop, and make a descent upon the garrison. This done, Lake Champlain would be entirely in the hands of the patriots. Arnold, as the better seaman, was placed in charge of the schooner, while Allen followed with the batteaux. On the evening of the 17th of May, Arnold, being within thirty miles of St. John's, and becalmed, took to the batteaux, reached the sloop in the night, surprised it, captured a few men, and hastened back to Ticonderoga, without possessing himself of the place, since he learned that reënforcements were on the way from Montreal. On his return, he met Allen a little below, who undertook to form an ambuscade and intercept the reënforcements; but his men were fatigued, and when in the morning they were attacked by a superior force, they retreated to the batteaux and returned to Ticonderoga with a trifling loss in prisoners.

Minor operations.

Allen urged vehemently the immediate use of Lake Champlain as a basis of operations against Canada; but it was a month before the importance of the position was clearly seen, and meanwhile the Continental Congress, fearful lest these operations should bring them into difficulty, were half disposed to avoid responsibility, and required a complete inventory of the captured stores to be taken, against a possible restoration of them to Great Britain in event of an adjustment of the differences. Arnold, unable to accept a second place in any command, took up his quarters at Crown Point, where he was left to himself by Allen and Easton. When a committee arrived from Massachusetts to settle the disputes which had arisen, he instigated his few followers to mutiny, and threatened a withdrawal of the vessels which he controlled to St. John's, for the purpose of delivering them and his command to the enemy, if he could not carry out his own plans. Colonel Hinman, with a thousand men, had been appointed by Connecticut to take possession of Ticonderoga, and the difficulty was finally settled by the resignation of Arnold on June 24.

Timidity of Congress.

Arnold's persistence.

When it became known to Congress that General Carleton, Governor of Canada, was fortifying St. John's, building boats, and preparing to re-occupy Crown Point and Ticonderoga, a resolution was adopted (June 27) instructing General Schuyler to repair without delay to Ticonderoga, and "if he found it practicable, and it would not be disagreeable to the Canadians, immediately to take possession of St. John's and Montreal, and pursue any other measures in Canada which might have a tendency to promote the peace and security of these colonies." The attitude of the Canadians towards the belligerents was one of great uncertainty. Governor Carleton thought the gentlemen, the clergy, and most of the bourgeois faithful to the King; but he was scarcely able to raise a company of militia, although large bounties of land were offered to volunteers. Schuyler, on his part, found it hard to secure any trustworthy intelligence from Montreal and Quebec. There were sympathizers with the American party in each place, and a committee of correspondence at Montreal; but exact information as to the active coöperation which might be expected from the people was not easily to be had. The general impression was, that the common people would at least maintain a neutrality, and, in event of the success of the Americans, would range themselves on their side. The attitude of the Indian tribes gave still greater anxiety. The powerful influence exerted by Sir William Johnson over the New York Indians had, after his death (1774), passed into the hands of his son-in-law and nephew, Guy Johnson, now Indian Agent, and his son, Sir John Johnson, both of whom were bitter Tories. At first covertly, afterward openly, they estranged the Indians of the Mohawk Valley from the Americans, and brought about an active alliance with the authorities in Canada. Schuyler sent Ethan Allen and Major John Brown into the country lying between Lake Champlain and Montreal, to discover the true condition of affairs there, and if possible to persuade the Canadians and the Indians of that country to ally themselves with the Americans.

The invasion of Canada proposed.

The Indian element.

Meanwhile volunteers came in slowly, and the absence of any controlling authority not only caused a conflict between the Provincial and Continental Congresses, but rendered the soldiers insubordinate and quarrelsome. Supplies and ammunition came slowly and irregularly, so that it was the middle of August before Schuyler was in any degree prepared to move his troops. At this time Major Brown returned and reported that there were seven hundred regular troops in Canada, three hundred of whom were at St. John's, and that Sir John Johnson was at Montreal with three hundred Tories and some Indians, endeavoring to persuade the Caughnawagas to take up the hatchet

for the King. In a few days came intelligence that Carleton was about to move up the lake to attack Ticonderoga.

At length the expedition of about twelve hundred men, which had waited for a favorable wind, sailed down the lake. The whole force fell short of two thousand. Schuyler's chief subordinate officer was General Richard Montgomery, an Irishman, who had been in the British service, and was with Amherst in the campaign of 1759 when Wolfe captured Quebec, but had subsequently settled in New York and married into the Livingston family. He was a tall, handsome, spirited man, who drew to himself the admiration of the soldiers and the confidence of his fellow-officers. Upon him the command shortly fell; for Schuyler, disabled by illness, was compelled to return to Ticonderoga by the middle of September, before any very positive advance had been made.

Expedition down Lake Champlain.

Richard Montgomery.

Richard Montgomery.

At the Isle aux Noïx a boom was thrown across the channel to prevent the passage of the enemy's sloop-of-war, and an armed camp was formed. One or two skirmishes occurred, in which the insubordination and cowardice of the soldiers almost completely disheartened Montgomery. "I am," he writes to his wife, "so exceedingly out of spirits and so chagrined with the behavior of the troops, that I most heartily repent having undertaken to lead them . . . . Such a set of pusillanimous wretches never were collected. Could I, with decency, leave the army in its present situation, I would not serve an hour longer. . . . . We were so unfortunate as to have some Canadians witnesses of our disgrace. What they will think of the *brave Bostonians*, I know not."[1] Montgomery proceeded to invest St. John's, while Schuyler, remaining at Albany, used his utmost exertions to forward men and supplies.

The siege, which lasted nearly two months, was a severe test of the raw, undisciplined troops. Sickness prevailed, and homesickness was

[1] *Biographical Notes concerning General Richard Montgomery, together with hitherto unpublished Letters.* By L. L. H. 1876. p. 11. "Bostonians" was a term frequently applied to the American forces.

almost as potent, while the insubordination was so great that it was even a matter of policy at times to submit important movements to the vote of the rank and file. The independence and self-assertion of the soldiers showed itself in other ways. Ethan Allen, on his way to Montgomery's camp, with about eighty Canadians whom he had enlisted, fell in with Major Brown at the head of two hundred Americans and Canadians. Brown, who was almost as much of a free lance as Allen, proposed that they should make a sudden attack with their united party on Montreal, where he declared there were not more than thirty men in garrison, and where the townspeople were largely American in their sympathies. Allen eagerly accepted the proposition. The plan was, to cross the St. Lawrence with their respective forces above and below the city in the night, and at daybreak, upon a given signal, to make a simultaneous attack. The night was blustering, and the passage of the river dangerous and tedious; but by early dawn all of Allen's band stood upon the shore, waiting anxiously for the huzzas from Brown's party. They waited in vain. Brown had failed to keep his agreement, and Allen's forces, too weak to effect the surprise of the city alone, were set upon by the garrison, and, after a brave defence, in which some forty of the Americans fell, were overpowered and made prisoners. Allen was among them, and was sent to England.

Siege of St. John's.

Abortive attack on Montreal.

This affair was not approved by Montgomery, though not unknown to him; but he was still powerless to exercise that complete control over his ill-assorted troops which was essential to military discipline and success.

But an expedition against the fort at Chambly was more successful. The fort was taken with the aid of some of the inhabitants of the district, and its large stores of ammunition and provisions were of material aid to the army encamped under the walls of St. John's. Carleton made an effort to relieve the garrison there, but was repulsed, and at length, on the 2d of November, Major Preston, in command at St. John's, hearing of Carleton's repulse, and seeing no chance of relief, surrendered the fort and led out his troops, already in peril of starvation. Nearly five hundred regular troops, the greater part of the British army in Canada, thus fell into the hands of the Americans.

Expedition to Fort Chambly.

Surrender of St. John's.

The road was now open to Montreal, and Montgomery, advancing to Sorel, ordered a detachment to cross the St. Lawrence. He posted his forces to prevent any communication between Montreal and Quebec, and established batteries upon both banks of the river. Carleton was in the town, but he was surrounded

Montgomery captures Montreal.

by a timid and half-hearted populace, who were chiefly fearful lest their property should be destroyed. He left them to their fate, taking the little garrison with him, and on the 13th of November Montgomery marched into the town.

While these events were in progress, a supporting column had set out for Canada by another route, almost simultaneously with Montgomery's departure from Ticonderoga, and had fought its way against natural obstacles more serious than the forts which lay in Montgomery's path. While Schuyler was perfecting his plans for the northern campaign, he heard rumors that a portion of the British fleet had left Boston for the St. Lawrence. He wrote to General Washington for information, and was assured that no such movement had taken place. Whether or not Schuyler's letter started the project in Washington's mind, Washington wrote again, five days after the assurance had been given, outlining an expedition which was to ascend the Kennebec River, cross the highlands that divide it from the Chaudiére, and descend that stream to where it enters the St. Lawrence, nearly opposite Quebec. Such a movement he conceived would have one of two results. Either it would recall Carleton from the defence of Montreal, and so facilitate Schuyler's plans, or it would find Quebec unprepared, and the division, uniting with Schuyler's forces, could at once take that place and complete the conquest of Canada. The design was in all probability suggested to Washington by Benedict Arnold, into whose hands had fallen the journal of Colonel Montresor, an officer of engineers in the British service, who, fifteen years earlier, had conducted an exploring expedition from Quebec into the interior of Maine, covering a portion of the route. At any rate, Arnold was selected to take command of a detachment numbering about 1,100 men, drawn from the army about Boston. From the nature of the country they were to traverse, it was impossible to carry field-pieces, but it was hoped that the two rivers would afford a water highway most of the distance for the transportation of

Expedition to Canada through Maine.

Map of Arnold's Route

Arnold in command.

men and provisions. The order to draft the men was given on the 1st of September, and a week later the troops set out across the country to Newburyport, where they were to be transported to the mouth of the Kennebec. On the 14th, Washington addressed a letter to Arnold, with specific instructions, in which he enforced the necessity of so conducting the expedition as to respect religiously the neutrality of the Canadians, and to win them if possible to the American cause. Property was to be held sacred; religious scruples were to be tenderly considered; and death was to be the penalty for any injury to person or property of Canadian or Indian. A handbill, written by Washington, was printed for distribution amongst the Canadians, setting forth the friendliness felt by the Americans for them, and declaring that the armies sent into the country were to protect, not to injure them. They were earnestly solicited to join the cause of liberty, and to take advantage of the presence of the armies on their soil to rise against the tyranny of the British.

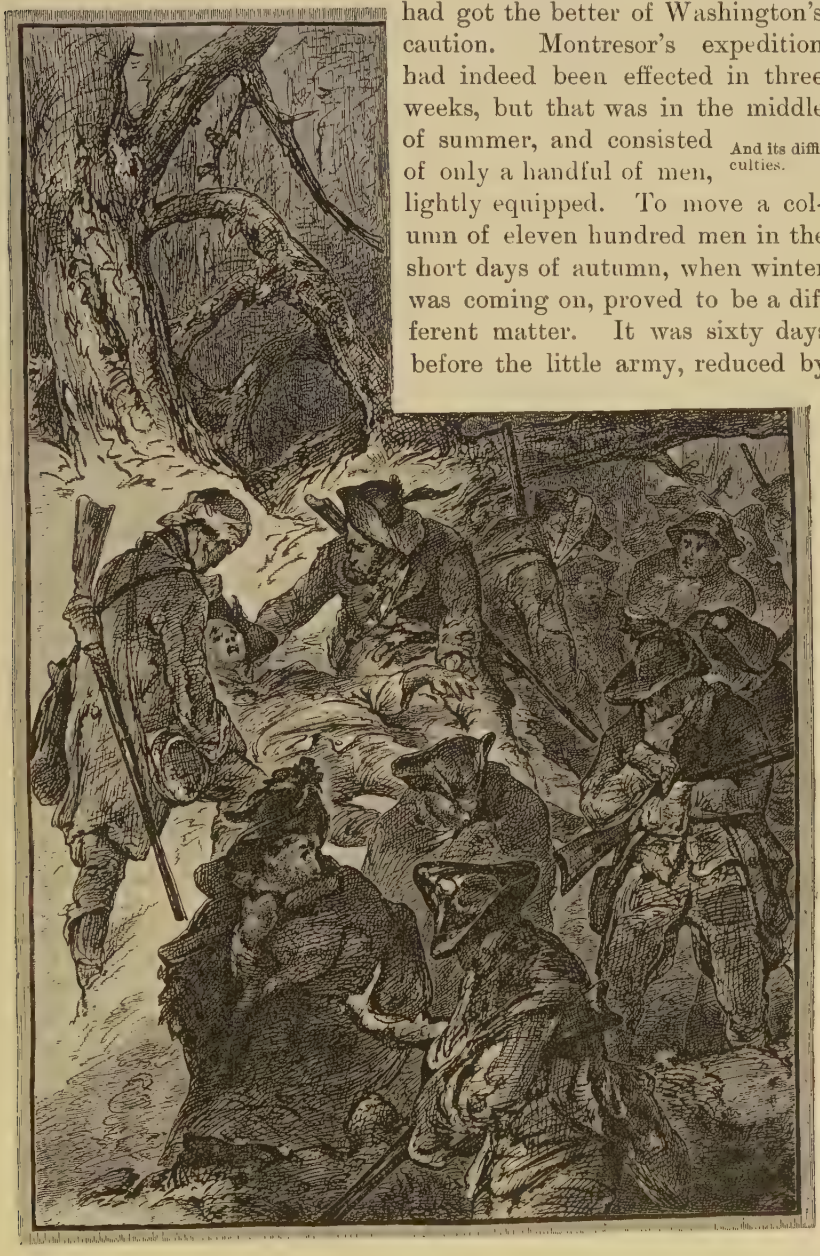
His instructions.

From the letters and papers of the day it is evident that great importance was attached to the movements in Canada. That country had been the scene of conflict within the memory of the men who were now throwing off the authority which then they fought to extend. The splendid river St. Lawrence, with the rocky fortress of Quebec, and the fertile lands that stretched to Montreal, appealed to their imagination, and the frontiersmen who had penetrated the northern forests knew that no natural boundary separated them from the vast country beyond. The fortified places which once had been centres of French trade were now threatening posts of the British enemy, and every interest suggested the necessity of possessing them. Yet the people of Canada had little in common with the colonists, and their prevailing religion was distrusted and hated by the Americans. Great caution and address, therefore, were used in making the invasion of Canada an act of hostility only to the British government, and one of emancipation to her people. Nor were the chances of war despicable. There was only one weak battalion of British troops in all Canada, and there was good evidence that the people, where they were not openly sympathetic and ready, were at least entirely indifferent to the continuation of British rule. Schuyler's army was moving, and Arnold's detachment, which reached Fort Western, — the present Augusta, on the Kennebec, — the 23d of September, was expected to be twenty days making its march of about two hundred miles. Indeed, there was some solicitude lest Arnold's army, reaching Quebec long in advance of Schuyler's, should be in danger of repulse for want of support.

Supposed importance of the movement,

It would seem almost as if Arnold's enthusiastic and fiery temper had got the better of Washington's caution. Montresor's expedition had indeed been effected in three weeks, but that was in the middle of summer, and consisted of only a handful of men, lightly equipped. To move a column of eleven hundred men in the short days of autumn, when winter was coming on, proved to be a different matter. It was sixty days before the little army, reduced by

And its difficulties.



Arnold's March.

that time about one half, reached the St. Lawrence. They left the last white family at Norridgewock, on October 3, and were nearly a

month making their way to the headwaters of the Chaudiére. Their batteaux were swamped in the rocky, boiling river; they sank to their waists in vast bogs; they were forced to make wearisome portages, and to cross and recross the same ground, to carry their loads; they lost their way: "this was the third day," writes a surgeon of the party, "we had been in search of the Chaudiére, who were only seven computed miles distant the 28th. Nor were we possessed of any certainty that our course would bring us either to the lake or river, not knowing the point it lay from where we started. However, we came to a resolution to continue it. In this state of uncertainty we wandered through hideous swamps and mountainous precipices, with the conjoint addition of cold, wet, and hunger, not to mention our fatigue, — with the terrible apprehension of fainting in the desert."[1] Their provisions failed them, so that they ate dogs, candles, shaving-soap, pomatum, and lip-salve, and boiled their moccasons in hopes of extracting some glutinous nourishment from them. They fought like beasts for succulent roots which they discovered and grubbed from the sand; great numbers fell sick and were left behind; some perished by the way, and Colonel Enos, with the whole rear division, amounting to a third of the force, when near the Canada line, being instructed by Arnold to provide for the return of the sick, called a council of his officers, in which it was resolved to return in a body to the coast, lest their provisions should utterly give out. Enos was court-martialled for his desertion of Arnold, and though acquitted, never regained his standing. Arnold himself pushed forward, after reaching the Chaudiére, to send back cattle and other supplies to his famished followers. When the men received them, they fell upon them like wolves, and gorged themselves so that many sickened and some died.[2]

Canada reached.

On the 4th of November the straggling band reached the first house in Canada. It was a month since they had left the last house in Maine. Their progress now was comparatively easy, and it was perhaps owing to the exhausted condition of the men that the last thirty miles occupied ten days. Yet that delay may be regarded as causing the failure of the expedition. On the 5th of November, when Arnold, with a portion of his army, was at St. Mary's, thirty miles from Quebec, a vessel from Newfoundland reached that place, carrying a hundred men, chiefly carpenters. They found

Quebec reenforced.

[1] *Senter's Journal*, p. 21.

[2] The details of this march, which long left its frightful memory in the minds of men, are preserved in several narratives of members of the expedition, chiefly those of John Joseph Henry (Albany, 1877); Joseph Ware, in *N. E. Hist. and Gen. Reg.*, April, 1852; Isaac Senter, *Bulletin of Penn. Hist. Soc.*, 1846; Return J. Meigs, *Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, vol. ii., 2d series; James Melvin, *Franklin Club*, Philadelphia.

not a single soldier, we are told, in the city,[1] but immediately set to work repairing the defences and making platforms for the cannon. On the 12th Colonel Maclean arrived with a hundred and seventy men, enough to make a protracted defence. The next day Arnold brought his forces to the opposite bank of the river. It was intended that the expedition should surprise the town, and Washington had urged Arnold to use great precaution to prevent news being carried by sea from the Kennebec; but Arnold himself had unfortunately given intelligence of his movements, by a letter sent on the 13th of October to General Schuyler, which was intrusted to an Indian, who proved faithless. While at St. Mary's Arnold opened communication with General Montgomery, and the junction of the two armies now became a matter of the liveliest concern.

Arnold arrives before the city,

On the evening of the 13th of November, just as Montgomery had entered Montreal, Arnold began, under cover of darkness, to transport his troops across the St. Lawrence, and again at daybreak the sentinels on the walls of Quebec looked out upon an army on the Plains of Abraham. Arnold had followed precisely the path which Wolfe had taken, and, as Wolfe had done, offered battle with three fourths of his entire force, — five hundred and fifty men. But Lieutenant-governor Cramahé, in command, having perhaps Montcalm's misfortune in mind, did not accept the challenge. Moreover, Arnold's hope was, that the appearance of an American army would be a signal for a revolt within the city, and that the apprehension of it would be a check upon the commander of the town. The Americans shouted triumphantly, but the walls of Quebec did not fall flat, though some of the people within responded. A few harmless shots were fired, and a formal demand was made for surrender. Arnold had neither the means to make a breach in the walls, nor the force to storm them, and he could only invest the place. But his own position was perilous. Carleton had escaped from Montreal, and was on his way to Quebec. The garrison had been reënforced, and Arnold learned that he was shortly to be attacked. Accordingly, he soon broke camp and withdrew to Point aux Trembles to await Montgomery. Montgomery arrived on the 1st of December and assumed command. On the 5th the army, now three thousand men, with six field-pieces and five light mortars, encamped before Quebec.

Occupies the Heights of Abraham,

But retreats.

The ground was frozen to the depth of many feet, and buried deep in snow. To construct earthworks was practically impossible; gabions and fascines, therefore, were set up and filled with snow, over which

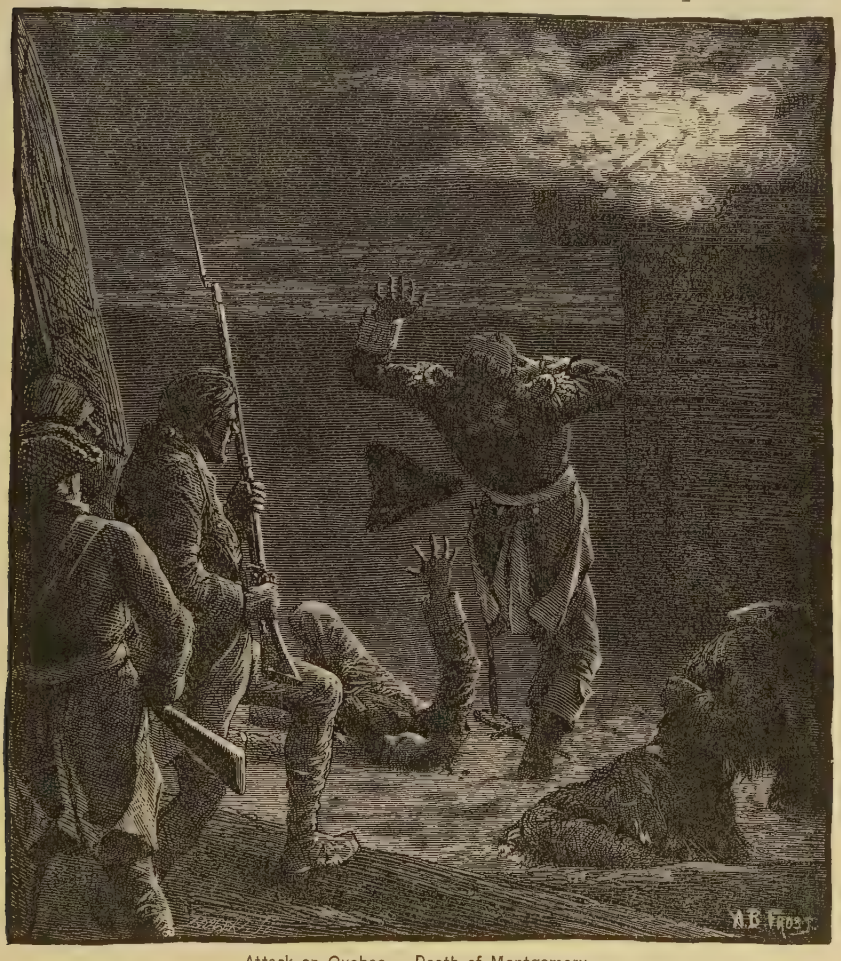
[1] Allen's account of Arnold's expedition, in *Maine Hist. Soc. Coll.*, i. 403.

water was poured and an ice-battery formed, glittering and formidable to the eye, but in reality brittle and easily destroyed. At the first cannonading from the walls it broke in pieces. Three weeks wore by, during which Montgomery begged for reënforcements, but Schuyler was powerless to raise them; the men were growing exceedingly restless and mutinous, and there was no sign of any weakening of the town. At Christmas an immediate attack was decided upon, to take place the first stormy night. One column, led by Arnold, was to advance by the low ground between the St. Charles and the Heights of Abraham, and penetrate the lower town at a point where a gate communicated with the upper town, unprotected by any ditch or drawbridge. Another column, led by Montgomery, was to advance between the St. Lawrence and the rocky heights of Cape Diamond, push into the lower town, and take advantage there of an easy communication with the upper town. It was expected that once in possession of the lower town, the merchants within the city would compel Carleton to give up the place to prevent further destruction of property. Aaron Burr, eager to take a conspicuous part in the attack, headed a forlorn hope which was to scale the Cape Diamond bastion, and he drilled his men and prepared his ladders with great care.

The night of the 30th of December, chosen for the assault, was, as the assailants hoped it would be, dark and stormy. While Colonel Livingston and Major Brown made a feint on the upper town to distract the garrison, Montgomery and Arnold were to advance upon the points selected for assault. Montgomery's column, taking the road along the river bank, made its way over blocks of ice and through the heavy drifts of snow, till it reached the first barricades under Cape Diamond. These were passed without difficulty; but beyond was a block-house, pierced for muskets, and defended by two small field-pieces. The enemy had fled after the first ineffectual fire; but as Montgomery advanced at the head of his men, exhorting them to follow, with the words, "Push on, brave boys, Quebec is ours!" a shot from the block-house struck and killed him instantly. His aid, Captain Cheeseman, Captain M'Pherson, and two privates were killed by the same discharge; the advance was checked, and then fell back in confusion and flight.

Arnold's division, almost at the same moment, had advanced in single file, along a narrow path between the precipice and the shore of St. Charles Bay, the men covering their guns under their coats from the driving storm. The town was now awake; bells were ringing; an uproar of confusion filled the air, from the rapid firing from batteries and barricades. The darkness and the storm favored the assailants, who pushed on rapidly past isolated houses to the Palace

Gate. At the first barricade Arnold was wounded and carried to the rear. The command devolved upon Captain Daniel Morgan, who, at the head of his Virginia riflemen, scaled the barricade with ladders, Morgan himself being the first to mount. As his head appeared above the palisades a discharge knocked him down, the powder burn-



Attack on Quebec. — Death of Montgomery.

ing his face, one ball passing through his hat and another through his hair at the side of his head. He mounted again, calling to his men to follow, and the barricade was carried, and the enemy driven to the houses on both sides of the narrow streets. In these the fight continued, at intervals, for hours, and had Morgan's men been properly seconded, the town might have been taken. But no reënforcements came. The advance party were cooped up between the two barricades,

where they made a desperate but unequal fight, seeking in their turn protection in the houses. From the Palace Gate a sortie had been made, and Captain Dearborn, with a column of two hundred men, had been taken prisoner. Morgan tried to cut his way back. He had lost probably not less than sixty men — among them Captain Hendricks of the Pennsylvania riflemen, Humphreys, Morgan's first lieutenant, and Lieutenant Cooper of Connecticut. The men were discouraged; further resistance was seen to be futile, and the whole party, four hundred and twenty-six in number, surrendered. The remainder of Arnold's party, who were in the rear as a reserve, retreated to camp.[1]

The victorious Englishmen found the body of Montgomery and gave it a soldier's burial within the city. Forty-two years afterwards it was removed to New York with distinguished honors, and placed beneath a monument in front of St. Paul's Church. As the boat bearing it passed slowly down the Hudson, the aged widow sat alone upon the porch of her house at Rhinebeck, watching the mournful pageant.[2]

The command of the wrecked army fell now upon Arnold, who mustered his forces and disposed them for a blockade, hoping meanwhile that Schuyler, to whom he dispatched a messenger, would reënforce the little army. Schuyler earnestly besought Congress to send forward troops, and in the course of the winter about 3,000 were sent to his relief. Carleton made no attempt to drive Arnold away. He could not afford to risk the chances of a battle, and he knew that when spring opened he should receive help from England. The Canadians continued their neutrality, and though a few engaged on either side, so that families were divided against one another, there was a general loss of confidence in the American cause. Congress

[1] Major-general Sir James Carmichael Smyth, in his *Precis of the Wars in Canada*, characterizes the enterprise as soldier-like, but thinks Montgomery should have reversed his plan, making the real assaults upon the points which were selected for the feint, and false attacks only on the lower town. "There was no necessity upon the present occasion to move, with narrow columns, into confined streets and lanes, to become masters of the lower town; having subsequently the upper town, separated from the lower town by a line-wall with flanks in it, to acquire. It would surely have been better policy to have assaulted the upper town at once, and to have endeavored to escalade, at the same moment, several of the bastions. . . . . In endeavoring to penetrate by the lower town, he required to be successful in two operations. Had he determined to assault the upper town, he would only have had to have escaladed a wall of eighteen feet high, and the place was his." — p. 116.

[2] "At length," she wrote, "they came by, with all that remained of a beloved husband, who left me in the bloom of manhood, a perfect being. Alas! how did he return? However gratifying to my heart, yet to my feelings every pang I felt was renewed. The pomp with which it was conducted added to my woe; when the steamboat passed with slow and solemn movement, stopping before my house, the troops under arms, the dead march from the muffled drum, the mournful music, the splendid coffin canopied with crape and crowned with plumes, you may conceive my anguish. I cannot describe it." — *Biographical Notes concerning General Richard Montgomery*, p. 129.

was anxious to attach the provinces, and still believed it possible to do politically what had not yet been done by the sword. Additional proclamations were sent forward, and a commission consisting of Franklin, Chase, and Carroll, to which was added Carroll's brother, a Jesuit priest, afterward Archbishop of Baltimore, was appointed to visit Canada and organize if possible a political union. Scarcely had they reached Montreal when news was brought of the arrival of a British fleet at Quebec, and Franklin hastened back to Philadelphia, at the instance of his colleagues, to urge the imperative need of immediate reënforcements.

In March Arnold was displaced by General Wooster, who arrived with fresh troops. He remained in command about two months, but could make, though he attempted it, no impression upon the fortifications of Quebec. Of his courage and high character there was no question, but he wanted military experience. He was, perhaps, too old to learn, and his conduct of affairs had aroused much dissatisfaction and criticism. He was accused of partiality to the troops from his own State — Connecticut — but so bitter were sectional jealousies, both in Congress and in the army, that such an accusation was always sure to be made wherever enmity existed, and was certain to be accepted, no matter how unfounded. The difficulties, moreover, with which Wooster had to contend, his successors found equally insurmountable till Canada was at length abandoned.

When Major-general Thomas, who superseded Wooster, reached the army early in May, and found that he could hardly bring into the field a thousand men, he determined to retreat. Even this he was not permitted to do unmolested; the garrison of Quebec had been largely reënforced, and Carleton attacked the American position, routed Thomas's force, and captured a hundred prisoners and most of the stores and provisions. He retreated first to Descham Vault and then to the Sorel — a wretched march of a disorganized, disheartened, half-starved, and rapidly decreasing force. Their miseries were aggravated by small-pox, brought into the camp by a girl who had been a hospital nurse, and at the mouth of the Sorel, on the 2d of June, General Thomas died of it.

The British were equally successful at other points. Major Butterfield, with nearly four hundred men, held a fortified post at a place called the Cedars, on the St. Lawrence, about forty miles above Montreal. This was captured on the 18th of May by Captain Foster with a detachment of regulars and Canadians, and a large body of Indians. The next day Major Sherburne, on his way to relieve Butterfield, was attacked in the woods by a part of Foster's force, and was compelled to surrender. Arnold, who followed a few days later, was unsuccess-

ful in an attempt to dislodge the enemy from their strong position at Vaudreuil and Perrot Island.

Brigadier-General John Sullivan succeeded Thomas and arrived at Sorel early in June. Ignorant of the condition of the army, he was over-confident, and wrote to Washington that he could "put a new face upon affairs here." In the interval of four days between Thomas's death and Sullivan's arrival General Thompson was in command, and had ordered a forward movement to Three Rivers. Sullivan approved it, and putting the expedition under the command of Thompson, ordered him with two thousand men, under Colonels Wayne, Maxwell, and Irvine, to join Colonel St. Clair, who was already at Nicolet. On the evening of the 7th the combined forces crossed the river at Point Du Lac, and found themselves in the morning on the beach, confronted by Fraser, with artillery and a force three times their own, exposed to the fire of the ships in the river, and their advance impossible. One hundred and fifty were taken prisoners, and the rest regained their boats. Sullivan resumed the retreat which Thomas had begun, falling back upon Ticonderoga and Crown Point. The Canada campaign was at an end in June, the British holding Isle aux Noïx as their advanced post.

Monument to Montgomery in St. Paul's Churchyard, New York.

CHAPTER XVIII.

OPENING OF THE CAMPAIGN OF 1776.

PARLIAMENT SUPPORTS THE KING. — EFFORTS TO INCREASE THE BRITISH FORCES. — EMPLOYMENT OF MERCENARIES. — MILITARY IMPORTANCE OF NEW YORK CITY. — THE PROVINCIAL CONGRESS OF NEW YORK AND THE COMMITTEE OF SAFETY. — THE SONS OF LIBERTY. — EXPLOIT OF MARINUS WILLETT. — ZEAL OF ISAAC SEARS. — LEE TAKES COMMAND. — FORTIFICATIONS OF BROOKLYN AND NEW YORK. — LORD STIRLING. — THE SOUTHERN EXPEDITION. — BATTLE OF MOORE'S CREEK BRIDGE. — ARRIVAL OF PARKER'S FLEET. — SOUTH CAROLINA ADOPTS A TEMPORARY CONSTITUTION. — THE BRITISH ATTACK THE DEFENCES OF CHARLESTON, AND ARE REPULSED.

THE ministerial plan of operations in America had been gradually maturing since the reception of the news of the Battle of Bunker Hill, which had touched the pride of the nation at the most sensitive point. Parliament, in the autumn of 1775, voted the King and Ministry all the men and material they called for. It mattered little that the friends of America in that body again raised their voices for concession and conciliation. The vigorous appeals and arguments of Burke, Fox, Barré, Wilkes, and Conway in favor of colonial rights, still found unwilling ears, or were listened to only as the vindictive tirades of the "opposition." The ministerial party blindly clung to the policy of coercion first and concession afterwards, and, in their address to the King, expressed the hope that they should be able, "by the blessing of God," to put such means into his Majesty's hands as would soon defeat and suppress the rebellion, and enable him to accomplish his "gracious wish of reëstablishing order, tranquillity, and happiness" throughout his empire. The disorders in America, the King said in his speech, "must be put down by the most decisive exertions." Wisdom and clemency, he told the Commons, alike demanded this course.[1]

Parliament supports the King.

The army to be sent for the subjection of the colonies was to be increased to nearly forty thousand men, supported by a formidable fleet, manned by over twenty-two thousand seamen. If the parliamentary majority which sustained the ministerial policy

Recruiting in England.

[1] King's speech at the opening of Parliament, October 26, 1775.

had reflected the feeling of the nation at large, there would have been no difficulty in obtaining the additional troops required. But the calls met with a feeble response. The necessary complement at home to fill the old and depleted regiments could not be secured; and the government, even before it resolved on extreme measures, found itself forced to draw upon its garrisons in the West Indies, Ireland, and Gibraltar. The King, as Elector of Hanover, could do as he pleased with Hanoverian troops, and by putting these in places garrisoned by English soldiers, he was able to add about twenty-three hundred men to the army in America. The opposition in the House of Commons seized upon the evident lack of popular sympathy with the King's measures. The Ministry, compelled to find an explanation, replied that the general prosperity among all classes, and the large numbers enrolled in the militia, who could not be called upon for foreign service, was a sufficient explanation of this apparent apathy.[1] It was an excuse, however, rather than an explanation, and one in which, probably, they did not themselves believe; it certainly was not satisfactory to those statesmen who were opposed to the war.[2]

Holland refuses to aid England.

The King cared nothing for English sympathy, and was equally indifferent as to whether the war was carried on with English or with foreign soldiers. It was a question of pounds and thalers, not of flesh and blood. Soldiers could be bought at a fixed price per head, and, while that was so, it was the English treasury, not the English people, that need be consulted. George, from his relations to Holland, had no doubt of her friendly aid. In an autograph letter to the States General, he asked for permission to employ their Scotch brigade. He was refused. "Our troops," said the Baron van der Capellen, "would be employed toward suppressing what some please to call a rebellion in the American Colonies; for which purpose I would rather see janissaries hired than soldiers of a free state. Such a measure must appear superlatively detestable to me, who think the Americans worthy of every man's esteem, and look on them as a brave people, defending, in a becoming, manly, and religious manner, those rights which as men they derive from God, not from the legislature of Great Britain."

The ministers, with hardly less doubt of a favorable answer, turned to Russia. The Eastern question of that day had brought the Empire under obligations to Great Britain for aid against the Turks. In re-

[1] Speech in Parliament, November 3, 1775, by Lord Barrington, of the War Office.

[2] In the early part of 1775, Lord Camden expressed the belief, founded on observation, that the merchants, tradesmen, and common people were generally opposed to a war, while the landed interest supported the government. At the opening of the campaign of 1776, the King probably had a stronger support than Camden allowed him the year before. But the war, nevertheless, was not popular.

turn, Catherine would now, perhaps, have helped the English King with twenty thousand troops, but for the interference, both open and secret, of the other powers. For more than a dozen years France had been anxiously watching the growing alienation between Great Britain and her American colonies. De Font-

No help from Russia, France, or Prussia.

British and Hessian Soldiers.

leroy and De Kalb had been sent, after the French war, to travel in America, to observe her resources, and study the causes of dissension which even at that time had begun to show themselves; and now, when hostilities had actually broken out, so far as France had influence with other European powers, it was sure to be exercised, directly or indirectly, in favor of the revolting colonies. Nothing could be expected from Prussia. Said Frederick to a party of Englishmen: "If you intend conciliation, some of your measures are too rough; and if subjection, too gentle. In short, I do not understand these matters; I have no colonies. I hope you will extricate yourselves advantageously; but I own the affair seems rather perplexing." And as to European sentiment generally, John Moore, an English physician,

travelling through the principal cities in 1775, wrote from Vienna:

European opinion.

"At present, the inhabitants of the Continent seem as impatient as those of Great Britain for news from the other side of the Atlantic; but with this difference, that here they are all of one mind, — all praying for success to the Americans, and rejoicing in every piece of bad fortune which happens to our army." [1]

Aid from the petty German States.

But there were no large political considerations to influence the decisions of the petty German princes of Hesse-Cassel, Brunswick, Hanau, and others, when England asked for their assistance. It was simply a question of the purchase of so much war material, and negotiations depended upon nothing but price, and the skill of buyer and seller. As early as the summer of 1775, Sir Joseph Yorke, who had been instructed to look into the condition of these markets, reported that men enough could be had if the price could be agreed upon. In due time, when it was determined that the most vigorous measures should be taken for the campaign of 1776, Colonel William Fawcett was sent to conclude with these needy princes the purchase of their subjects, to carry on a foreign war for the subjection of a free people. There was little or no voluntary service, except among officers; men were compelled to enlist, and a stipulated price per head was paid by England to the potentates who claimed the right to dispose of their people as suited their own purposes.

Even George III. had grace enough to feel some compunction at a transaction disgraceful to the England of the eighteenth century. "To give," said the King, — when offers were made to the English agent to open recruiting offices, — "German officers authority to raise recruits for me, is, in plain English, neither more nor less than to become a man-stealer, which I cannot look upon as a very honorable occupation." But the offices were opened, the men were forced to enlist, and the princes were paid by England. The Duke of Brunswick, — who was surrounded by mistresses, who gave the manager of his opera an annual salary of thirty thousand thalers, and his librarian, Lessing, three hundred, — sent off his quota of men with insufficient clothing, without overcoats, with no supply of shoes and stockings; and their commander, Baron Riedesel, was compelled to borrow in England five thousand pounds to meet their most common wants.[2] The first division of these German troops sailed from England for Quebec in April, 1776. Others followed, in the course of the summer and autumn, for New York.[3] Months before the evacuation of Boston, it

[1] *A View of Society and Manners in France, Switzerland, and Germany.* By John Moore, M. D. (London, 1786.) Letter 96.

[2] See *The German Element in the War of Independence.* By George Washington Greene.

[3] The whole number of German troops sent to America is thus given by Dr. Kapp, after a careful collation with the statements in the State Paper office in London: —

had become clear that the base of future operations must be at some other point along the coast. To increase the army there, and attempt to break up the siege, promised no gain which would compensate for the loss that must inevitably follow. Moreover, the rebellion was gathering force; and it was evident that it had already assumed dimensions so formidable that it was no longer possible to crush it by a single blow at a single point, as was at first supposed might be done.[1]

New York as a base of operations.

It was determined, therefore, that the central point of military movements for 1776 must be New York. Here was an unequalled harbor, with the Sound on one side and the Hudson on the other, — both strategic lines for the British, who had command of the sea. On land the army could control New York and the Jerseys, and break up all concert of action between New England and the more southern provinces. This was the English view of the situation, and it was so obvious that Washington assumed New York to be Howe's objective point on evacuating Boston, and took his own measures accordingly.

The New York Provincial Congress and the Committee of Safety.

In New York, as in some other colonies, the functions of the Provincial Congress had devolved upon a Committee of Safety of a hundred members. There were Tories upon this committee; or rather, — to speak with entire accuracy, — there were conservative members who afterwards became Tories. Things had gone very far before that hard and fast line was drawn which made the impassable barrier between Whig and Tory. To this party belonged many of the best and the wisest of the colonists. John Adams put them at about one third of the whole people. Their names are often found attached to those earlier protests and remonstrances with which it was hoped to avert the despotic purposes of the King and his ministers. They held to the hope of conciliation and compromise, long after their neighbors had seen that there was no choice but absolute submission or resistance to the death. There were

Brunswick	5,723	Waldeck	1,225
Hesse-Cassel . . .	16,992	Anspach	1,644
Hesse-Hanau . . .	2,422	Anhalt-Zerbst . . .	1,160
		Total	29,166

Of these, 17,313 returned home, leaving 11,853 to be accounted for.

[1] A change of base was talked of as early as July, 1775, as appears from what Burgoyne wrote to Lord Rochford, Secretary for the colonies: "General Gage seems to be not disinclined to an idea of evacuating Boston, if he can make himself master of New York, and of taking up his winter quarters there; and there is much solid reason in favor of it. The post, in a military view, is much more important, and more proper to begin the operations of next year's campaign. In political consideration, yet more might be said for it, and in regard to general supply, the neighborhood of Long Island, and other adjacent Islands, would afford some assistance that we want here." — Fonblanque's *Burgoyne*, p. 181.

many of this class in New York; some of them belonged to the Committee of One Hundred, and they took advantage of their position to aid the royal cause on the plea of preserving the peace.

The Sons of Liberty.

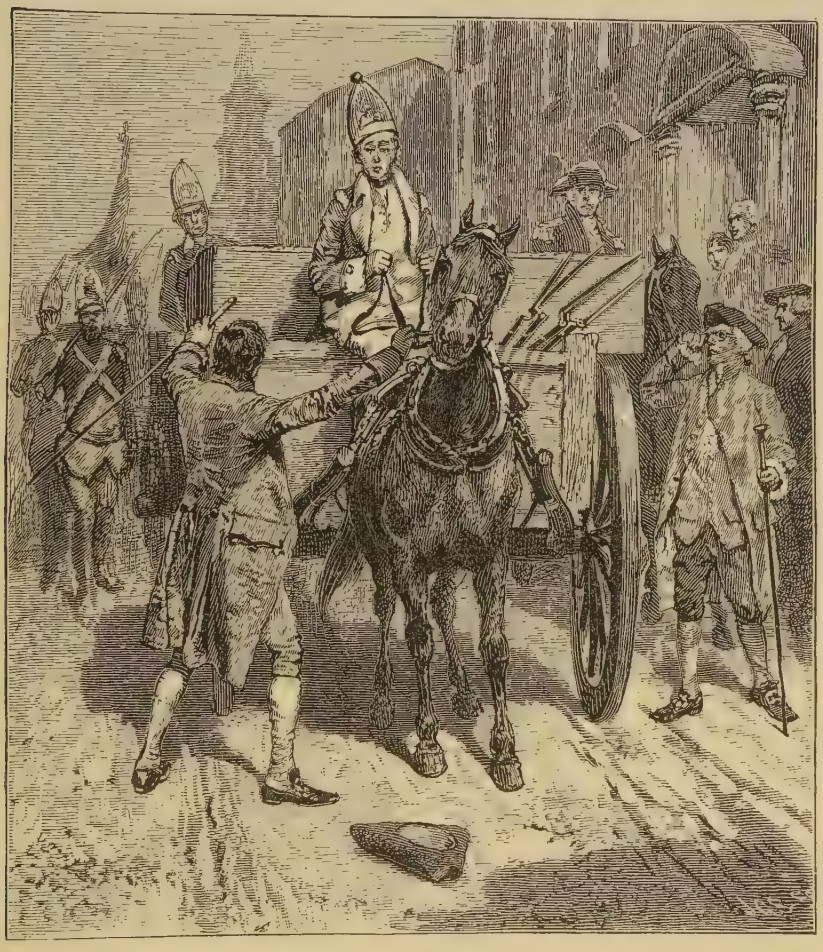
But there was a committee within the Committee, composed of that class of men — the "Sons of Liberty" — who had little faith in Prince or Parliament, who had a strong belief in the inherent right of self-government, and were quite ready to stake everything upon that issue; who were quick to see and ready to resent any encroachment of arbitrary power. If the One Hundred were too cautious, the smaller number were always ready for any emergency; if these sometimes were regardless of a wise prudence, and their actions tended to precipitate a contest without sufficient preparation, the larger number by their very inertness staved off catastrophe. If one party hastened slowly, there was no lack of watchfulness in the other, no abatement of activity to keep up the movement of steady and uncompromising resistance to everything that threatened the popular cause.

Burns's Coffee-house, Broadway, opposite Bowling Green. Headquarters of the Sons of Liberty.

New York prepares for war.

When the news of the engagements at Lexington and Concord reached New York, immediate steps were taken to prepare for war, if war was to come. A public meeting assembled in the City Hall, and all the arms and munitions in the arsenal, which was a part of that building, were secured. A company, led by John Lamb and Isaac Sears, two of the most active of the "Sons of Liberty," arrested all the British vessels in port about to sail for Boston; a vessel loaded with rum, to which the Collector had refused a permit, because the rum was supposed to be for the use of the insurgents, was taken possession of, and her cargo discharged; the keys of the custom-house were demanded of the Collector, and the building closed. A military company was formed, the arms taken from the arsenal were put into their hands, cannon were collected, and measures promptly but quietly taken to put the city in a state of defence. The imperative need was arms and munitions of war. At

Turtle Bay, on the East River, was a deposit of military stores belonging to the King. Lamb, with some of his associates, approached it by night from the river, surprised the guard, and carried off everything of value. So, when the British garrison were ordered to join the army in Boston, they were not permitted to take with them any



Marinus Willett's Exploit.

arms except those they carried in their hands. It was agreed that they should embark unmolested, and this was one of those acts of prudence, on the part of the Committee of One Hundred, of which their more ardent compatriots did not approve. The intention undoubtedly was, to avoid a collision, which, as General Wooster was already in camp outside of New York with an army of volunteers from Connecticut, might have been easily provoked. It was believed,

on the one hand, that the whole garrison could have been taken prisoners; on the other, it was thought best not to run the risk of a bombardment of the town by the naval vessels in the harbor. The decision of the Committee was acquiesced in, but the acquiescence went only to the letter of the agreement. As the troops marched at noon down Broad Street, preceded by five carts loaded with arms, they were met at the corner of Beaver Street by Marinus Willett, who boldly seized the first horse by the head and brought the whole line to a halt. A crowd instantly gathered, among them the Mayor, Whitehead Hicks, and Gouverneur Morris. The commanding officer demanded the reason of this interruption. Willett answered that permission was given only that the troops should embark unmolested, not that they should take away arms. Hicks and Morris expostulated. "You are right!" shouted John Morin Scott, an eminent Son of Liberty. Willett jumped upon the cart, and declared the arms should not be taken to be used against their "Bretheren in Massechusettes." If the soldiers, he said, desired to "Join the Bloody business which was transacting near Boston, we were ready to meet them in the Sanguin field," but if any of them "felt a repugnance to the unnatural work," and would leave the ranks, they should be protected. He then led the first cart into Beaver Street out of the line of march, and the rest followed, the officers making no attempt to stop him, and no reply to his appeal. Only one of the soldiers, however, accepted his invitation to desert, and marched off with the carts, cheered and protected by the crowd.[1]

Willett's exploit.

A few weeks later the Continental Congress made a requisition upon New York for cannon, to be placed at several points on the Hudson for the defence of the course of that river. The Provincial Congress ordered the Battery to be dismantled, and the enterprise was entrusted to Captain Lamb with a military company, and Sears at the head of a band of volunteers. The English line-of-battle-ship *Asia* lay at anchor not far distant; she sent a boat ashore, and in an encounter between her crew and the men at the Battery, several of the sailors were wounded, and one was killed. The *Asia* opened fire upon the fort, but all the mounted guns were nevertheless removed.[2]

The cannon removed from the Battery.

The situation grew every month, almost every week, more critical.

[1] *Marinus Willett's Narrative.* In a volume of original papers published by the Mercantile Library Association, of New York, under the title: *New York City During the Revolution*, with a valuable introduction by Henry B. Dawson.

[2] Six months afterwards General Lee removed the remaining guns which were not mounted, from the fort, without opposition from the ships. "Indeed," he says, in a letter to the President of Congress, "I even consider their menaces to fire upon the town as idle gasconade." — *Lee Papers*, vol. i., *N. Y. Hist. Soc. Coll.*

Between Whigs and Tories, the difference was irremediable; neither could allow that one might be mistaken without being wicked; and as both held the opinions of the other side to be felonious, persecution was inevitable wherever one side was stronger than the other. The patriots were the stronger in and about New York; but the Tories were strong enough to make a determined fight, hoping to gain the ascendency if sufficiently reënforced from England. "Rivington's New York Gazetteer" was their mouth-piece, and was bold and aggressive. It was determined to suppress it, and

The feeling between Whigs and Tories.

THURSDAY Nov. 23, 1775. [N° 136]

RIVINGTON'S

NEW-YORK GAZETTEER;

OR, THE

Connecticut, Hudſon's River, New-Jerſey, and Quebec

WEEKLY ADVERTISER.

PRINTED at his OPEN and UNINFLUENCED PRESS fronting HANOVER-SQUARE.

Head of Rivington's Gazetteer.

for that purpose Isaac Sears, who had removed to New Haven, visited New York at the head of more than a hundred men. On the way they burned a sloop at Mamaroneck. Entering the city, they rode in perfect order down Broadway and Wall Street, at the foot of which was Rivington's office. This they completely sacked, carrying away the type to cast into bullets, and offered to give Rivington, in return, an order on Lord Dunmore, of Virginia, for a new supply, he having seized and confiscated a printing-office in Norfolk which belonged to a Whig.

Destruction of "Rivington's Gazetteer."

Sears was never so happy as when suppressing Tories, several of whom he captured on this expedition, and took back with him to New Haven. Some months later Lee made him an Adjutant-general, with the rank of Lieutenant-colonel. "He is," he wrote to Washington, "a creature of much spirit and publick virtue, and ought to have his back clapped." Sears's first duty in his new office was to suppress the Tories of Long Island. In a report to Lee, he wrote: "I arrived at Newtown, and tendered the oath to four of the grate Tories, which they swallowed as hard as if it was a four pound shot that they ware trying to git down." This was the "iron-clad" oath which Lee had forced upon the Tories of New Haven.

Isaac Sears.

When Lee was ordered by Washington to take command at New York, the Committee of Safety were greatly alarmed lest his appearance should provoke Tryon — who had fled to one of the men-of-war in the harbor — to put in execution his threat to bombard the town. The Committee pleaded the defenceless

Lee takes command at New York.

condition of the place, and especially their want of powder; but the more ardent patriots, who, by such actions as we have just related, had kept up the enthusiasm of the people, welcomed the news of Lee's coming. Lee himself wrote the Committee that they might be "perfectly easy." "If," he said, "the ships of war are quiet, I shall be quiet; but I declare solemnly that if they make a pretext of my presence to fire on the town, the first house set in flames by their guns shall be the funeral pile of some of their best friends." He should only bring into the city enough men to protect it; but "If Mr. Tryon and the Captains of the ships of war are to prescribe what numbers are, and what numbers are not, to enter the town, ... the condition is too humiliating for freemen to put up with."

General Charles Lee.[1]

Fortifying New York.

But the ample bay, the two navigable rivers, and the waters of the Sound beyond, were important features in the question of defence. Clearly, whoever commanded the sea had an important advantage, for New York could be surrounded by a fleet. The width of the North River appeared, to Lee at least, to render its obstruction to the passage of ships impossible; and on the other side, the Sound was open to them as far as Hell Gate. A hostile squadron could thus take up a position on the flanks and in the rear of Manhattan Island, and with the assistance of land forces, compel the evacuation of the town. The General saw this at a glance, and so reported to Washington; but at the same time he believed the position offered an opportunity for delaying and embarrassing an

[1] This picture, reproduced in Moore's *Treason of Charles Lee* (from which we copy it), was originally engraved for a work written by Dr. Thomas Girdlestone, to prove that Lee was the author of the Junius Letters. It is from a likeness taken when Lee returned from Poland, in his uniform as aid-de-camp to King Stanislaus. Girdlestone says: "Though designed as a caricature, it was allowed, by all who knew General Lee, to be the only successful delineation, either of his countenance or person."

enemy; that if it could not be converted into a permanent military base for the Americans, it could be made a costly capture for the British; and on this theory he proceeded to construct a system of defences, to turn New York into what he termed "a disputable field of battle."

He proposed first to make it secure, at least against a direct attack in front, presenting as bold a face toward the sea as the situation admitted. The salient point he judged to be the present Columbia Heights on the Brooklyn side of the East River, for the reason that it commanded the city and the river. There he laid out an intrenched camp with strong redoubts, one of which was thrown up on the edge of the bluff, at the foot of the present Clark Street, and nearly opposite a point on the New York side between Fulton and Wall Street ferries, where its guns could sweep the channel or bombard New York, should the enemy succeed in landing within the town limits. This work was named Fort Stirling, and was the most important in Lee's plan. Several batteries were erected on the New York side of the river, from the ship-yards to Whitehall Slip, which, in conjunction with Fort Stirling, were expected to make the passage of men-of-war along that channel a hazardous venture. To prevent their coming down the Sound, a fort was built by Colonel Drake's Westchester County militiamen, at Horn's Hook, opposite Hell Gate.

Works on Brooklyn Heights.

And in New York.

For the protection of the west side of the city, nothing was attempted beyond the erection of works at various points below Canal Street, to keep the ships out of the river. No attempt was made to fortify the Jersey side.

At Fort George and the Grand Battery at the foot of Broadway the works were strengthened; but the General had little confidence in their ability to withstand a vigorous bombardment. That the enemy, however, might not obtain a foothold there, he tore down the rear of Fort George, threw up a parallel across Broadway, at Bowling Green, to command its interior, and had the streets in the vicinity barricaded. In a word, he sought to turn New York into a fortified military camp.

The work had only been begun, when, on the 6th of March, Congress divided the southern and middle colonies into two military departments, and transferred Lee to the command of the former, leaving Lord Stirling to carry out the plan his predecessor had adopted. Nothing was lost by the change, for the new commander hurried on the work with the utmost energy. Washington's orders, now that he saw the siege of Boston near its end, were imperative that no time should be lost in preparing for what he

Lord Stirling takes command.

knew the spring would bring. Stirling[1] recruited troops on every side, and ordered out all the male inhabitants that had remained in town, black and white alike, to dig on the fortifications. The slaves were to work every day. On the Brooklyn side the scattered residents were directed to report with spades, hoes, and pickaxes, to Colonel Ward, whose Connecticut regiment had been stationed there. The troops under Stirling at this point consisted, about the middle of March, of the two Connecticut regiments that Lee brought with him, New York militia from Westchester, Orange, and Dutchess counties, under Colonels Drake, Swartwout, and Van Ness, Stirling's New Jersey Continentals, and other small detachments, which, with the two city "independent" battalions, made up an irregular force of about four thousand men. The city military companies were composed of citizens of means and influence, under Colonels John Lasher and William Heyer, and in time of peace attracted attention by their varied and showy uniforms. Many of them were now found true to the colonies, and remained in the ranks. One of their number, — afterwards Major, — Nicholas Fish, tells us of their working on the redoubts, though "it did not agree well with the tender hands and delicate textures of many," and doing their part with "amazing agility and neatness."

Lord Stirling.

Washington hurries his forces to New York.

The joyful news of the success at Boston reached the busy garrison while matters were in this condition. Washington did not lose a moment, after Howe's evacuation, in hurrying the New England army to New York. The Pennsylvania and Virginia riflemen had already been sent on, when Generals Heath, Sullivan, Spencer, and Greene reached the city with their forces — twenty-two regiments — at intervals during April. The artillery was under Knox, and Putnam took the chief command till the arrival of Washington. Colonel Rufus Putnam, the chief engi-

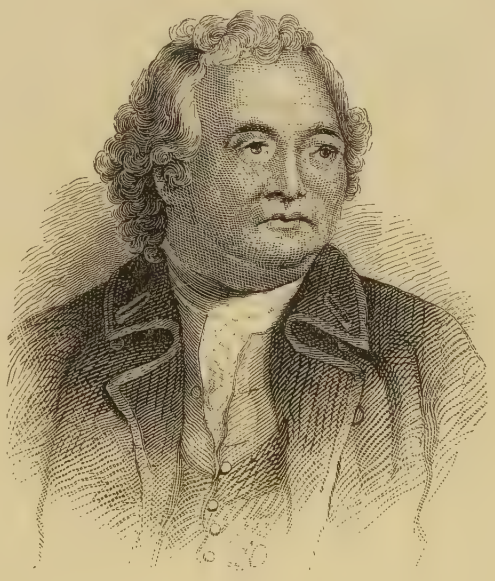
[1] This officer, who henceforth was to be identified with the fortunes of Washington's army to the close of the war, was a native of New York, became afterwards a resident of New Jersey, and claimed the title to an earldom through his Scotch descent. His name was William Alexander.

neer, was also sent, with instructions to stop on his way at Providence and Newport, and lay out such further defences as might be required at either place. Last of all followed the Commander-in-chief, who left Cambridge on April 4th, passed through Providence, and arrived at New York on the 13th. Here he fixed his headquarters temporarily at a house in Pearl Street, at the foot of Cedar Street.

Washington arrives in the city.

If the town had been like a busy camp in February and early March, it was now, with its great garrison, altogether given over to the hurry of military preparation. Families hastened into the country; often, in their fear, leaving the city in the worst of weather, and abandoning their dwellings to the soldiery. As early as April 9th, Major Fish was impressed with the change that had already occurred, and wrote to a friend that the society of the town had been abandoned by "most of its members, especially the fair;" the barricading of the streets, and other military matters were, he said, his "current employment." Some of the troops were quartered in houses at the foot of Broadway, and made sad havoc with their interiors, to the great grief and loss of their Tory owners. The few merchants who remained raised their goods to an enormous price. Rum, sugar, and cotton, went up immoderately; some articles could not be had at all. One writer notes that there was quite a panic about "pins." In every way this lately flourishing centre of colonial trade suffered the evils of a military occupation. One Jacob Harsin told the whole story when he added, in a postscript to a letter to a friend, "We are now a City of Waar."

The city as a military camp.



Israel Putnam.

While there was such strained activity here at the central point, the British plans had other ends in view than the capture of the metropolis, and in one quarter at least these plans were already working. The expedition to the southern colonies was the King's favorite project. Dunmore and Martin, the royal gov-

The Southern expedition.

ernors of Virginia and North Carolina, had made such sanguine representations of the ease with which both colonies could be brought to submission, that great things were hoped for in that quarter the moment the Governors were provided with a small force to back their authority. The seven regiments sent for this purpose had been selected by the King himself. They were led by Earl Cornwallis, and the fleet was commanded by Admiral Peter Parker; but Clinton, who, as we have seen, had been detached from the force at Boston, met them near Wilmington and assumed the general command. The work done — for it was believed it would be short, — the generals had orders to return north, and Cornwallis was to go at once to Canada.

Dunmore and Martin misunderstood the popular sentiment of their colonies. Dunmore had already exasperated the Virginians with his threats, and forays, and attempts to incite insurrection among the slaves. Martin, in North Carolina, issued a proclamation on the 10th of January denouncing the "daring, horrid, and unnatural rebellion" existing in the province, and calling upon all faithful subjects to erect his Majesty's standard and unite in its support. He was sure of gathering a large force of loyalists, and it was this that determined the destination, in the first instance, of Cornwallis's expedition. The settlers along the upper part of Cape Fear River, round about Cross Creek (the present Fayetteville), were chiefly Highlanders, who had emigrated from Scotland after the defeat of the Pretender, at Culloden, thirty years before; and were now, out of gratitude and by an oath of allegiance, bound to take up the King's cause in America. Among their leaders were the McDonalds, the McLeods, and the Stuarts, and to them Martin issued commissions with authority and orders to muster their men at Brunswick on the 15th of February, and then march to the coast to coöperate with Clinton and Cornwallis. Donald McDonald, as colonel, quickly gathered a force fifteen hundred strong, mostly Scotchmen and old "regulators," and prepared to carry out Martin's instructions. But the Governor's January proclamation also had another response. The Highlanders and the disaffected were no more prompt to obey, than the patriotic party were to disobey it. The resolute and conscientious Scotch-Irish Presbyterians in the back counties, and the majority of the inhabitants along the coast, took up arms, but it was against the King; Martin, frightened from his headquarters at Newbern, was compelled to issue his commands from on board the sloop-of-war *Scorpion*, anchored off Wilmington.

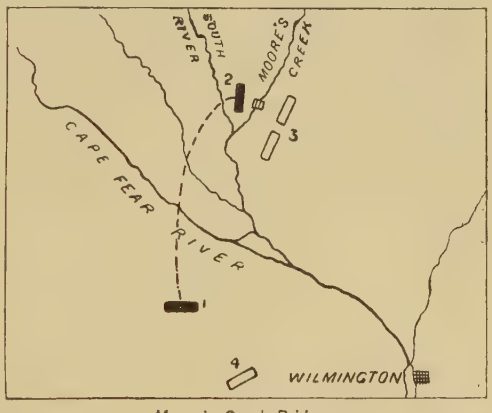
The militia rise.

When the mustering of McDonald's clans and "banditti" was heard of, the provincial militia were called out, to prevent them from reaching the Governor. Brigadier-general James Moore, of New Hanover, with his regiment of five hundred State

troops, and some others, marched to Rockfish Bridge, within seven miles of the Scotchmen's camp at Fayetteville. On the 19th he was joined by Colonel Lillington with Wilmington minute-men, Colonel Kenon with Duplin volunteers, and Colonel Ashe with independent rangers. Among these soldiers were "men of the first fortunes" in the State, who, to encourage others, "footed it the whole time."[1] Moore's force was still one or two hundred less than McDonald's. On the 20th, the latter moved within four miles of Moore, and gave him until noon of the next day to join the royal standard. Moore returned the Highlander's consideration by allowing him exactly the same time to lay down his arms and be received as a friend and countryman of America. Otherwise, he should be treated as an enemy.

That night McDonald gave the Americans the slip, and, passing them by a rapid march, headed for the coast. Moore instantly sent expresses in all directions for troops to gather at certain points to intercept the Scotchmen. Colonel Richard Caswell, a trusted citizen of Lenoir County, was coming up with eight hundred militia from Newbern; and to him word was sent to find and "by every means in his power distress, harass, and obstruct" the enemy on their way, while Colonel Lillington made a forced march to Widow Moore's Creek Bridge, twenty-five miles above Wilmington, near the South River, across which McDonald would have to move. All these detachments, directed by General Moore, made extraordinary exertions to overtake the enemy. Lillington reached the bridge on the 26th, some hours before the loyalists, and was joined in the afternoon by Caswell, who took command, tore up the planks, and erected a breastwork across the road on the lower side. The loyalists came on early the next morning. McDonald, their chief, who had fought at Culloden, had been taken ill and remained in his tent, leaving the command to Colonel McLeod, a veteran of the same field. In the ranks were the husband and son of Flora McDonald, who had won the affection of these people by helping Charles Edward, the Pretender, to escape in disguise, and who

McDonald eludes them.



Moore's Creek Bridge.

1, 2, positions of the Loyalists; 3, 4, positions of the Americans.

[1] Letter in Force's *American Archives*, Fourth Series, vol. v., p. 959.

now, an emigrant to North Carolina, stood faithful to King George in return for her pardon.

The fight at Moore's Creek Bridge.

When the enemy reached the bridge to attack, Caswell's post on the opposite side appeared to them to be abandoned. McLeod, with Captain Campbell following, charged across the still standing timbers, and, with part of the force, rushed within thirty paces of the American intrenchment, when Caswell's and Lillington's men rose from their cover and delivered a terribly destructive fire, killing the two leaders, and wounding or killing nearly forty others. Twenty balls pierced McLeod, who had almost reached the breastwork. "In a very few minutes," as Moore reported, "their whole army was put to the flight," and numbers were captured, among whom was McDonald. The victory was complete. Eight hundred and fifty were taken prisoners, disarmed, and discharged, and fifteen hundred excellent rifles were secured, besides a box of money and chests of medicines. Colonel Moore reached the ground at the close of the battle, and the united provincial force, which had but two men wounded in the action, slept that night on the field.

This affair determined the fate of Toryism in North Carolina, breaking Martin's power and blasting his hopes. Within two weeks, nearly ten thousand men were in arms in the State to resist the threatened invasion. For four years after, until Cornwallis reappeared in 1780, North Carolina enjoyed comparative quiet, and lent her aid to other colonies.

Parker's fleet arrives.

All this took place while Clinton was at Wilmington, and while the ships of the British expedition were one by one arriving there; but it was not until the 3d of May that Admiral Parker reached Cape Fear from Cork with the last of his fleet. The fifty-gun ship *Bristol*, with Cornwallis on board, had been eighty-one days on the voyage. Gales and calms delayed them. Finding what had happened in Martin's government, Cornwallis wrote to Germain: "I must still more lament the fatal delays that prevented the armament from arriving in time in this Province." Nothing remained but to make an attempt on Charleston, and thither the expedition sailed during the last days of May.

Preparations for war in South Carolina.

South Carolina stood ready to bear her share in the struggle. Her early sympathy with Massachusetts, and now with the common Continental cause, had culminated in the most active preparation for the defence of her own borders. Much had already been done. Colonel Christopher Gadsden had been appointed to command the first regiment on the Continental basis, and William Moultrie the second. William Thompson led a regiment of rangers or riflemen, all approved marksmen, the Colonel being the

best shot among them; and the militia were organized to be ready at the earliest call. The large disaffected part of the population was watched, and prevented from disturbing the measures for meeting the enemy at the sea. The militiamen on the North Carolina border were notified to march to the assistance of their sister colony on the first alarm; but now that the danger had passed in that quarter, North Carolina had already sent a regiment without waiting for the summons.

The safety of the colony depended in the present emergency upon the security of Charleston harbor. Without the coöperation of the men-of-war, Clinton would be powerless; and without the possession of the harbor the ships could not coöperate. To hold it from the enemy, accordingly, the military authorities of the State exerted their best energies. The defences begun in 1775 were pushed on rapidly. At the entrance to the harbor on the north side lay Sullivan's Island, a long, low, marshy, and wooded strip of land; and opposite, on the south side, James Island, much larger, was practically a part of the main coast. Here Gadsden was stationed, while Sullivan's Island was intrusted to Moultrie and Thompson. On the north side, nearer the city, at Haddrell's Point, Brigadier-general Armstrong, whom Congress had sent down from Pennsylvania, took command. The city itself was subjected to much the same treatment as New York. Along the water-front, batteries and breastworks were thrown up. Valuable storehouses were torn down at the docks, to give room for the play of the cannon; the streets were barricaded; the leaden weights of the windows of the churches and houses were moulded into bullets, and boats, wagons, and horses impressed. Lee arrived on the 4th of June to assume command, and was constantly active in providing further means of defence.

Defences for Charleston.

The point of greatest importance in the harbor defences was the fort which Colonel Moultrie and his men had been building on Sullivan's Island, where the channel ran nearest to the shore. This was Fort Sullivan, and in shape and size it resembled Fort George at the Battery in New York, — a square with four bastions, large enough to hold a thousand men. Night and day the soldiers and carpenters worked on it, and yet, says Moultrie, it was not nearly done when the enemy attacked. Only the two faces fronting the channel were complete, and on these thirty-one guns were mounted. But the best material was ready to their hands. The palmetto logs which entered largely into the construction of the work, with their tough and spongy fibre, were hardly less serviceable than a mail of iron, and there was plenty of sand to support them. The walls were sixteen feet thick, and the centre of the fort was a swamp.

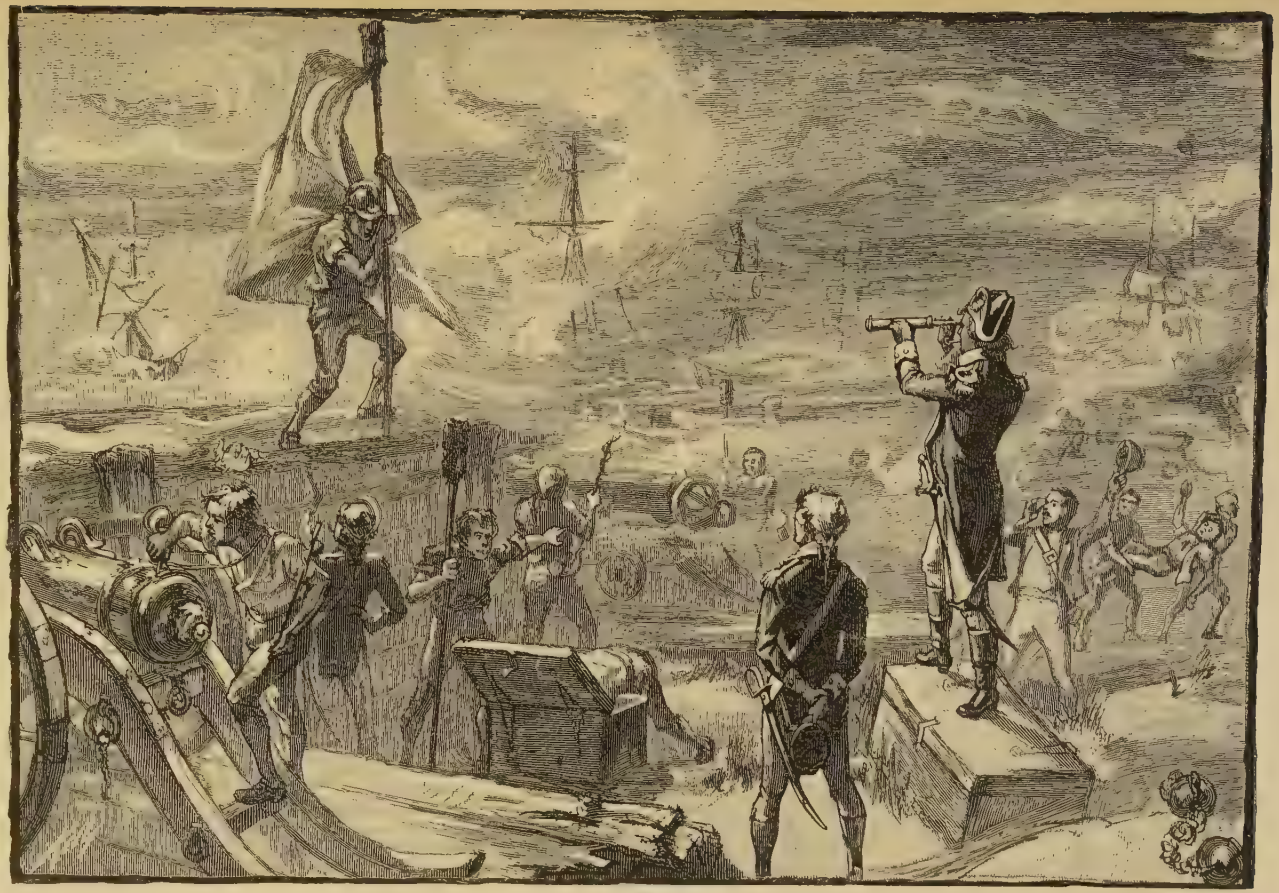
The enemy made their appearance in the offing on the 31st of May. Though expected, the news startled Charleston. President Rutledge and his Council immediately sent expresses throughout the State to hasten the march of the militia to the coast. Citizens packed off their families into the country. Everybody went to work more vigorously on the defences, — slaves and masters alike. Lee showed distrust in the ability of Moultrie and his fort to keep back the fleet, and once he recommended abandonment of the post. At all events, he urged the immediate building of a bridge of boats between Sullivan's Island and the main. But Moultrie had no thought of turning back. One day, when Lee visited him, he took him aside and asked, "Colonel, do you think you can maintain this post?" "Yes, I think I can," was Moultrie's reply. When finally the ships came over the bar, his temper was again tested. "Well, Colonel," said Captain Lamperer, an old sailor, "what do you think of it now?" "I think we shall beat them." "Sir, when those ships come to lie alongside of your fort, they will knock it down in half an hour." "Then we will lie behind the ruins and prevent their men from landing," replied Moultrie.

The British fleet appears.

After long delay, the British advanced to the attack, on the morning of the 28th of June. The land forces had debarked on Long Island, lying north of Sullivan's but a short distance; and they were to attack Thompson first and then Moultrie, in the flank and rear, while the fleet should bombard the fort in front. Between ten and eleven o'clock the men-of-war sailed up the channel opposite to Moultrie's palmetto work, and the action opened. There were two fifty-gun ships, the *Bristol* and *Experiment;* the frigates *Actæon*, *Active*, *Solebay*, *Sphynx*, and *Syren*, of twenty-eight guns each; the mortar-ship *Thunder Bomb*, and two smaller vessels. Two hundred guns were here to be trained on the devoted post. The *Solebay* led the squadron, with the *Bristol*, flying Admiral Parker's pennant, third in line. As they approached within range, the Americans opened fire on the leading vessels, but no reply was made until the fleet had come to anchor close to the fort. The bombardment now began, and was sustained in "one continual blaze and roar." Deserters reported that Moultrie's first fire killed a man in the *Bristol's* tops, whereupon the Admiral ordered the tops to be cleared.[1] Shot poured against the side of the fort, but they sank into the logs, without splintering or dislodging them; the shells that fell within plunged mostly into the marsh or deep sand, and seldom exploded, so that the ships' fire proved less damaging than might have been inferred from the sound of the repeated and simultaneous discharges.

The attack.

[1] Gadsden to Moultrie. *Force.*



DEFENCE OF FORT SULLIVAN.

Moultrie's men withstood the ordeal with unfailing courage and discipline. The Colonel, who was suffering from the gout, smoked his pipe with his officers. Their guns were well aimed, and the balls tore through the ships with fatal effect. All through the long and hot afternoon the bombardment was kept up, and neither side showed signs of yielding. Once the flag of the fort, a blue banner with a silver crescent, bearing the word "Liberty," was shot away, but Sergeant William Jasper boldly leaped the parapet, and replaced it securely on the bastion in the hottest of the fire. Jasper's exploit. On the other hand the *Bristol's* cables were cut by the shot, and as she swung around, bringing her decks within range of the American guns, they poured in a deadly fire. The ship and her crew suffered terribly. Captain Morris was taken below, wounded in several places, and his arm shot away. Every man on the quarter deck was either killed or wounded, the Admiral standing alone at one time in the thickest of the shot. He escaped with his clothes torn and a slight wound. The *Experiment* suffered hardly less than the *Bristol*. "Mind the Commodore!" "Mind the fifty-gun ships!" was Moultrie's order; and their death-roll showed how effectively the artillerists did their work, these two ships alone suffering a loss of sixty-three killed and one hundred and forty-seven wounded. Three of the other ships attempted to take position westward of the fort, but all ran aground. The *Actæon* next morning was abandoned and burned. By seven in the evening, the ships' fire slackened, and at nine they slipped their cables and withdrew two miles from the Island. Clinton, with the land forces, had attempted to cross from Long Island to Sullivan's Island, but the fire from Thompson's battery, and the depth of the ford, frustrated his plans. The final repulse.

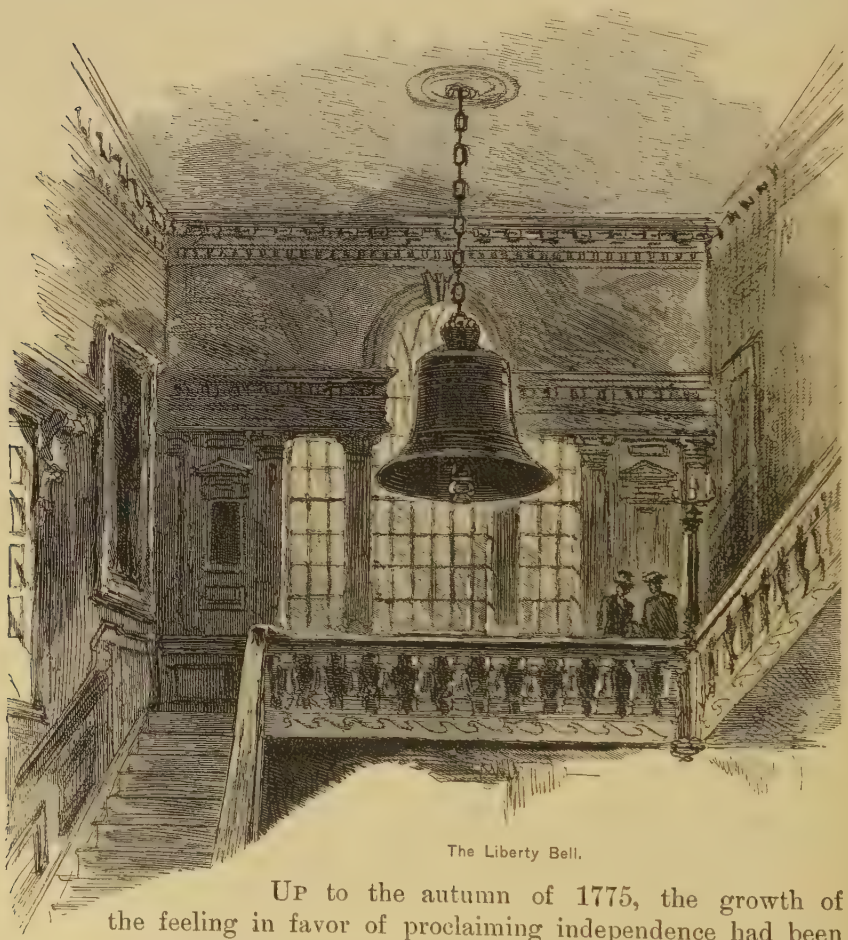
The victory was complete. Congratulations poured in upon Moultrie. His regiment was presented with a pair of beautiful banners. Lee, who had visited the fort during the engagement, and pointed some of the guns himself, wrote to Washington of Moultrie's men: "The cool courage they displayed astonished and enraptured me, for I do assure you, my dear General, I never experienced a hotter fire. Twelve full hours it was continued without intermission. The noble fellows who were mortally wounded, enjoined their brethren never to abandon the Standard of Liberty."[1] The garrison lost ten men killed, and twenty-nine wounded. From that day the fort was known as Fort Moultrie. The decisive character of this action convinced the British of the improbability of success in that quarter, and the expedition sailed for New York. The results.

[1] *The Lee Papers. N. Y. Hist. Soc. Coll.*

CHAPTER XIX.

DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE.

GROWTH OF THE IDEA OF INDEPENDENCE. — PAINE'S "COMMON SENSE." — THE MENDON RESOLUTIONS. — THE SUFFOLK RESOLUTIONS. — THE CHESTER RESOLUTION. — THE MECKLENBURG RESOLUTIONS. — ACTION OF THE SEVERAL COLONIES, AND OF THE CONTINENTAL CONGRESS. — LEE'S RESOLUTIONS. — THE COMMITTEE TO DRAFT A DECLARATION OF REASONS. — INDEPENDENCE DECLARED. — JEFFERSON'S DECLARATION. — THE SLAVE-TRADE CLAUSE. — RECEPTION BY THE PEOPLE. — FORMATION OF THE STATE CONSTITUTIONS.



The Liberty Bell.

UP to the autumn of 1775, the growth of the feeling in favor of proclaiming independence had been very slow. But after the royal proclamation had severed all relations except those between a government and rebels who have

"traitorously levied war" against it, the sentiment spread through the country. As Hancock said, affairs were "hastening fast to a crisis." Views which a twelvemonth before would have been denounced as treasonable and dangerous, were now freely expressed in conversation, in letters, and in pamphlets that had a wide circulation. Franklin, who in March, 1775, personally assured Lord Chatham that, although he had travelled widely in America, he never had heard, "in any conversation from any person, drunk or sober," the least expression in favor of independence, wrote to a friend in Holland, at the close of the year, that American independence was likely to be declared before long. When Congress assembled in May, 1775, the Massachusetts delegates were suspected of leaning toward separation, which even the most active Sons of Liberty in Philadelphia were unprepared for, and they said to Adams on his arrival, "You must not utter the word independence, nor give the least hint or insinuation of the idea, either in Congress or in any private conversation; if you do, you are undone, for the idea is as unpopular in Pennsylvania, and all the Middle and Southern States, as the Stamp Act itself." Early in 1776 Adams wrote that scarcely a newspaper was issued which did not openly vindicate the opinions so recently denounced.

Growth of independence.

Thomas Paine.

The publication which had the widest influence at this juncture was undoubtedly Thomas Paine's "Common Sense." Paine was an Englishman, with literary tastes and ambition, who, at the age of thirty-seven, came to America in December, 1774, taught pupils in Philadelphia, and edited the "Pennsylvania Magazine." He was befriended by Dr. Benjamin Rush, and at his suggestion wrote, under that famous title, a pamphlet which presented a strong and original plea for independence. It appeared anonymously in January, 1776, and had a wide circulation. Everybody read it, and nearly everybody was influenced by it. "All men, whether in England or America," wrote Paine, "confess that a separation between

Paine's "Common Sense."

the countries will take place one time or other. To find out the very time, we need not go far, for the time hath found us. . . . . There is something absurd in supposing a continent perpetually governed by an island. . . . . Britain is the parent country, say some; then the more shame upon her conduct. . . . . A government of our own is our natural right. . . . . We have boasted the protection of Great Britain without considering that her motive was interest, not attachment; that she did not protect us from our enemies on our account, but from her enemies on her own account, — from those who had no quarrel with us on any other account, and who will always be our enemies on the same account."

The Mendon Resolutions.

The Colonial Declaration of Independence, which was soon to follow, was to some extent anticipated by the action of various towns and counties. The first of them all, probably, was the town of Mendon, Worcester County, Mass., which in 1773 adopted these resolutions: —

"*Resolved*, That all men have an equal right to life, liberty, and property. Therefore,

"*Resolved*, That all just and lawful government must originate in the free consent of the people.

"*Resolved*, That a right to liberty and property (which are natural means of self-preservation) is absolutely inalienable, and can never lawfully be given up by ourselves or taken from us by others."[1]

The Suffolk Resolutions.

Here are three of the fundamental propositions of the great Declaration, — that all men have an equal right to life and liberty;[2] that this right is inalienable; and that just government must originate in the free consent of the people. Following these were the Suffolk Resolutions, adopted by the delegates for Suffolk County, Massachusetts, in a meeting at Milton, September 6, 1774, bearing a similar resemblance to the Colonial Declaration, especially in the catalogue of grievances. Dr. (afterward General) Joseph Warren was chairman of the committee that reported them, and is believed to have been their author. The preamble declares that "the power but not the justice, the vengeance but not the wisdom of Great Britain, which of old persecuted, scourged, and exiled our fugitive parents from their native shores, now pursue us, their guiltless children, with unrelenting severity," and that "if a boundless extent of continent, swarming with millions, will tamely submit to live, move, and have their being at the arbitrary will of a licentious ministry, they basely yield to voluntary slavery." It also recites some of the more flagrant

[1] *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society*, April 27, 1870.

[2] The addition of "the pursuit of happiness" is mere rhetoric, that idea being already included in "liberty."

causes of complaint, such as the mutilation of the charter, the presence of ships of war, military murders in the streets of Boston, and the law designed to shield the murderers. The first resolution acknowledges George III. as the rightful sovereign. The second declares it the indispensable duty of the colonists to preserve civil and religious liberty. The third denounces the Boston Port Bill and kindred acts, and the fourth declares that no obedience to those acts is due from this province. The fifth declares that, so long as the justices of the several courts hold their places by any other tenure than that which the charter and laws direct, no regard ought to be paid to them by the people; and the sixth pledges the county to support and bear harmless all officers who refuse to execute the orders of the courts, at the same time recommending that disputes between citizens be referred to arbitration. The seventh advises collectors of taxes to retain the public moneys till the civil government is placed on constitutional ground. The eighth denounces those who have accepted seats at the council board by virtue of a *mandamus* from the King, and calls upon them to resign, or be considered enemies of the province. The ninth expresses alarm at the new fortifications on Boston Neck. The tenth advises that all qualified citizens use the utmost diligence to acquaint themselves with the art of war, and meet for that purpose at least once a week. The eleventh declares a purpose to act merely on the defensive, so long as that is consistent with self-preservation, and assigns "affection to his Majesty" as the reason for this. The twelfth suggests that if any citizens who have been conspicuous in contending for violated rights are arrested, the unconstitutional office-holders should be seized as hostages. The thirteenth declares the necessity for a Provincial Congress; and the fourteenth promises respect and submission to the measures of the Colonial Congress for the restoration of civil and religious rights. The fifteenth counsels order, respect for the rights of property, and "a steady, manly, uniform, and persevering opposition, to convince our enemies that, in a contest so important, in a cause so solemn, our conduct shall be such as to merit the approbation of the wise and good, and the admiration of the brave and free, of every age and every country."[1] These resolutions were sent to the Continental Congress, which approved them on September 17, and resolved that the whole continent ought to support Massachusetts in resisting the unconstitutional change in her government, and that whoever accepted office under the altered state of affairs should be considered a public enemy.

The committee of Chester County, Pennsylvania, on May 31, 1775,

[1] The resolutions may be found in the appendix to Bradford's *History of Massachusetts*.

The Chester Resolution.

adopted a resolution asking the citizens to pledge themselves to "learn the military exercise," and that "we will, at all times, be in readiness to defend the lives, liberties, and properties of ourselves and fellow-countrymen, against all attempts to deprive us of them."[1] Other counties took similar action. On the 6th of June, 1775, the County of Cumberland, New York (now Southern Vermont), passed unanimously a series of resolutions, the first of which declared that the late revenue acts of the British Parliament were "unjust, illegal, and diametrically opposite to the Bill of Rights;" and the second "That we will resist and oppose the said Acts of Parliament, in conjunction with our brethren in America, at the expense of our lives and fortunes, to the last extremity, if our duty to God and our country require the same."[2]

The Mecklenburg Resolutions.

On the 31st of May, 1775 (the very day that Chester County, Pennsylvania, passed its resolution), the committee of Mecklenburg County, North Carolina, adopted a series somewhat similar to the Suffolk resolutions of the year before. The preamble founds this action upon "an address presented to his Majesty by both Houses of Parliament in February last," wherein "the American colonies are declared to be in a state of actual rebellion." From this circumstance the Committee say they "conceive that all laws and commissions confirmed by or derived from the authority of the King and Parliament, are annulled and vacated, and the former civil constitution of these colonies for the present wholly suspended." The first resolution declares all commissions granted by the Crown to be void. The second declares that no legislative or executive power exists, except in the Provincial Congress of each province. The third to the fifteenth are devoted to a code of procedure for civil disputes and the collection of taxes. The sixteenth declares that "whatever person shall hereafter receive a commission from the Crown, or attempt to exercise any such commission heretofore received, shall be deemed an enemy to his country," and the seventeenth denounces as equally criminal any person who refuses obedience to the above rules. The eighteenth pronounces these rules to be in force till the Provincial Congress shall provide otherwise, "or the legislative body of Great Britain resign its unjust and arbitrary pretensions with respect to America." The nineteenth provides for the arming of the county militia, and the twentieth for the purchase of powder, lead, and flints.[3] The resolutions bear the signature of Dr. Ephraim Brevard as Clerk of the Committee, and he is believed to have been their

[1] Printed in Force's *American Archives*, Fourth Series, vol. ii., p. 859.
[2] Force's *American Archives*, Fourth Series, vol. ii., p. 918.
[3] Wheeler's *History of North Carolina*, p. 255.

author. As soon as they were adopted, they were read from the steps of the Court House in Charlottetown, and a copy was sent by special messenger to the Congress at Philadelphia. They were published in the "South Carolina Gazette" of June 13, 1775, and a copy sent to Earl Dartmouth, Secretary of State for the Colonies, by Governor Wright of Georgia, is still in the State Paper Office, London. In a note accompanying it, Governor Wright said: "By the enclosed paper your lordship will see the extraordinary resolves by the people in Charlottetown, Mecklenburg County; and I should not be surprised if the same should be done everywhere else." It required no great sagacity to surmise that the same would be done everywhere else, inasmuch as it had been done already in so many other places. One month later, Governor Martin, of North Carolina, writing from Fort Johnston to the Secretary, says: "The minutes of a council held at this place the other day, will make the impotence of Government here as apparent to your Lordship as anything I can set before you. . . . . The situation in which I find myself at present, is indeed, my lord, most despicable and mortifying. . . . . The resolves of the committee of Mecklenburg, which your Lordship will find in the enclosed newspaper, surpass all the horrid and treasonable publications that the inflammatory spirits of the continent have yet produced." The horrified Governor assigned this bad preëminence to the Mecklenburg resolutions, not because of their intrinsic character, for they were less audacious and forcible than some of the others quoted above, but because they were uttered in his own province, and in them he read his own deposition from power. They do not appear to have attracted any attention in Congress, or even to have been officially received there, — perhaps because similar ones (notably those of Suffolk County) had already been received and acted upon.[1]

[1] The Mecklenburg resolutions of May 31 had entirely passed from memory, when in 1819 the Raleigh, N. C., *Register* published a series of five which, according to an accompanying statement purporting to have been written at the time, were adopted by the people of that county on the *twentieth* day of May, 1775. Portions of these resolutions bore a striking likeness to the most familiar parts of the Colonial Declaration of Independence — so striking as to render it morally certain that one must have been taken from the other. This was especially true of the third: "That we do hereby declare ourselves a free and independent people, and of right ought to be a sovereign and self-governing association, under the control of no power other than that of our God and the general government of the Congress; to the maintenance of which independence we solemnly pledge to each other our mutual coöperation, our lives, our fortunes, and our most sacred honour." The accompanying statement declared that a copy of the resolutions was sent to the North Carolina delegation in Congress, and the messenger on his return reported that they "were individually approved by the members, but it was deemed premature to lay them before the House." The original manuscript was said to have been burned on the 6th of April, 1800, but a copy had been sent to Dr. Hugh Williamson, who was writing a history of North Carolina, and another to General W. R. Davie. But Williamson does not mention them

Preparations for independence.

By the spring of 1776, the uppermost thought in men's minds, all over the country, had come to be independence of England, a more perfect union of the colonies, and the establishment of a local government for each. John Adams, in the previous November, had written a letter to Richard Henry Lee, in which he says: "It is a curious problem, what form of government is most readily and easily adopted by a colony upon a sudden emergency." In this, and in another letter, written the following January, he sketched a plan for the guidance of a people seeking "to get out of the old government into a new one." [1] The desire to read the second letter, — which was the more elaborate, — was so great, and the application for copies so frequent, that it was printed, but without the author's name, and its influence was felt both in and out of Congress.[2]

in his history, and the Davie copy was accompanied by a certificate, dated September 3, 1800, which expressly declared it to be compiled solely from memory, and that it "might not literally correspond with the original record." On the publication of this document in 1819, Jefferson pronounced it "a very unjustifiable quiz," and pointed out the weakness of its claim to authenticity. John Adams expressed surprise that he had never heard of it before, and wrote to William Bentley, August 21, 1819: "I was on social friendly terms with Caswell, Hooper, and Hewes (delegates from North Carolina in the Continental Congress), every moment of their existence in Congress; with Hooper, a Bostonian and a son of Harvard, intimate and familiar. Yet from neither of the three did the slightest hint of these Mecklenburg resolutions ever escape:" and to Jefferson he wrote: "You know that if I had possessed it I would have made the hall of Congress echo and reëcho with it fifteen months before your Declaration of Independence." Furthermore, it has been shown that in August, 1775, the members of the North Carolina Provincial Congress, including four of the reputed signers of the Declaration of May 20, subscribed their names to a test of loyalty to the British Crown. The controversy that arose upon this question caused the Legislature of North Carolina, in 1830, to appoint a committee to investigate it. In 1838 Peter Force, compiling his *American Archives*, came upon an abbreviated copy of the genuine resolutions of May 31, and in 1847 Dr. Joseph Johnson found the entire series in the *South Carolina Gazette*, while about the same time George Bancroft discovered the copy in the London State Paper Office. The probable explanation then becomes obvious, namely: that the compiler of the disputed series did remember the circumstance of certain resolutions having been passed, — though making an error of eleven days in the date, — and in attempting to reproduce them was influenced by an unconscious remembrance of the far more striking expressions of the Colonial Declaration of July 4, 1776. For a conclusive discussion of this whole subject, see an article by Dr. James C. Welling, in the *North American Review* for April, 1874.

[1] See Appendix to vol. ii. of Sparks's *Writings of Washington*, and vol. iv. of *Works of John Adams*.

[2] Among the Warren Papers, in the possession of Mr. Winslow Warren, of Boston, is a letter from John Adams to James Warren, the larger portion of which is devoted to "the rise and progress" of this pamphlet on the formation of State governments. It is interesting and valuable, as showing how much the earliest State constitutions were formed upon the suggestions made by Mr. Adams. The pamphlet referred to is in *Works of John Adams*, vol. iv., but this letter has never been published, and is much fuller than anything heretofore discovered in relation to a subject of so much interest in the life of Mr. Adams, and in the constitutional history of the States. Mr. Adams says: . . . . "Inclosed you have a little Pamphlet, the rise and progress of which you shall be told. Mr. Hooper and

On the 26th of March, the General Assembly of South Carolina, — the judges of her courts refusing to exercise their functions, — adopted a Constitution for the government of that Province. It was intended, however, only as a temporary measure, to "continue to the 21st of October next and no longer," or, — as its preamble recited — "until an accommodation of the unhappy differences between Great Britain and America can be obtained, an event which, though traduced and treated as rebels, we still earnestly desire." North Carolina next took up the question — on the 12th of April — and her action was restrained by no avowed expectation of possible conciliation. The Congress of that Province voted that her delegates "in the Continental Congress be empowered to concur with the delegates of the other colonies in declaring independency, and forming foreign alliances," reserving at the same time, — in which her example was followed by other provinces, — the right "of forming a Constitution and laws for this colony."

Action of South Carolina.

Of North Carolina.

Rhode Island, a little later, went further. On the 4th of May she declared that as George III., regardless of the compact between him and his colonial subjects, was endeavoring to compel them "to submit to the most debasing and detestable tyranny," it therefore "becomes our highest duty to use every means which God and nature have furnished us, in support of our invaluable

Of Rhode Island.

Penn, of North Carolina, received from their friends in that Colony very pressing instances to return home and attend the Convention, and at the same time to bring with them every hint they could collect concerning government.

"Mr. Hooper applied to a certain Gentleman acquainted with the tenor of his letters, and requested that Gentleman to give him his sentiments upon the subject. Soon afterwards Mr. Penn applied to the same Gentleman, and acquainted him with the contents of his letters, and requested the same favor.

"The time was very short. However, the Gentleman thinking it an opportunity, providentially thrown in his way, of communicating some hints upon a subject which seems not to have been sufficiently considered in the Southern Colonies, and so of turning the thoughts of gentlemen that way, concluded to borrow a little time from his sleep, and accordingly wrote with his own hand a sketch, which he copied, giving the original to Mr. Hooper and the copy to Mr. Penn, which they carried with them to Carolina. Mr. Wythe, getting a sight of it, desired a copy, which the Gentleman made out from his memory as nearly as he could. Afterwards Mr. Sergeant, of New Jersey, requested another, which the Gentleman made out again from his memory, and in this he enlarged and amplified a good deal, and sent it to Princeton. After this, Colonel Lee requested the same favor, but the Gentleman, having written, amidst all his engagements, five copies — or, rather, five sketches, for no one of them was a copy of the other — which amounted to ten sheets of paper pretty full and in a fine hand, was quite weary of the office. To avoid the trouble of writing any more, he borrowed Mr. Wythe's copy, and lent it to Colonel Lee, who has put it under types and thrown it into the shape you see. It is a pity it had not been Mr. Sergeant's copy, for that is larger and more complete, perhaps more correct. This is very incorrect, and not truly printed. The design, however, is to mark out a path and put men upon thinking. I would not have this matter communicated."

rights and privileges, to oppose that power which is exercised only for our destruction." It was then enacted that the "Act, entitled 'An Act for the more effectually securing to his Majesty the allegiance of his subjects in this his colony and dominion of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations,' be, and the same is, hereby repealed;" and it was provided that in all commissions for officers, in all writs, and in all processes of law, "wherever the name and authority of the said King is made use of, the same shall be omitted, and in the room thereof, the name and authority of the Governor and Company of this colony shall be substituted;" that the courts of law be no longer entitled nor considered as the King's courts; and that no instrument in writing, of any nature or kind, whether public or private, shall in the date thereof, mention the year of the said King's reign." At the end of this session of the Assembly, the records which, says Arnold,[1] had always closed with the formula, "God save the King," ended now with the words, "God save the United Colonies." Thus the first colony to declare her absolute independence of the Crown was Rhode Island.

Of Massachusetts.

Massachusetts was not far behind, though her first official action, like that of South and North Carolina, was prospective rather than positive. On the 10th of May her House of Representatives called upon the people to assemble in town meetings and instruct their representatives "Whether, if the Honorable Congress should, for the safety of the said colonies, declare them independent of the Kingdom of Great Britain, they, the said inhabitants, will solemnly engage, with their lives and fortunes, to support them in the measure." A month later, James Warren wrote to Elbridge Gerry that one half the members of the House had received affirmative instructions, and that probably all would have been so instructed had the resolution reached them sooner. "Thus, it appears to me," he adds, "the sentiments of our colony are more united on this great question than they ever were on any other; perhaps ninety-nine in a hundred would engage, with their lives and fortunes, to support Congress in the matter." One town only in the Commonwealth seemed to hesitate. The vote of the majority in Barnstable — the birthplace of James Otis — was in the negative; but the same record bears the protest of the minority, — headed by Joseph Otis, a younger brother of James, — and their protest was made more emphatic, and with added numbers, in a second public meeting the next day. Pittsfield undoubtedly represented the feeling of the whole province, in instructing its representative that he should "on no pretence, whatever, favor a union with Great Britain," and that he should use all

[1] *History of Rhode Island.*

his influence with the House to assure the Congress that this whole Province are waiting for the important moment which they in their great wisdom shall appoint for the declaration of Independence and a free Republick."

May, indeed, was a month of unusual agitation. Five days after Massachusetts had called upon her towns to sanction by formal vote the undoubted determination of the people, — eleven days after Rhode Island had declared herself an independent Commonwealth, — the Continental Congress, on the 15th, recommended to all the colonial assemblies to form such governments as should "best conduce to the happiness and safety of their constituents in particular and America in general;" for, the preamble to the resolution declared, the people being excluded by Act of Parliament from the protection of the Crown, "it is necessary that the exercise of every kind of authority under the said Crown shall be totally suppressed, and all the powers of government exerted under the authority of the people of the colonies." Action of the Continental Congress.

The country was ready for this final and conclusive step. Those colonies that had not already spoken, — directly, as Rhode Island, North Carolina, Massachusetts; indirectly, as South Carolina had done, — avowed, with a single exception, in the course of the next six weeks, their determination to unite in declaring their independence. The one exception was New York, whose Assembly hesitated on a technicality, giving at the same time constructive assent.

Virginia had not waited for the suggestion from the Continental Congress of the 15th of May. On that same day her Convention — which had displaced the Provincial Assembly — instructed the Virginia delegates in Congress to urge it "to declare the United Colonies free and independent States, absolved from allegiance to, or dependence upon the Crown or Parliament of Great Britain;" and at the same time a committee was appointed to prepare "a Declaration of Rights, and such a plan of government as will be most likely to maintain peace and order in this colony, and secure substantial and equal liberty to the people." Of Virginia.

On the 14th of June the Connecticut Assembly resolved unanimously that the delegates of that colony to the Provincial Congress, be instructed to propose to that body "to declare the United American Colonies free and independent States, absolved from all allegiance to the King, and to give the assent of this colony to such declaration, when they shall judge it expedient and best." So, on the same day, the Delaware House of Representatives took up the congressional resolution of May 15, and gave it their unqualified and unanimous approval. Of Connecticut.

Of New Hampshire.

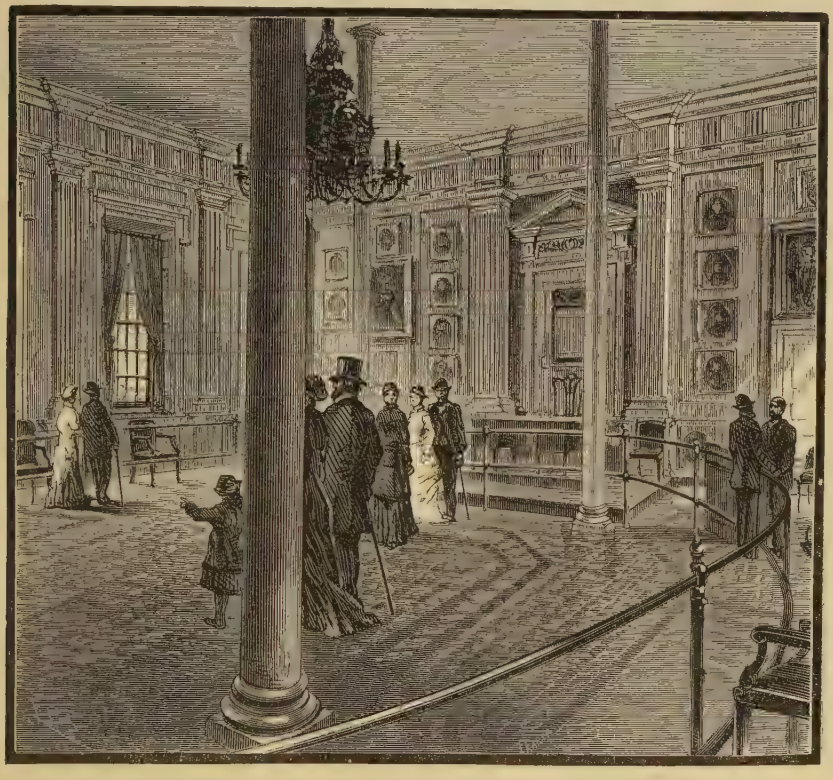
New Hampshire was one day only behind Connecticut. A joint committee of the Council and Assembly were appointed to draw up a declaration of opinion, which, on the 15th, was reported and unanimously adopted. It pronounced New Hampshire "free and independent of the Crown," and instructed its delegates in the Continental Congress to support a measure for the independence of the thirteen colonies, with the usual reservation of local government.

Of Pennsylvania.

Whatever immediate influence may have been exercised in Philadelphia itself by the presence of Congress, it was not sufficient to dispel the doubt as to the policy which the Province of Pennsylvania might insist upon maintaining. Religious convictions, with Friends, overruled all political considerations; with them no wrongs justified an appeal to the sword. The Proprietary interest was still of great weight, and these combined influences tempered the ardor of the most determined patriotism to that degree, at least, that moderation and caution guided and checked the popular movement. But they did not control it. When the advisory Resolution of Congress came before the Assembly, it was determined that the instructions given to their delegates the previous November should not be changed. "We strictly enjoin you," said those instructions, "that you, in behalf of this colony, dissent from and utterly reject any propositions, should such be made, that may cause or lead to a separation from our mother country, or a change of the form of this government." But to repeat this order was almost the final act of Proprietary rule in this Province. On the 20th a large meeting of the people of Philadelphia convened in the State-house yard. It declared that the government was no longer "competent to the exigencies of our affairs;" that "a Provincial Convention ought to be chosen by the people, for the express purpose of carrying the said resolve of Congress into execution;" and directed the committee of the city to call a conference of the committees of every county in the Province.

The Conference assembled on the 18th of June; on the 19th it resolved that the Resolution of Congress of the 15th of May was fully approved; that the present government of Pennsylvania was incompetent, and that a Provincial Convention be called to form a new one. On the 24th a committee, appointed for that purpose, reported a declaration which, after an explanatory preamble, declared that "We, the Deputies of the people of Pennsylvania, assembled in full Provincial Conference for forming a plan for executing the Resolve of Congress of the 15th of May last, for suppressing all authority in this Province derived from the Crown of Great Britain, and for

establishing a government upon the authority of the people only, now, in this publick manner, in behalf of ourselves, and with the approbation, consent, and authority of our constituents, unanimously declare our willingness to concur in a vote of the Congress declaring the United Colonies free and independent States, provided the forming the government and the regulation of the internal police of this Colony be always reserved to the people of the said Colony."



Congress Hall. — Room where the Declaration was signed.

On the 30th of May, Governor Franklin, of New Jersey, a son of Benjamin Franklin, issued a proclamation calling upon the Congress of that Province to meet on the 20th of the next month. That body, however, assembled on the 10th of June, full charged with zeal and courage in the common cause. On the 16th it declared that the Governor, in his proclamation, had "acted in direct contempt and violation of the Resolve of the Continental Congress of the 15th day of May," and that he had "discovered himself to be an enemy of the liberties of his country." Within a day or two he was arrested, and soon after sent to Connecticut, where, the House

Of New Jersey.

said, "he would be capable of doing less mischief than in New Jersey." On the 21st it was determined to form a new government in accordance with the recommendation of Congress; and two days afterward five delegates were chosen to represent the Province in the Continental Congress, with authority "to join with them in declaring the United Colonies independent of Great Britain."

Of Maryland.

New York and Maryland moved more slowly than the other colonies; but it was rather from the tardy caution of legislative action than any want of popular enthusiasm. In both there was a strong Tory party. Maryland had first to rid herself of a royal and proprietary Governor. Early in April correspondence between the Ministry and Governor Eden had been intercepted, and more naturally than reasonably, — for he was the representative of the King, and the colonies, however good their cause, were in rebellion, — had aroused great indignation. General Lee, then in command of the Southern Department, wrote to Samuel Purviance, the Chairman of the Baltimore Committee, urging Eden's immediate arrest. "The sin and shame," he said, in his impulsive and dictatorial way, "be on my head. I will answer for all to the Congress." It was not, however, a question of sin and shame, but only of expediency, and wiser men than Lee thought that Eden at liberty in England would be much less likely to do harm than an imprisoned Governor in Maryland with a party behind him. The Convention advised him to depart, and in June he put himself out of reach, on board an English frigate. On the 9th of that month the Committee of Safety called upon the Convention to meet on the 20th, and that body resolved, when it came together, that the writs issued, in the name of the Proprietary, for a new election of members of the Assembly, should not be obeyed. It further resolved, on the 25th, "that the representatives of the colony in Congress, or a majority of them, or any three or more of them, be authorized and empowered to concur with the other United Colonies, or a majority of them, in declaring the United Colonies free and independent states."

Of New York.

On the 24th of May the New York Congress appointed a committee to consider and report upon the Congressional Resolution of the 15th. After several reports, the conclusion reached, on the 31st, was, that inasmuch as the existing Congress came into existence under the old government, which was dissolved by the hostile acts of the King, and by the abdication of Governor Tryon, the question of a new government must be decided by the people; and therefore there should be an election of a new Congress, to meet not later than the second Monday of the next July. The delegates in the Continental Congress, therefore, were left without instructions. What

In CONGRESS, July 4, 1776.

A DECLARATION

By the REPRESENTATIVES of the

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,

In GENERAL CONGRESS ASSEMBLED.

WHEN in the Courſe of human Events, it becomes neceſſary for one People to diſſolve the Political Bands which have connected them with another, and to aſſume among the Powers of the Earth, the ſeperate and equal Station to which the Laws of Nature and of Nature's God entitle them, a decent Reſpect to the Opinions of Mankind requires that they ſhould declare the Cauſes which impel them to the ſeperation.

We hold theſe Truths to be ſelf-evident, that all Men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among theſe are Life, Liberty, and the Purſuit of Happineſs.—That to ſecure theſe Rights, Governments are inſtituted among Men, deriving their juſt Powers from the Conſent of the Governed, that whenever any Form of Government becomes deſtructive of theſe Ends, it is the Right of the People to alter or to aboliſh it, and to inſtitute new Government, laying its foundation on ſuch Principles, and organizing its Powers in ſuch Form, as to them ſhall ſeem moſt likely to effect their Safety and Happineſs. Prudence, indeed, will dictate that Governments long eſtabliſhed ſhould not be changed for light and tranſient Cauſes; and accordingly all Experience hath ſhewn, that Mankind are more diſpoſed to ſuffer, while Evils are ſufferable, than to right themſelves by aboliſhing the Forms to which they are accuſtomed. But when a long Train of Abuſes and Uſurpations, purſuing invariably the ſame Object, evinces a Deſign to reduce them under abſolute Deſpotiſm, it is their Right, it is their Duty, to throw off ſuch Government, and to provide new Guards for their future Security. Such has been the patient Sufferance of theſe Colonies; and ſuch is now the Neceſſity which conſtrains them to alter their former Syſtems of Government. The Hiſtory of the preſent King of Great-Britain is a Hiſtory of repeated Injuries and Uſurpations, all having in direct Object the Eſtabliſhment of an abſolute Tyranny over theſe States. To prove this, let Facts be ſubmitted to a candid World.

He has refuſed his aſſent to Laws, the moſt wholeſome and neceſſary for the public Good.

He has forbidden his Governors to paſs Laws of immediate and preſſing Importance, unleſs ſuſpended in their Operation till his Aſſent ſhould be obtained; and when ſo ſuſpended, he has utterly neglected to attend to them.

He has refuſed to paſs other Laws for the Accommodation of large Diſtricts of People, unleſs thoſe People would relinquiſh the Right of Repreſentation in the Legiſlature, a Right ineſtimable to them, and formidable to Tyrants only.

He has called together Legiſlative Bodies at Places unuſual, uncomfortable, and diſtant from the Depoſitory of their public Records, for the ſole Purpoſe of fatiguing them into Compliance with his Meaſures.

He has diſſolved Repreſentative Houſes repeatedly, for oppoſing with manly Firmneſs his Invaſions on the Rights of the People.

He has refuſed for a long Time, after ſuch Diſſolutions, to cauſe others to be elected; whereby the Legiſlative Powers, incapable of Annihilation, have returned to the people at large for their exercile; the State remaining in the mean time expoſed to all the Dangers of Invaſion from without, and Convulſions within.

He has endeavoured to prevent the population of theſe States; for that Purpoſe obſtructing the Laws for Naturalization of Foreigners; refuſing to paſs others to encourage their Migrations hither, and raiſing the Conditions of new Appropriations of Land.

He has obſtructed the Adminiſtration of Juſtice, by refuſing his Aſſent to Laws for eſtabliſhing Judiciary Powers.

He has made Judges dependent on his Will alone, for the Tenure of their Offices, and the Amount and Payment of their Salaries.

He has erected a multitude of new Offices, and ſent hither Swarms of Officers to harraſs our People, and eat out their Subſtance.

He has kept among us, in Times of Peace, Standing Armies, without the Conſent of our Legiſlatures.

He has affected to render the Military independent of and ſuperior to the civil Power.

He has combined with others to ſubject us to a Juriſdiction foreign to our Conſtitution, and unacknowledged by our Laws; given his Aſſent to their Acts of pretended Legiſlation:

For quartering large Bodies of armed Troops among us:

For protecting them, by a mock Trial, from Puniſhment for any Murders which they ſhould commit on the Inhabitants of theſe States:

For cutting off our Trade with all Parts of the World:

For impoſing Taxes on us without our Conſent:

For depriving us, in many Caſes, of the Benefits of Trial by Jury:

For tranſporting us beyond Seas to be tried for pretended Offences:

For aboliſhing the free Syſtem of Engliſh Laws in a neighbouring Province, eſtabliſhing therein an arbitrary Government, and enlarging its Boundaries, ſo as to render it at once an Example and fit Inſtrument for introducing the ſame abſolute Rule into theſe Colonies:

For taking away our Charters, aboliſhing our moſt valuable Laws, and altering fundamentally the Forms of our Governments:

For ſuſpending our own Legiſlatures, and declaring themſelves invested with Power to legiſlate for us in all Caſes whatſoever.

He has abdicated Government here, by declaring us out of his Protection and waging War againſt us.

He has plundered our Seas, ravaged our Coaſts, burnt our Towns, and deſtroyed the Lives of our People.

He is at this Time, tranſporting large Armies of foreign Mercenaries to compleat the Works of Death, Deſolation and Tyranny, already begun with Circumſtances of Cruelty and Perfidy ſcarcely paralleled in the moſt barbarous Ages, and totally unworthy the Head of a civilized Nation.

He has conſtrained our fellow Citizens taken Captive on the high Seas to bear Arms againſt their Country, to become the Executioners of their Friends and Brethren, or to fall themſelves by their Hands.

He has excited Domeſtic Inſurrections amongſt us, and has endeavoured to bring on the Inhabitants of our Frontiers, the mercileſs Indian Savages, whoſe known Rule of Warfare, is an undiſtinguiſhed Deſtruction, of all Ages, Sexes and Conditions.

In every Stage of theſe Oppreſſions we have petitioned for Redreſs, in the moſt humble Terms: Our repeated Petitions have been anſwered only by repeated Injury. A Prince, whoſe Character is thus marked by every Act which may define a Tyrant, is unfit to be the Ruler of a free People.

Nor have we been wanting in Attention to our Britiſh Brethren. We have warned them from Time to Time of Attempts by their legiſlature to extend an unwarrantable Juriſdiction over us. We have reminded them of the Circumſtances of our Emigration and Settlement here. We have appealed to their native Juſtice and Magnanimity, and we have conjured them by the Ties of our common Kindred to diſavow theſe Uſurpations, which would inevitably interrupt our Connections and Correſpondence. They too have been deaf to the Voice of Juſtice and of Conſanguinity. We muſt, therefore, acquieſce in the Neceſſity which denounces our Separation, and hold them, as we hold the reſt of Mankind, Enemies in War; in Peace, Friends.

We, therefore, the Repreſentatives of the UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, in GENERAL CONGRESS aſſembled, appealing to the Supreme Judge of the World for the Rectitude of our Intentions, do in the Name and by the Authority of the good People of theſe Colonies, ſolemnly Publiſh and Declare, That theſe United Colonies are, and of Right ought to be, FREE AND INDEPENDENT STATES; that they are abſolved from all Allegiance to the Britiſh Crown, and that all political Connection between them and the State of Great-Britain, is, and ought to be totally diſſolved; and that as FREE AND INDEPENDENT STATES, they have full Power to levy War, conclude Peace, contract Alliances, eſtabliſh Commerce, and to do all other Acts and Things which INDEPENDENT STATES may of Right do. And for the Support of this Declaration, with a firm Reliance on the Protection of Divine Providence, we mutually pledge to each other our Lives, our Fortunes, and our ſacred Honor.

Signed by ORDER *and in* BEHALF *of the* CONGRESS,

JOHN HANCOCK, *Preſident.*

ATTEST.

CHARLES THOMSON, *Secretary.*

REDUCED FAC-SIMILE OF THE BROADSIDE DISTRIBUTED THROUGH THE COUNTRY.

these instructions would be, when the people should manifest their wishes, there was no doubt, and the event justified the expectation.

Congress, meanwhile, was preparing for that last step which should trample out all hope and all possibility of any reconciliation. On the 7th of June, Richard Henry Lee, of the Virginia delegation, offered the three following resolutions, which John Adams seconded: —

Lee's Resolutions in Congress.

"That these United Colonies are, and of right ought to be, free and independent states; that they are absolved from all allegiance to the British Crown; and that all political connection between them and the State of Great Britain is, and ought to be, totally dissolved.

"That it is expedient forthwith to take the most effectual measures for forming foreign alliances.

"That a plan of confederation be prepared and transmitted to the respective colonies for their consideration and approbation."

Action upon these resolutions was postponed to the next day, Saturday, and again, on that day, to Monday, the 10th. On Monday, it was voted in Committee of the Whole, that consideration of the first resolution be postponed to Monday, the 1st day of July; and in the meanwhile, that no time be lost, "in case the Congress agree thereto, that a committee be appointed to prepare a Declaration to the effect of the said first resolution." This committee was chosen the following day, the 11th of June, and its five members were, Thomas Jefferson, John Adams, Benjamin Franklin, Roger Sherman, and R. R. Livingston. On the 12th, committees were appointed to carry out the other two resolutions, that on a plan of confederation being made up by one member from each Province.

House in which the Declaration was written.

The Continental Congress and the Colonial Assemblies, under whatever name, marched together, deliberately and firmly, step by

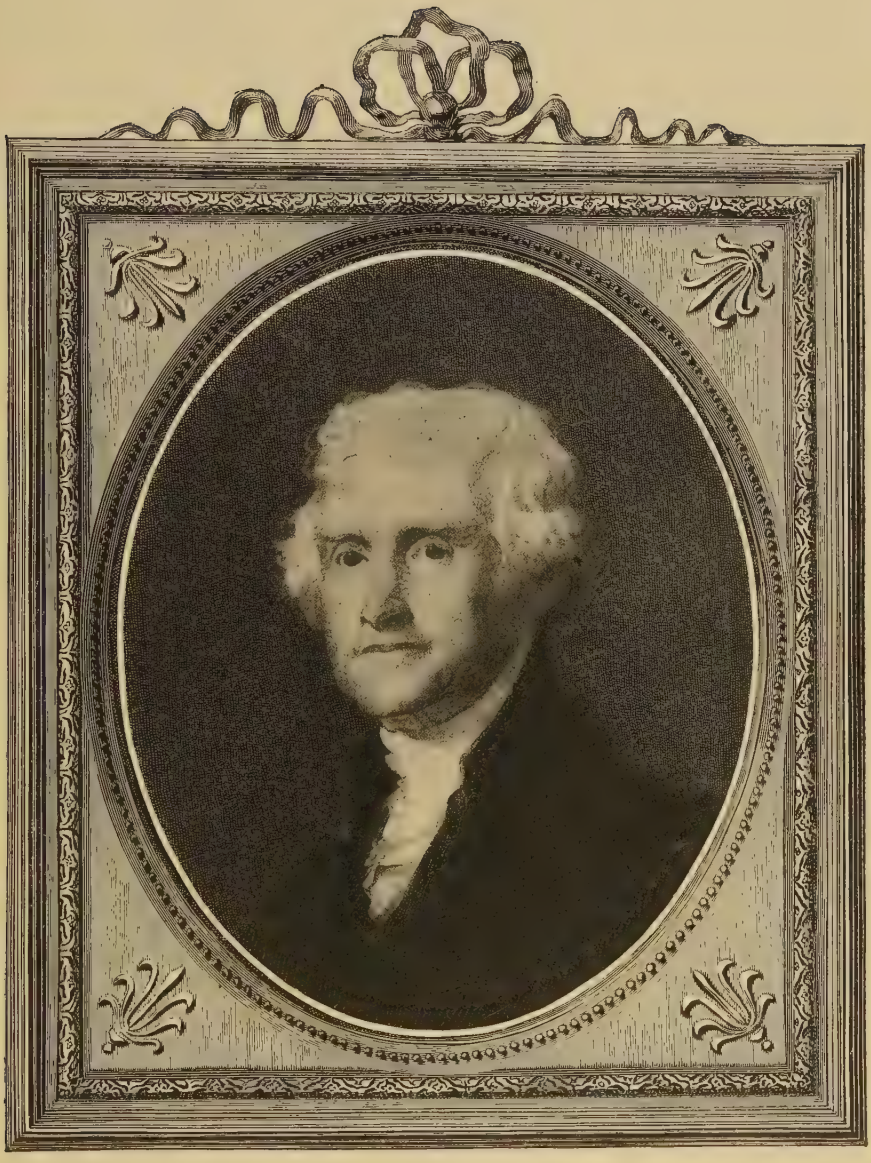
step. Neither hurried, neither hindered the other. The Congress waited while the colonies deliberated, and while all who had not already reached it, were coming to the same inevitable conclusion, Jefferson was at work upon the great Declaration. Congress moved with the dignity and formality becoming to the work before it. On Friday, the 28th of June, the Committee reported the first draft of the Declaration, which was read, and ordered to lie upon the table, and the House adjourned to Monday, the 1st of July, the day appointed three weeks before for its consideration. On Monday, after the dispatch of other business, the resolution relating to Independence was referred to the Committee of the Whole, and the House then resolved itself into Committee. When the House resumed its session, Mr. Harrison, from the Committee, reported a resolution, and on this being read, action upon it was postponed till the next day at the request of one of the colonies, — South Carolina On the 2d the resolution was passed, — "That these United Colonies are, and of right ought to be, free and independent States; that they are absolved from all allegiance to the British Crown, and that all political connection between them and the State of Great Britain is, and ought to be, totally dissolved." Every colony voted in its favor, except New York, whose delegates, being still without instructions, did not vote at all.[1]

Independence declared.

Of the debates of these two days there is no record; but that on the first day, when the question was carried in Committee of the Whole, was the fuller and more conclusive. In a letter to Samuel Chase, John Adams said of it: "The debate took up most of the day, but it was an idle mispense of time, for nothing was said but what had been repeated and hackneyed in that room before a hundred times for six months past." But from other letters of his, and from contemporary writers, it is plain that the debate, however wearisome it may have been to himself, who bore the chief burden of the day, was of great importance. There were delegates who were opposed to the resolution, or hesitated to take the responsibility of voting for it, notwithstanding the instructions of those they represented. The new members from New Jersey were of the latter class and were anxious to hear what arguments could be advanced in its favor. To satisfy these, Mr. Adams was put forward, and he replied with great power to Mr. Dickenson, of Pennsylvania, who represented the cautious policy of a large party in that colony. Mr. Adams's

Debate on the Declaration of Reasons

[1] Henry Wisner was one of the delegates from New York, and Thomas McKean, a delegate from Delaware, declared, in several letters written at different times in subsequent years, that Wisner voted for independence. But as the vote was taken by colonies, his individual vote could not be counted if the rest of the delegation refrained from voting.



THOMAS JEFFERSON.

(After a portrait by Stuart.)

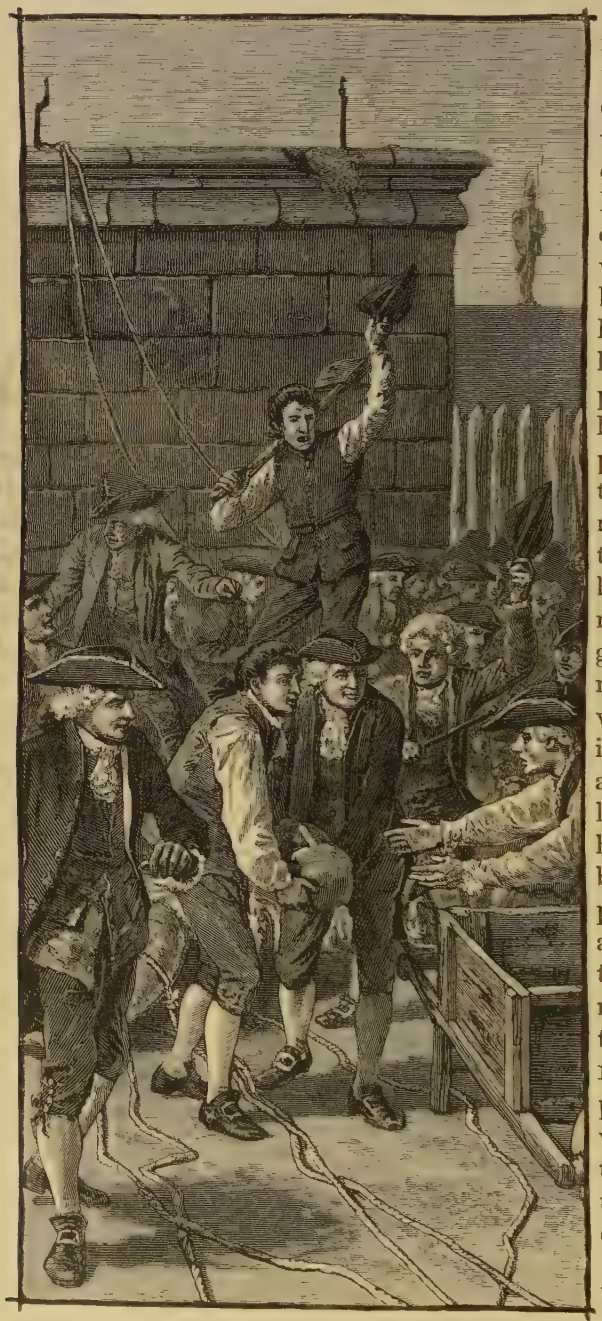
speech convinced the New Jersey delegates, and probably carried, if it did not convince, others. All the members, in the end, signed the Declaration, but — wrote Mr. Adams many years afterward — in 1813, — "as far as I could penetrate the intricate, internal folding of their souls, I then believed, and have not since altered my opinion, that there were several who signed with regret, and several others with many doubts and much lukewarmness." It is an interesting fact, mentioned by him in the same letter, that although North Carolina was the first colony to instruct its members to vote for independence, a majority for the measure hung at one time upon the vote of Mr. Hewes, a delegate from that colony, who had voted against it. A member, one day, showed by documents from all the colonies, that public opinion was everywhere in favor of the measure, when Mr. Hewes "started suddenly upright, and lifting up both his hands to Heaven, as if he had been in a trance, cried out: 'It is done! and I will abide by it!'"

Of the event itself, Adams said in a letter to his wife: "But the day is past. The 2d day of July, 1776, will be the most memorable epoch in the history of America. I am apt to believe that it will be celebrated by succeeding generations as the great anniversary festival. It ought to be commemorated as the day of deliverance, by solemn acts of devotion to God Almighty. It ought to be solemnized with pomp and parade, with shows, games, sports, guns, bells, bonfires, and illuminations, from one end of this continent to the other, from this time forward, forevermore." Thus far, into the beginning of a second century, the event has been commemorated in precisely the way that Adams said it should be, but commemorated — like the Landing of the Pilgrim Fathers at Plymouth — on the wrong day. For, it will be observed, the resolution passed on the 2d day of July was the formal declaration of the independence of the colonies — the actual severance of all ties of allegiance to the British Crown; the Declaration adopted two days later — the 4th — was the declaration of the reasons for establishing an independent government.

This statement of reasons for the declaration of independence was not so easily agreed upon as the resolution to declare it. The committee, on the 3d, asked leave to sit again after a second day's debate. Changes had been made in Jefferson's original draft by his colleagues on the committee appointed for its preparation; still others were made by the House; but none were so important or so significant as the omission, in deference to the South, of the following passage relating to the slave trade: "He has waged cruel war against human nature itself, violating its most sacred rights of life and liberty in the persons of a distant people who never offended him, captivating and carrying them into slavery in another

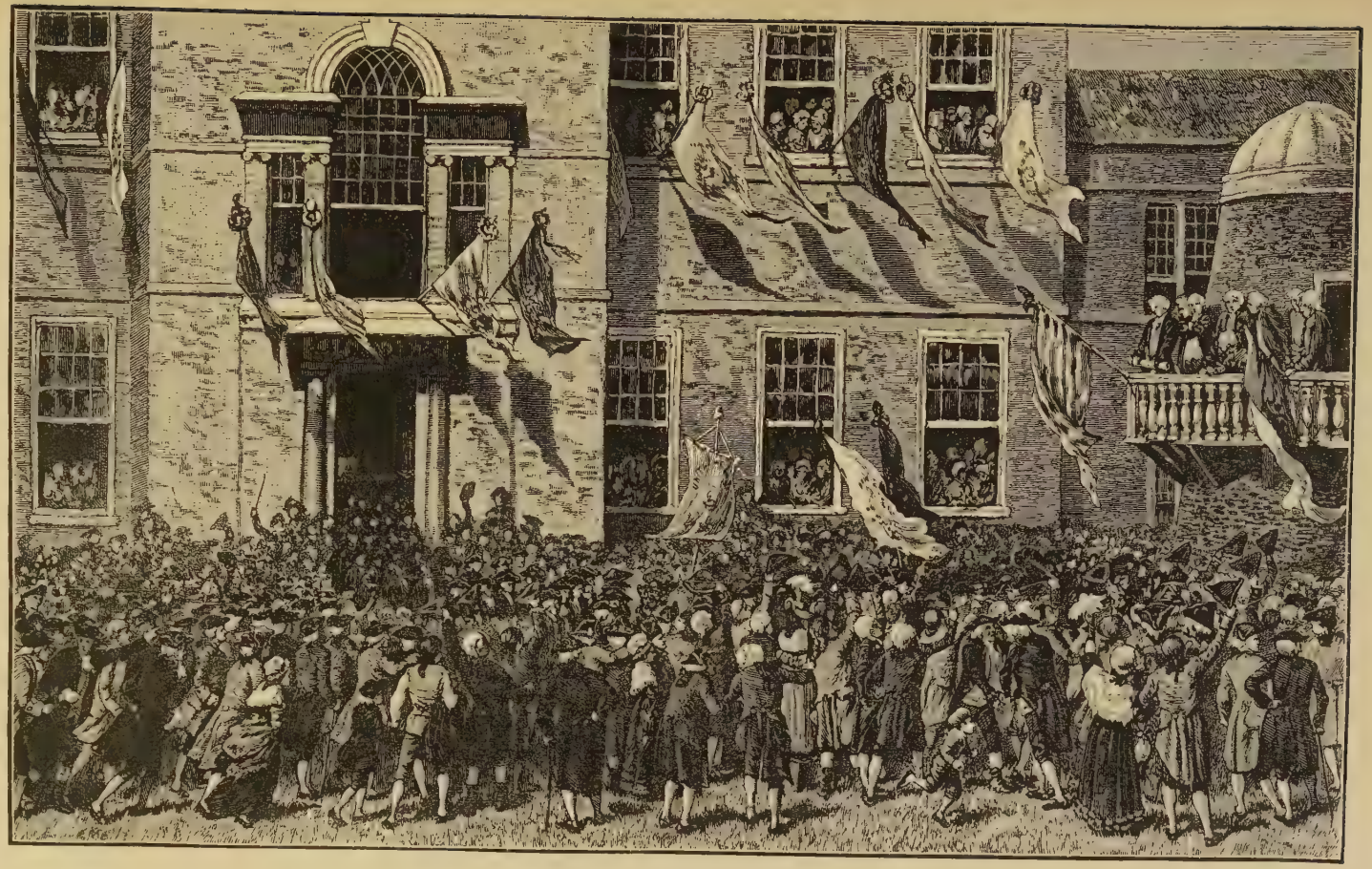
The slave-trade clause omitted.

hemisphere, or to incur miserable death in their transportation thither. This piratical warfare, the opprobrium of INFIDEL powers, is the warfare of the CHRISTIAN king of Great Britain. Determined to keep open a market where MEN should be bought and sold, he has prostituted his negative for suppressing every legislative attempt to prohibit or restrain this execrable commerce. And that this assemblage of horrors might want no fact of distinguished dye, he is now exciting those very people to rise in arms among us, and to purchase that liberty of which he has deprived them, by murdering the people on whom he also obtruded them; thus paying off former crimes committed against the LIBERTIES of one people, with crimes which he urges them to commit against the LIVES of another."



Taking down the King's Statue.

But the great body of the document was left as



READING OF THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE IN PHILADELPHIA.

Jefferson had written it. Finally, late on the afternoon of July 4, it was approved and passed, and ordered to be printed. At the same time is was "resolved, that copies of the Declaration be sent to the several assemblies, conventions, and committees or councils of safety, and to the several commanding officers of the Continental troops; that it be proclaimed in each of the United States, and at the head of the army."[1]

The Declaration of Reasons adopted

It was not till the 8th that there was any public celebration in Philadelphia, perhaps because the printed copies of the Declaration were not ready earlier. The Committee of Safety ordered that the sheriff of Philadelphia should read, or cause it to be read and proclaimed on that day at 12 o'clock. At that hour the Committee of Safety and of Inspection, the officers of the city government, and many members of Congress, filed out in procession from the State House into the yard, where a great concourse of people gathered around the observatory, and the Declaration was read from its balcony by John Nixon, a member of the Committee of Safety. The day was given up to public festivity, and the great bell in the tower of the State House led the rejoicing peal of all the other bells of the city, to "Proclaim liberty throughout all the land unto all the inhabitants thereof," in accordance with the legend inscribed thereon.

The Declaration promulgated.

Throughout the country, in the army and in town meetings, from time to time, as the Declaration was received, it was accepted with similar manifestations of jubilation, tending sometimes to acts of extravagance. As in Philadelphia the people tore down and burned all symbols of royal authority in public offices, so in New York a mob pulled down the gilded leaden equestrian statue of King George that stood in the Bowling Green. The head was taken off and placed in a wheelbarrow and wheeled to the Governor's house. There was so much excuse for this act, — that lead was greatly needed. Ladies at Litchfield, Conn., principally of Oliver Wolcott's family, moulded the remainder of the statue into forty-two thousand bullets, to be shot at the soldiers of the King.

Pulling down the King's statue.

Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, and North Carolina adopted State constitutions in 1776; New York, South Carolina, and Georgia, in 1777; Massachusetts in 1780, and New Hampshire in 1781. Connecticut and Rhode Island continued to use their royal charters as the fundamental law of the State, — the former till 1818, the latter till 1842. All of these State constitutions

[1] The romantic tradition that as soon as the adoption of the Declaration was decided upon, a little boy on the pavement clapped his hands and shouted "Ring! ring!" to the old sexton in the tower, who thereupon seized the tongue of the Liberty Bell and proclaimed the momentous tidings to a waiting crowd, and that the Secretary of Congress hastened to read the paper from the steps, seems to be without foundation.

Adoption of State constitutions.

have since undergone amendment, and several have been entirely remodelled. As first drawn and adopted, they contained articles which show that the young States, so boastful of their new fledged civil liberty, the principles of which they set forth with admirable force and clearness, had not yet fully comprehended the no less important necessity for religious liberty.

The Constitution of South Carolina provided that all persons and societies who acknowledged one God and a future state of rewards and punishments should be "freely tolerated," and that "the Christian religion shall be deemed, and is hereby constituted and declared to be, the established religion of this State." No church could be incorporated until its members had subscribed to five articles of belief specified in this Constitution; these were to the effect that there is one God, and a future state of rewards and punishments; that He is to be publicly worshipped; that the Christian religion is the true religion; that the Scriptures are divinely inspired, and that it is the duty of every man, being thereunto called by those that govern, to bear witness to the truth. In accordance with these provisions, it is further stipulated that a qualified voter must acknowledge the being of a God and a future state of rewards and punishments, and that "no person shall be capable of any place of honour, trust, or profit, under the authority of this State, who is not a member of some church of the established religion thereof."

The Constitution of New Jersey forbade the establishment of any one religious sect in preference to another, and provided that "no Protestant inhabitant shall be denied the enjoyment of any civil right merely on account of his religious principles," and that any person who professed "a belief in the faith of any Protestant sect" might be elected to office.

The Constitution of Pennsylvania required every member of the Legislature, before taking his seat, to declare his belief in the existence of a God who is "the rewarder of the good and punisher of the wicked," and that the Scriptures are "given by Divine Inspiration." The seventh section of the second chapter, solemnly considered and adopted with the rest, can scarcely be read in our day without exciting a smile. It provided that "the House of Representatives of the freemen of this commonwealth shall consist of persons most noted for wisdom and virtue, to be chosen by the freemen of every city and county of this commonwealth respectively." The thirty-second section prescribed a penalty for any elector "who shall receive any gift or reward for his vote, in meat, drink, monies, or otherwise;" and the thirty-sixth declared that "whenever an office, through increase of fees or otherwise, becomes so profitable as to occasion many to ap-

ply for it, the profits ought to be lessened by the Legislature." The final section provided for the election, every seventh year, of a Council of Censors, whose duty should be, "to enquire whether the Constitution has been preserved inviolate in every part, and whether the legislative and executive branches of the government have performed their duty as guardians of the people, or assumed to themselves or exercised other or greater powers than they are intitled to by the Constitution."

The Constitution of New Hampshire provided that members of its Legislature must be "of the Protestant religion," and this clause was not formally repealed till 1877, though for many years it had been disregarded by common consent. The Constitution of Massachusetts provided, in its forty-first article, "that sumptuary laws against luxury, plays, etc., and extravagant expenses in dress, diet, and the like, suited to the circumstances of the commonwealth and the spirit of the Constitution, shall be established with all convenient speed." Juries were to consist of fifteen freeholders, the agreement of twelve of whom was sufficient for a verdict. Every minister or public teacher of religion was required to subscribe to the Constitution, and to read it once a year to his congregation.

CHAPTER XX.

LOSS OF LONG ISLAND AND NEW YORK.

THE MILITARY SITUATION OF NEW YORK. — ARRIVAL OF THE ENEMY. — SUMMARY OF THE FORCES. — THE HOWES ATTEMPT PEACE NEGOTIATIONS. — THE BRITISH CROSS THE BAY — DEFENCES OF BROOKLYN. — BATTLE OF LONG ISLAND — DETAILS OF THE ACTION. — THE LOSSES. — RETREAT OF THE AMERICANS. — THEY CROSS TO NEW YORK. — THE QUESTION OF DESTROYING THE CITY. — ENTRANCE OF THE ENEMY. — BATTLE OF HARLEM HEIGHTS. — NEW YORK OCCUPIED BY THE BRITISH. — A GREAT FIRE IN THE CITY. — EXECUTION OF NATHAN HALE. — HOWE'S SECOND ATTEMPT TO NEGOTIATE FOR PEACE. — BATTLE OF WHITE PLAINS. — SURRENDER OF FORT WASHINGTON.

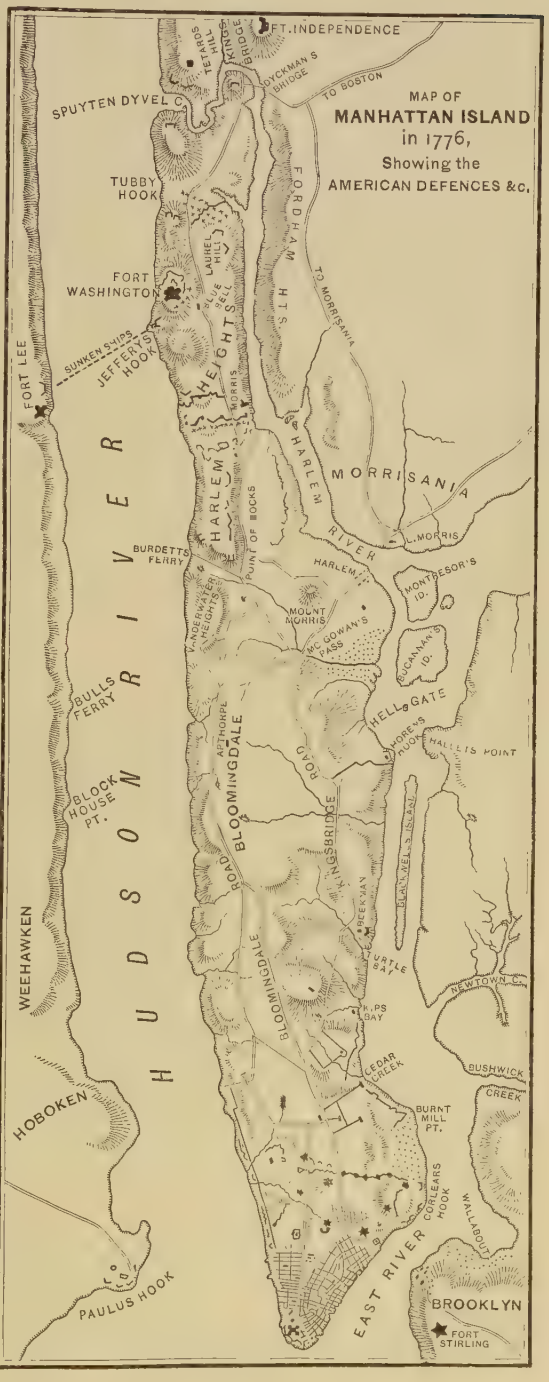
Lee pushes on the works at New York.

THE opinion held by Lee as to the impracticability of making New York absolutely defensible, does not appear to have been shared by Washington and many of his officers who came with the Boston army. New works were laid out by the engineers, and new points occupied. Washington clearly proposed to hold New York permanently. Lee's plan was judicious, so far as it went, and it was now enlarged. General Putnam, soon after his arrival, decided that Governor's Island, at the entrance to the East River, was a point of great importance. Should the enemy, he said, "get post there, it will not be possible to save the city, nor could we dislodge them without great loss." Taking a thousand men, he seized it on the night of the 8th of April, and immediately threw up breastworks to protect his party against attack from Tryon's ships. The point of Red Hook on Long Island, just below, was occupied at the same time, and in a few weeks Paulus Hook, on the Jersey side of the Hudson, nearly opposite Cortlandt Street, was also fortified. Should a fleet, therefore, attempt to sail up the East River, it was believed that the batteries at Red Hook, Governor's Island, and Fort Stirling, on Long Island, with those on the New York side, could damage it materially. Transports with troops, at all events, could not safely pass them. As a further defence, hulks were sunk later in the season, in the channel between Governor's Island and the Battery.

On the Hudson River, ten miles farther up, at what is now known as Fort Washington Point, the river narrowed between the towering

Palisades on the Jersey side, and the rugged heights of nearly equal elevation on Manhattan Island. Upon the Palisades a strong work was begun during the summer, at first known as Fort Constitution, and subsequently as Fort Lee; and on the New York side, where is now One Hundred and Eighty-third Street, stood the formidable work, Fort Washington. From these positions a plunging fire could be thrown upon vessels brought to a stop by hulks and *chevaux-de-frise* placed in the channel of the river. Three water-batteries were also built along the shore from Red Hook to Fort Lee. By the month of June, eighty pieces of cannon and mortars were mounted or ready to be mounted, bearing upon the bay and the two river channels.

To carry out the engineers' plans, the utmost diligence was necessary, for Howe's arrival was expected daily. Colonel Rufus Putnam, the engineer, relates how busily he



was employed from daylight in the morning until night, besides sometimes going in the night by water from New York to Fort Washington. The most exposed points were the first attended to; and large fatigue parties were sent every day to Governor's Island, Red Hook, the Battery, and other forts. Besides the water-batteries around the city, a chain of strong redoubts was extended just north of it, along the line of Grand Street. The largest was "Bayard's Hill Redoubt," near the corner of Centre Street. This hill was the highest in the vicinity, with a commanding range, and its summit, once covered with cedars, was cut away and leveled for the fortification. Several other elevations on the west side, as far up as Tenth Street, were also fortified. The city itself was literally converted into an intrenched camp. All the streets leading to the water were barricaded. The City Hall Park was surrounded with barriers.[1] Fort George and the Grand Battery were greatly strengthened from within. Works stood behind Trinity Church, around the old Hospital at Duane Street, at the ship-yards on the East River, and wherever a landing could easily be made.

Much work accomplished.

Fortifications in and around the city.

It was not until the closing days of June that the long expected enemy arrived. A thousand things had delayed them. They had to bring everything they needed — provisions and munitions. The first to arrive was the General himself, Sir William Howe, in advance of his Boston army, now on its way from Halifax. He reached Sandy Hook in the frigate *Greyhound* on the 25th of June, and was warmly welcomed by Governor Tryon and "many gentlemen, fast friends of government." The troops followed in one hundred and thirty ships, and were all in the bay by the 29th of June. Howe's first intention was, to land on Long Island; but learning that the Americans occupied strong positions there, the troops were debarked at Staten Island. "Will Hicks's Mansion House" was the General's head-

Arrival of the enemy.

Rose and Crown Tavern.

[1] See John Hills' *Chart of New York in* 1782.

quarters.[1] Then came Admiral Howe, Sir William's brother, with troops from England, and finally, on the 12th of August, the Hessians arrived.

These forces numbered altogether nearly thirty-two thousand men, of whom not quite twenty-five thousand were fit for service. This was six thousand more than Washington could show upon his rolls. There were four battalions of light infantry, the flower of Howe's army, under Brigadier-general Leslie, and four more of grenadiers, under Major-general Vaughan, which formed a part of the reserves under Cornwallis. Brigadier-general Cleaveland commanded the artillery, three brigades, with at least fifty field-pieces. The main body of infantry included twenty-seven regiments of the regular line, formed into eight brigades under Generals Robertson, Pigot, Jones, Grant, Smith, Agnew, Erskine, and Matthews. The command of the last named consisted of two battalions of the King's Guards, which held the right of the line. A few troops of dragoons and two or three companies of American loyalists completed the British forces. Second in command stood Lieutenant-general Clinton, and next in rank Lieutenant-general Earl Percy. Among Howe's aids were Captain John Montressor, an engineer, who had lived in New York, and owned the present Randall's Island; and Major Cuyler of the family of Albany loyalists of that name. There were also subordinate officers who distinguished themselves later in the war — Mawhood, who did good service at Princeton; Musgrave, who thwarted the American plans at Germantown; the brave Monckton, who fell at Monmouth; and the accomplished Webster, who ended his career with Cornwallis in the South.

Strength of their army.

Hardly, if at all, inferior to the English were the eight thousand Hessian "allies." De Heister, their General, was an old man, and a veteran of many European campaigns. The tedious passage of thirteen weeks from Spithead had sorely tried him, for he had run out of tobacco. As finally arranged on Staten Island, his command was divided into four brigades under Generals Von Stirn and Mirbach, and Colonels Donop and Lossberg. Donop had the famous Yagers, or sharpshooters, and the grenadiers under Mingerode, Block, and Linsingen. Among the Colonels, Rahl was one of the ablest commanders, up to the affair of Trenton, where his contempt for Washington's army brought death to himself and disaster to Howe. The private soldiers had many of them seen service. Most of them, no doubt, had come against their will, and some had actu-

The Hessian troops.

[1] So wrote a British officer on July 9, whose letter was published in the *London Chronicle*. Local tradition says, that the "Rose and Crown" tavern — a house lately standing on the Richmond Road, near New Dorp — was Howe's headquarters. Will Hicks may have been the inn-keeper.

ally been kidnapped. They were, however, good soldiers, and were soon dreaded and hated alike in the American army.[1]

Strength and condition of the American army.

The best that could be said for Washington's army was, that it contained good material. As a whole, it was little else than a posse of armed citizens, for the most part brave and determined men, but lacking effective organization and discipline, and most of them without experience.

This force was made up of the most diverse material. There were men and officers from ten of the thirteen States — from New Hampshire to Virginia, with no uniformity in arms, dress, discipline, or manners. Those known as the Continental regiments were enlisted in the first instance under the regulations of the Continental Congress, and served in its pay and under its authority. They corresponded to our modern "regulars," though at that date their term of service was only a year. They were mainly from New England, having reënlisted during the siege of Boston to serve through 1776. But there were two regiments from New York, and two from Pennsylvania, making not over twenty-five in all, and numbering less than nine thousand men. The forty-five other regiments and detachments were State troops, raised for the campaign under calls from Congress, and militia which in some of the States had been first organized under the Colonial governments. The soldiers represented all classes of society. Among officers and men were clergymen, lawyers, physicians, planters, merchants, farmers, mechanics, tradesmen, and laborers, mostly native Americans, of good English blood, with a sprinkling of Germans, Scots, and Irishmen. Most of them were indifferently equipped. The old flint-lock piece was the common arm; bayonets were scarce, and so also were uniforms. The two regiments which made perhaps the best appearance on parade were Smallwood's Marylanders and Haslet's Delawares. The Delaware men wore blue uniforms, looking not unlike the Hessians; those from Maryland were clothed in scarlet coats turned up with buff. The Pennsylvania and Maryland riflemen, on Washington's recommendation, wore long hunting-blouses and pantaloons, some in white, some in black, and still others in green. But the larger number of the troops were in citizen's clothes. The officers were distinguished by different colored sashes and cockades. Washington wore blue and buff, and was always neatly and often elegantly dressed.

The organization of the army changed with the coming and going

[1] Dunlap, the historian of New York, describes the Hessian as wearing "a towering brass-pointed cap; moustaches colored with the same material that colored his shoes, his hair plastered with tallow and flour, and tightly drawn into a long appendage reaching from the back of his head to his waist, and his blue uniform almost covered by the broad belts sustaining his cartouch-box, his brass-hilted sword, and his bayonet."

of troops during the campaign, but at the beginning of its active work in August, it consisted of eleven brigades in five divisions. Putnam's division included troops from New York under Brigadier-generals James Clinton and John Morin Scott, and from Massachusetts under Fellows. General Heath's division consisted mainly of New York and Pennsylvania men under Generals Mifflin and George Clinton; Spencer's division of two Connecticut brigades under Generals Parsons and Wadsworth; Sullivan's division of Maryland, Delaware, Pennsylvania, and New York troops under Generals Stirling and McDougall; Greene's division of Massachusetts, Rhode Island, New Jersey, and Long Island men under Generals Nixon and Heard. General Oliver Wolcott had temporary command of a body of Connecticut militia, and the artillery regiment from Massachusetts was under Colonel Henry Knox, of Boston.

The division and general officers.

Washington's aids at this time were, Colonel William Grayson, of Virginia, Lieutenant-colonels Richard Cary, of Massachusetts, Samuel B. Webb, of Connecticut, and Tench Tilghman, of Philadelphia, who acted as a volunteer, but subsequently took rank as Lieutenant-colonel, and fought with his chief to the close of the war. Alexander Hamilton was captain of a New York artillery company, and his post was at the Battery. Aaron Burr, with the rank of Major, acted as aid to Putnam. Mercer, of Virginia, commanded the militia in New Jersey, and watched the enemy at Staten Island from that side. During most of the season the General's headquarters were at the Mortier House, overlooking the Hudson, just above the line of Houston Street, near Varick. In later days the place was better known as Richmond Hill, where Aaron Burr resided.[1]

Washington's aids.

Headquarters. — No. 1 Broadway.

Admiral Howe, and his brother, General Howe, who had been

1 The old "town headquarters" were the Kennedy house, No. 1 Broadway, still standing, or perhaps one of the houses above it. There is some uncertainty in regard to this.

instructed to enter upon negotiations for peace, sent, on the 14th of July, a flag of truce up the bay, bearing a letter to the Commander-in-chief. Adjutant-general Reed and Lieutenant-colonel Webb were sent down in a boat to meet it, but observing the letter to be addressed to "George Washington, Esq.," they refused to receive it, Reed saying, "We have no person in our army with that address." After the boats had parted, the British officer, putting about again, asked by what title Washington was to be addressed. "You are sensible, sir," answered Reed, "of the rank of General Washington in our army," and the conference was ended.[1] On the 20th another flag of truce was sent up. The bearer, Colonel Patterson, Howe's Adjutant-general, was escorted to Colonel Knox's headquarters, now No. 1 Broadway, where Washington received him and listened to his proposals. The subject of exchanging prisoners was discussed; but Washington replied to the propositions for peace by pointing out the fact that Howe was not empowered to acknowledge American independence, and the Americans would treat for peace on no other basis. A subsequent interview between Lord Howe and a committee of Congress proved equally fruitless.

Attempted peace negotiations.

On the 22d of August the British troops were transferred from Staten Island to Gravesend Bay, on Long Island. Four frigates, with bomb-tenders, took their station close in shore, ready to protect the

[1] Immediately after the battle of Bunker Hill, Samuel B. Webb was appointed aid-de-camp to General Putnam, and on the 21st of June, 1776, then twenty-two years of age, he was appointed private secretary and aid-de-camp to General Washington, with the rank of Lieutenant-colonel. From an original journal now in the possession of his son, General J. Watson Webb, we make the following extract, which gives the details of this incident: —

"*New York*, July 14, 1776. — A flag of truce from the fleet appeared, on which Colonel Reed and myself went down to meet it. About half way between Governor's and Staten Islands, Lieutenant Brown of the *Eagle* offered a letter from Lord Howe, directed, GEORGE WASHINGTON, ESQ.: which, on account of its direction, we refused to receive, and parted with the usual compliments.

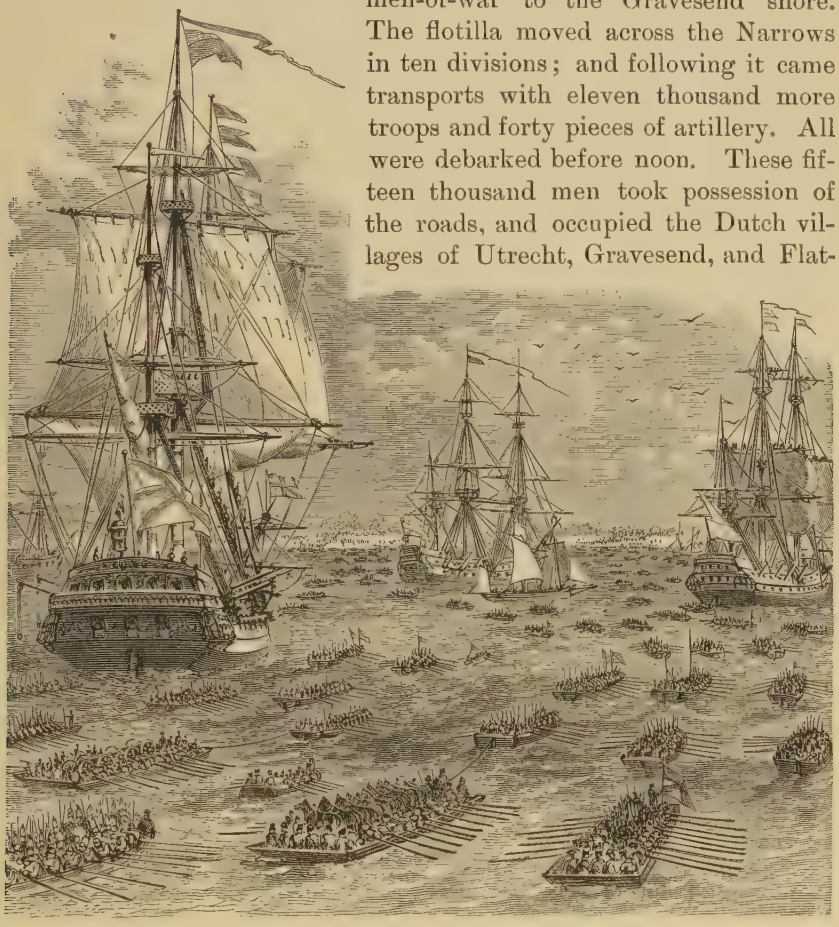
"*New York*, 17th July, 1776. — A flag from the enemy, with an answer from General Howe about the [letter] sent yesterday, directed George Washington, Esq., etc. — which was refused.

"*New York*, 19th July, 1776. — A flag appeared this morning, when Colonel Reed and myself went down. An aid-de-camp of General Howe met us, and said, as there appeared an insurmountable obstacle between the two Generals, by way of compounding, General Howe desired his Adjutant-general might be admitted to an interview with his Excellency, General Washington; on which, Colonel Reed, in the name of General Washington, consented, and pledged his honor for his being safely returned. The aid-de-camp said the Adjutant-general would meet us to-morrow forenoon.

"*New York*, 20th July, 1776. — At 12 o'clock we met the flag, took Lieutenant-colonel Patterson of the —— Regiment into our barge, and escorted him safe to town to Colonel Knox's quarters, where his Excellency, General Washington, attended by his suite and life guards, received and had an interview of about an hour with him. We then escorted him back in safety to his own barge. In going and coming, we passed in front of the guard battery, but did not blindfold him; — social and chatty all the way."

movement. When the ships were fairly in position, nearly ninety batteaux and flat-boats, filled with the best troops of the army, — the light infantry and grenadiers, four thousand strong, with gay uniforms and glittering arms, — pushed off from the Staten Island beach, and were rowed by sailors from the men-of-war to the Gravesend shore. The flotilla moved across the Narrows in ten divisions; and following it came transports with eleven thousand more troops and forty pieces of artillery. All were debarked before noon. These fifteen thousand men took possession of the roads, and occupied the Dutch villages of Utrecht, Gravesend, and Flat-

The enemy cross the bay.



Passage of the Troops to Long Island.

lands; while Cornwallis, with the reserves and Donop's Hessian yagers and grenadiers, drove back Hand's Pennsylvania riflemen, who had been patrolling this coast since May, and advanced as far as Flatbush.

The American plan of defence, in case of attack on this side, had been well matured. Greene, who was in command on Long Island, believed in earthworks, and his brigade of Varnum's and Hitchcock's

Rhode Islanders, Little's Massachusetts men, and Hand's riflemen, worked well here through the trying summer, and protected themselves with forts and intrenchments thrown up in what is now the heart of Brooklyn. The main line ran from Wallabout Bay, the present Navy Yard, on the left, to what was then known as the Gowanus Creek and marsh on the right. Its length was less than a mile and a half, and it included, at varying distances, five strong redoubts. That on the right, near the marsh, which extended up from Gowanus Bay as far as the line of the present Baltic Street, was named Fort Box, after the Brigade-major, Daniel Box, an old British soldier and capital drill-master; next stood Fort Greene, largest of all, south of the present Fulton Avenue, not far from Bond Street; then, on the left of the avenue, was the "Oblong Redoubt," and some distance farther along, Fort Putnam crowned the hill which has since been transformed into Washington Park. A little redoubt on its left completed the line in front; while the short flank to the Wallabout was protected by breastworks and abatis. Not more than twenty guns were mounted in the works, from one end to the other.[1]

General Greene and the Brooklyn defences.

Between the Brooklyn lines and the coast at Gravesend Bay runs a continuous ridge of hills, from the harbor, below the present Greenwood Cemetery, easterly through Jamaica to the end of the island. The cemetery and Prospect Park lie upon the crest and slopes of this ridge, which in 1776 was covered with thick woods and underbrush. From the other side of the hills to the sea stretched the broad, level plain on which stood the villages of Utrecht, Gravesend, Flatlands, and Flatbush, where the British had encamped after their landing. The distance from the ridge to the lines varied from a mile and a half to four miles, and west of Jamaica it was intersected by four roads, all joining the King's highway which led to the ferry. The highway itself crossed the hills four miles from the lines, half way to Jamaica; from it branched two roads to Flatbush, one through Bedford village; and down near the harbor ran the Gowanus road to the Narrows. Here was a strong natural barrier, which the enemy must penetrate from the plains below before reaching the Brooklyn works, and here Washington now purposed to hold the enemy in check as long as possible. He made the ridge his outer line of defence, and, as the enemy could advance in order only through the roads and passes, three of these were covered with strong guards, and the fourth — the distant Jamaica pass on the left — was watched by patrols.

Topography of the field.

[1] The Gowanus and Wallabout marshes set in so far that the land west towards New York became a peninsula. It was across the neck that Greene formed his defensive line.

On the announcement that the British had landed, six regiments from Stirling's, Scott's, and Wadsworth's brigades were ordered to cross at once from New York to reënforce the Brooklyn wing. The prevailing fever, which had deprived the army of the services of many of its officers, had most unfortunately prostrated General Greene; and at the moment when he could least be spared, it became necessary to relieve him and to give the command to General Sullivan. The change occurred on August 20, and four days later Sullivan was in turn relieved by General Putnam; but he remained with the Long Island forces as second in command.

Putnam and Sullivan in command on Long Island.

The battle opened on the road leading from the Narrows. Very early on the morning of the 27th, the American guards stationed beyond the Red Lion, or about half a mile west of the southwest corner of the present Greenwood Cemetery, were unexpectedly attacked by Grant's column. It was not yet daylight, and in the confusion of the moment the pickets retreated rapidly, leaving their commanding officer, Major Edward Burd, of Reading, Penn., a prisoner in the enemy's hands. Brigadier-general Parsons, who was the field-officer of the day, hurried down the road, rallied a few of the scattered guard, and waited until General Stirling, whom Putnam had ordered forward on the first alarm, could follow with reënforcements. Stirling was advancing with three regiments, a company of riflemen, and a battery of two guns.

The action begins.

Stirling marches to meet Grant.

The first step in the plan of defence, which was to hold the Gowanus road near the Red Lion, was lost by this flight of the guards. Stirling's duty was to check the enemy at the next most defensible point. This was on the ridge, afterward known as Wyckoff's Hill, which stretched up from the shore. Along the crest of this hill, about on the line now marked by Nineteenth or Twentieth Street, he placed his men. He had already sent forward Atlee, with his two hundred Pennsylvania musketeers, to skirmish with Grant's vanguard at a marsh half a mile in advance. Although his men had never before been under fire, their commander was a veteran of the old French war, and he so held them to their work that the advance of the enemy was delayed while Stirling formed his line from the water-side up the hill to its top. On the left of this line, Atlee drew up his men in good order when compelled to fall back.

It was nearly seven o'clock when Grant formed his line of battle within easy cannon-shot of Stirling. Near the road he massed his Fourth Brigade in two lines, and continued the Sixth in one line toward and probably within the limits of the present Cemetery of Greenwood. In addition, he had with him the Forty-second High-

landers, two companies of New York loyalists, and ten field-guns; against Stirling's seventeen hundred raw troops, he brought up fully six thousand veterans. Along the Gowanus road, against Stirling's right, he sent forward a body of light troops. From an orchard near by, and from behind hedges, these men opened a brisk fire, and a sharp fight followed between them and the American riflemen. The old Bennett farm-house, which remained for many years after the war at the corner of Twenty-first Street, bore the marks of cannon-balls and bullets received in this engagement, and near by were pointed out the graves of English soldiers who fell here.

Parsons and Atlee in Greenwood.

The advance upon the left, at the same time, threatened to overlap the American line, and Stirling at once ordered up Parsons with Huntington's and Atlee's men. Three times an assault was made by Grant's regiments; but Parsons held his position, probably on the spot now known as "Battle Hill" in Greenwood Cemetery. Among the killed were Lieutenant-colonel Parry, of Atlee's regiment, and Lieutenant-colonel Grant, of the Fortieth British foot.

Howe's flanking manœuvre.

But while Stirling was thus making a successful defence on the Narrows road, Howe and his flanking column — four brigades, the light infantry, grenadiers, guards, dragoons, and artillery, with thirty guns — were elsewhere in motion. With the advance rode Clinton; following him came Cornwallis, then Earl Percy, with Howe. The column had left Flatlands at nine o'clock, the night before, and, guided by Tories, marched east toward the hamlet of New Lots. Leaving the Jamaica road on their left, they struck across the country, and at about two o'clock in the morning reached Howard's Half-way House on the Jamaica road, a little east of the pass where it cut through the hills. Thence the road ran nearly straight through Bedford Village, four miles, to the Brooklyn lines.

The American plan of defence had not included the holding of the Jamaica pass by any considerable force, on account of its distance. On the night of the 26th, the patrol there consisted of five mounted officers from New York regiments. While they were looking out for the enemy beyond the pass, the British appeared across the fields in their rear, and all five were captured. Learning from these men that the pass was unguarded, they pushed through after a brief rest, and reached Bedford between eight and nine o'clock on the 27th, where they were as near as the American troops were to the Brooklyn works. The successful execution of this flank move decided the day.

He captures an important patrol,

An attack was now made upon the American outposts facing Flat-

bush, while a part of the column continued down towards Brooklyn. The extreme left of the outer line was watched by Miles's Pennsylvania battalion, and at the Bedford and Flatbush passes were Wylly's and Chester's Connecticut men, Hitchcock's Rhode Islanders, Little's Massachusetts, and Johnston's New Jersey men. A line of sentinels along the ridge through Prospect Park and Greenwood connected with Stirling. By some fatality, Miles did not observe that Howe had marched around him, until he was well in his rear. More than half his two battalions, therefore, fell into the enemy's hands. The other troops just named, finding themselves thus surprised on the left, turned to reach the Brooklyn camp before they should be intercepted. Sullivan, who had gone out to reconnoitre, was with them. As they retreated, many of them fought, and fought well. The enemy captured three guns on the Flatbush road, only by a desperate fight with the artillerymen. Sullivan with his men held out till noon, when the General was captured. Colonel Philip Johnston, of New Jersey, fell at the head of his regiment.

And surprises the American outposts.

Surrender of Sullivan and death of Colonel Johnston.

The Hessians had been ordered to remain passive, but prepared, until they should be assured of Howe's presence on the left. At the first sound of the conflict, they marched rapidly and with flying colors, from Flatbush, along the eastern section of the present Prospect Park. Spreading through the woods, they attacked and dispersed the broken detachments in retreat. Thus, at about ten o'clock, ten thousand British and four thousand Hessians were in pursuit of not quite three thousand Americans in rapid flight through the woods and over the hills just outside the Brooklyn lines. No assistance could be sent them, but much the greater number succeeded in getting within the works.

The Hessians move up.

Stirling, and Parsons on his left, were now the only officers with an organized force in the field. During all this rout and confusion in their rear, they still faced Grant in good order, till Stirling, hearing the noise of the battle behind him, and finding that no orders could reach him, fell back along the Gowanus road. But this was already in possession of Cornwallis, who held it at the Cortelyou House, near the upper end of the Gowanus marsh. Nothing remained for Stirling but to attempt to cross the marsh at the mouth of the creek. It was high water, and fording was difficult; nor could this be attempted in the presence of the enemy without great loss. He determined, therefore, to attack Cornwallis with a small force, while the rest of the command should wade or swim the creek. Taking half the Maryland battalion, he marched boldly upon the enemy, and charged them re-

Stirling forced to retreat.

Spirited conduct of the Marylanders.

peatedly. But before overwhelming numbers, success was out of the question; they retreated to the woods, and were all taken. Stirling surrendered to the Hessian commander, De Heister. Parsons's and Atlee's men were also captured, though Parsons himself succeeded in hiding at night and escaping to camp at dawn next morning.

Surrender of General Stirling.

By two o'clock in the afternoon, the engagement was over. The enemy had captured between eight hundred and one thousand prisoners, at a loss to themselves of three hundred and sixty-seven officers and soldiers. The American loss in killed and wounded was probably less than three hundred.[1]

The losses

During the progress of the engagement Washington had crossed to Brooklyn, but could, of course, send no relief from the main lines while the British threatened them. To repair his losses he promptly sent for more troops, and on the morning of the 28th had nearly ten thousand men on the Long Island side. The British advanced their intrenchments to within range of Fort Putnam by dawn of the 29th. The ground favored them, and in twenty-four hours more their superior artillery would be playing heavily on the Brooklyn works. Eighteen thousand troops were ready to storm them when the guns should be silenced, while in the rear of the American army was the East River, wider than now, by a thousand feet, at its narrowest part. But it rained almost constantly during the 28th and 29th; and beyond some smart skirmishing along the picket lines, nothing occurred. Washington, however, knew that every hour was full of danger, and he was almost constantly in the saddle, moving along the lines, giving orders, and cheering the men.

Siege of the Brooklyn works.

Late in the afternoon of the 29th, a council of the general officers met at Philip Livingston's mansion, and it was determined to retreat from Long Island. Washington had already begun preparations by sending for all the boats that could be found anywhere on Manhattan Island, and by the exertions of Heath, Quartermaster Hughes, and Hutchinson's men from Salem, who rowed the boats down from Fort Washington, every variety of craft had been collected at the Brooklyn ferry by eight o'clock in the evening. Glover's men from Marblehead manned the sail and row-boats, and the retreat began.

Council of war decides to retreat.

For twelve hours, with interruptions that almost proved fatal, the troops were ferried across. The regiments, as they marched down to

[1] The question of the losses at this battle is discussed in *The Campaign of 1776 Around New York and Brooklyn*, recently issued by the Long Island Historical Society, p. 202. The total loss for the Americans is there put at about one thousand.

the ferry, did not understand the movement. General orders that afternoon had informed them that Mercer was expected from New Jersey with reënforcements. The sick had previously been sent to New York on the plea that they were an incumbrance, and that the quarters they occupied were needed for troops without shelter.

The troops cross at night to New York

During the early hours of the night the storm of wind and rain was violent, and the passage across the river exceedingly difficult. McDougall, who had the transportation in charge, once gave it up, and sent word to Washington that its accomplishment was not to be hoped for. Not finding the General, McDougall took no responsibility, but went on with the work as best he could. "But," adds the historian Gordon, "about eleven the wind died away, and soon after sprung up to southwest, and blew fresh, which rendered the sail-boats of use, and at the same time made the passage from the island to the city, direct, easy, and expeditious." [1]

Howe's Headquarters. — Beekman House.

For a covering party to occupy the works to the last, Washington had detached Mifflin with six regiments, with orders to remain until they were sent for. By some mistake, Scammell, one of Washington's aids, brought the order about two o'clock in the morning for the entire body to march to the ferry. The lines were accordingly deserted, and Mifflin's men well on their way to the ferry, when the Commander-in-chief came upon them in the darkness. "A dreadful mistake!" he exclaimed; and all were marched back again to their posts. Fortunately, the enemy were still unsuspicious. Still more fortunately, as Gordon writes, "Providence further interposed in favor of the retreating army, by sending a thick fog about two o'clock in the morning, which hung over Long Island, while on the New York side it was clear. Under cover of this

A dense fog assists the movement.

[1] Gordon obtained his particulars from Colonel Glover's letters, *Dr. Rodgers's Thanksgiving Sermon*, and persons who were present.

fog Mifflin's men finally, about sunrise, withdrew in order and crossed safely. Last of all followed the Commander-in-chief.

Shall New York be evacuated and burned?

There were three points to be settled immediately, consequent on this retreat from Long Island. Shall the defence of New York City be continued? If evacuated, shall it be burned? and, in that case, what position shall the American army take next? The slow movements of the British gave the generals and Congress two weeks to decide. The enemy moved to the site of the present Astoria, to Newtown, and along the East River, threatening to cross to Westchester County above. They could easily have bombarded the town from Brooklyn Heights, and from Governor's Island, of which they had taken possession on the 30th. But Howe refrained from destroying a place which he hoped soon to capture. Greene and some others, expecting that it would fall into the hands of the enemy, wished, for that reason, that it should be destroyed. Congress, to whom the question was referred, decided that no harm should be done to it, influenced by the same motive that governed Howe, — that its possession, at some future time, would be of far greater service than its destruction. Thus both parties agreed that it should remain uninjured.

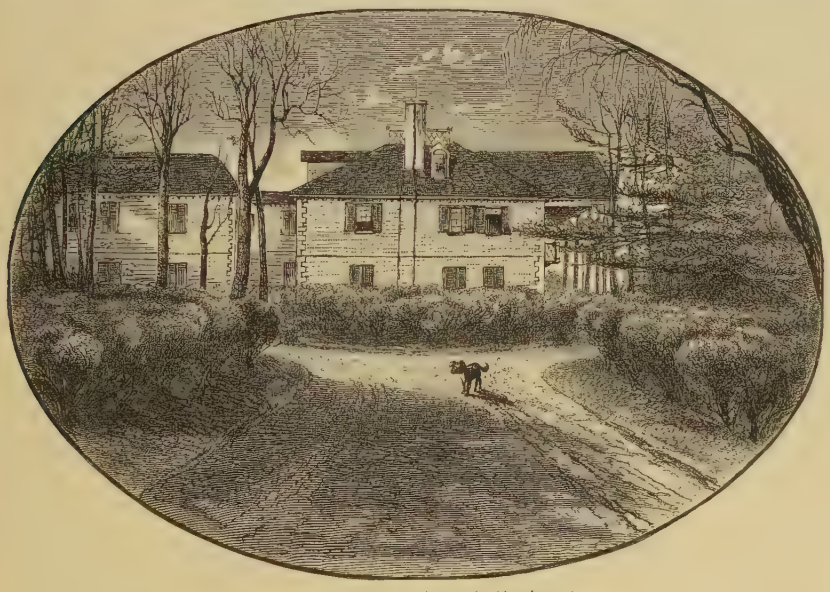
Why New York was not destroyed.

Washington would have attempted the city's defence even now, had not his faith in the soldierly qualities of the majority of his troops been shaken by recent experiences. The militia were, as he said, "dismayed, intractable, and impatient of return," and after the retreat from Long Island large numbers went back to their homes in squads, in companies, almost by regiments. Discontent bred insubordination, and the wisdom, vigilance, and energy of Washington were taxed to the utmost to maintain the semblance of an army. The men were, no doubt, dispirited by the disasters of the last few days; but they were still more discouraged by privations and difficulties for which there seemed to be no remedy. They were, as General Scott frankly told the New York Congress, "badly paid and wretchedly fed." No wonder that many of them despaired of being either better paid or sufficiently fed, for the real difficulties of the situation were quite as apparent to them as they were to their superiors. Fresh recruits, however, came in to take the place of the home-sick men who left, and the improvement in the condition of the army, though slow, was steady. On the 2d of September, however, it numbered, according to official returns, less than twenty thousand men.

It was decided in a council of war on the 6th that the city should be held, contrary to the judgment of Washington, Greene, Putnam, and perhaps others. On the 10th, Congress voted to leave the question to the Commander-in-chief, who had, however, on the same day

made preparations for leaving, and two days later a council reversed the decision of the week before. The evacuation was to be made on the 15th, and the utmost activity prevailed on the two previous days. Howe was aware, of course, of this movement, and meant to prevent it. Several ships of war were moved up the North and East rivers, and the larger portion of the American army was posted at Harlem and King's Bridge to repel any attempt of the enemy to cross from Long Island in their rear. The troops left below were Colonel Silliman's brigade of Connecticut militia, and levies in the city, General Parsons's Connecticut and Massachusetts Continentals at Corlear's Hook, at the foot of Grand Street on the East River; General Scott's New York State brigade on the Stuyvesant estate, about Fourteenth Street on the river; General Wadsworth's

Position of the troops.



Jumel Mansion. — Washington's Headquarters.

Connecticut levies at Twenty-third Street; and at Thirty-fourth Street, at Kip's Bay, Colonel Douglas, with more Connecticut militia. All these troops lay behind lines thrown up along the river front to repel a landing, and on the 15th were to fall back with the rest of the army to Harlem Heights.

The five British men-of-war in the East River had anchored in Wallabout Bay, and behind Blackwell's Island, with flat-boats and transports. On Sunday morning, the 15th, they drew up in line close to the shore at Kip's Bay, opposite Douglas and his militiamen. About ten o'clock, these ships suddenly opened their broadsides on Douglas,

making a "thundering rattle," as a Hessian officer wrote, and drove the Americans in confusion from behind the low works, which could afford them but slight shelter. Under protection of this fire a body of light infantry and grenadiers, with Donop's Hessians, crossed from the mouth of Newtown Creek in eighty-four flat-boats. Landing without opposition just above Thirty-fourth Street, they chased the fugitives in disorderly flight over the fields to Murray Hill.

The landing at Kip's Bay.

Washington, who on the 14th had moved his headquarters to the mansion of Colonel Roger Morris, on Harlem Heights,[1] hastened, at the first sound of the cannonade, to the front. At Murray Hill, near the residence of Robert Murray, about the line of Thirty-sixth Street and Fourth Avenue, he attempted to arrest the retreat. It was impossible to rally the militia. Those from Massachusetts followed the example of Douglas's men, and the older troops of Parsons were carried away with them. Washington, Putnam, Parsons, and Fellows rode in among the men, doing their best to bring order out of this confusion and arrest their flight. The Commander-in-chief was worked up to the highest pitch of indignation. Gordon, the historian, heard that he drew his sword and threatened to run the fugitives through. Greene wrote that in his disgust and wrath he sought "death rather than life," and was among the last to leave the ground. Tilghman, Washington's aid, adds that he "laid his cane over many of the officers who showed their men the example of running." He drew his sword, snapped his pistols, brandished his cane, dashed his hat to the ground, and exclaimed, "Are these the men with whom I am to defend America!" But for one of his attendants seizing his horse's reins and turning him toward Harlem Heights, it is said the General would have fallen into the enemy's hands.

Washington's anger at the rout.

Putnam, hastening down to New York, gathered up Silliman's command, and by extraordinary exertions, assisted by Aaron Burr, his aid, marched up the west side of the island through the woods, and at dark reached Harlem Heights in safety. Howe was in close pursuit of this column, and there seems no good reason for doubting the story of his being delayed by Mrs. Murray. The General and his staff stopped at her door to ask how long since Putnam had passed, and was assured by that lady that he must be already beyond successful pursuit. She then urged the officers to dismount. The day was "insupportably hot," and the invitation of this charming Quaker lady and a not less charming daughter was irresist-

Putnam and his division escape.

[1] The present Jumel Mansion at One Hundred and Sixtieth Street, east of Tenth Avenue.

ible. "Mrs. Murray," says Thacher, in his military journal, "treated them with cake and wine, and they were induced to tarry two hours or more, Governor Tryon frequently joking her about her American friends." Those American friends, when Howe and his staff dismounted at her gate, were only ten minutes ahead.

Mrs. Murray and General Howe.

The American army rested at length on the broken ground and along the southern crest of Harlem Heights. Many of the men slept without shelter, in clothes drenched by a rain that fell at evening; cannon, baggage, stores, and provisions were lost, and lost through their own want of obedience, of discipline, and of courage. But the next morning, the 16th, a well fought action at the front put fresh spirit into both officers and men. A body of not quite one hundred and fifty rangers, from the Connecticut and other New England regiments, had recently been organized under the command of Lieutenant-colonel Thomas Knowlton, who did such brilliant service as the

captain of the Connecticut troops at the battle of Bunker Hill. His corps was intended for scouting duty along the enemy's front.

Battle of Harlem Heights.

Early on the morning of the 16th he cautiously approached the point on the Bloomingdale road where the enemy were supposed to have encamped on the previous evening. They were soon found, a little over a mile from the American lines. Their van, as usual, consisted of the light infantry brigade, and when Knowlton's party was discovered hovering in the woods in front of them, the second and third battalions were ordered out to chase the rebels back. Knowlton and his men received them with a discharge of eight or nine rounds from behind a stone fence, before their numbers compelled him to retreat. As they pressed him in front and flank, he drew back toward the Heights, the infantry following.

A report of the skirmish reached Washington, and he rode at once to that point. In a short time Knowlton and his rangers came in and reported that the detachment in pursuit was about double his own force, or three hundred strong. The ground favored an attempt at the capture of the whole party, and Washington gave his orders accordingly. Harlem Heights rose abruptly from the plain, with the extreme southern point reaching the present One Hundred and Twenty-sixth Street east of Ninth Avenue. Opposite, not half a mile distant, were the Bloomingdale Heights, of lower elevation, and the vale between them, at the western end of which lies Manhattanville, was known in the army as the "hollow way." The British infantry had followed Knowlton to the edge of the Bloomingdale Heights, nearly opposite to the rocky point of Harlem Heights, where Washington was directing the movements. Halting there, their bugler sounded the "Tally-ho" of a fox-chase, and they sat down to rest themselves.

Plan of the engagement.

The plan of capture was, to make a diversion in their front, while a detachment should gain their rear and prevent retreat. This movement was entrusted to Knowlton's rangers reënforced by three companies of Weedon's Virginia regiment under Major Andrew Leitch. In front were chiefly Rhode Islanders from Nixon's brigade, under Lieutenant-colonel Crary; as these advanced, the British ran down from their position to a rail fence, and opened fire. Knowlton's flanking force, concealed by the bushes, made a detour around the enemy's right, but by some mistake they began their attack upon the flank of the infantry. Finding themselves in danger of being surrounded, the enemy gave way, and ran up the hill again, with the Americans in pursuit. The flight continued over the Bloomingdale Heights, through a piece of woods, and to a field beyond, where the infantry, being reënforced by the Forty-second Highlanders, made a stand.

To drive the regulars in the open field was a new experience for Washington's men, and this success would doubtless have been followed up but for the fall of the two brave leaders of the flanking party, Knowlton and Leitch, as they came up. "I do not care for my life," said Knowlton to the Captain on

Fall of Leitch and Knowlton.

Harlem Plains.

whom the command now devolved, "if we do but win the day;" and he ordered him to press forward.[1]

Washington immediately sent forward detachments from the Maryland brigade, and from Nixon's and Sargent's, which swelled the number engaged to over fifteen hundred. The British infantry being also reënforced by the Forty-second Highlanders, two field-pieces, and Donop's yagers, a sharp fight followed of an hour's duration, at a buckwheat field, east of the present Bloomingdale Asylum. Putnam, Greene, George Clinton, Reed, and members of Washington's staff, all joined in the affair, holding the men well up to their work, until the enemy, surprised to find such opposition, again retreated through an orchard towards Bloomingdale. The Americans pursued; but Washington feared an advance in force by the enemy, and sent Tilghman, his aid, to bring back the troops, who returned in high spirits.

The enemy driven over Bloomingdale Heights.

Knowlton was buried the next day, with military honors, near the

[1] Letter from the Captain, whose name is not given, in the *Connecticut Gazette*, September 27.

roadside, not far, it is supposed, from the intersection of Tenth Avenue and One Hundred and Forty-fifth Street. Leitch died on the 1st of October. Besides these two leaders the party lost two other officers — Captain Gleason, of Massachusetts, and Lieutenant Allen, of Rhode Island — and about seventy-five privates in killed and wounded. The loss of the enemy was variously estimated, at the time; Howe reported that his loss was fourteen killed and seventy wounded. Coming so immediately upon the panic of the day before, the action was important in its influence upon the men. "This affair," Washington wrote to Congress, "I am in hopes, will be attended with many salutary consequences, as it seems to have greatly inspirited the whole of our troops." It was this, rather than any importance in the movement itself, that aroused the anxiety of the generals, and led so many of them to take part in it. "I suppose," wrote Adjutant-general Reed, "many persons will think it was rash and imprudent for so many officers of our rank to go into such an action, but it was really to animate the troops, who were quite dispirited, and would not go into danger unless their officers led the way." Despondency and discontent, however, still prevailed; many deserted, and those whose enlistments expired went home during the next four weeks, in which there was little to do except to strengthen the Heights.

Losses on either side.

Ruins of Trinity Church.

Yet there was no want of exciting events in this interval of cessation from fighting. The town was taken possession of by the hostile army, with much military display, and not a little rejoicing among the loyalists, who gave to Governor Tryon an enthusiastic welcome. These demonstrations were hardly over, when the calamity which both sides had hoped might be averted fell upon the town. On the 21st it was well-nigh destroyed by a fire, which, breaking out, from some unknown cause, at Whitehall Slip, swept through Stone, Beaver, and

New York occupied by the British.

A great fire.

Broad Streets, up Broadway to Barclay Street, and along the North River to King's College, which was saved with difficulty. Five hundred buildings, among them Trinity Church and the Lutheran Church, were destroyed. Several women and children, it was supposed, were burnt to death, and their shrieks, wrote the Moravian pastor, Shewkirk, "joined to the roaring of the flames, the crash of falling buildings, and the widespread ruin which everywhere appeared, formed a scene of horror great beyond description." There were no bells in the churches to give a timely alarm, these having been removed by order of the Provincial Congress; the fire-engines were out of order, and buckets were almost useless in arresting the progress of the flames. That there should be suspicions of incendiarism was inevitable. "Numbers of people," says the Moravian pastor, "were carried to jail on suspicion to have had a hand in the fire, and to have been on the rebels' side, — it is said about two hundred; however, on examination, the most men were as fast discharged."

Execution of Captain Nathan Hale.

In the excitement of the destruction of a large portion of the city, and the arrest of so many suspected rebel incendiaries, it is not likely that the hanging of a single spy in the neighborhood of the town attracted much attention. It is, nevertheless, the more marked incident of the two, both from the character of the man who suffered death, and as a precedent which no doubt influenced Washington when subsequently he was called upon to decide the fate of a spy. The morning after the fire, Captain Nathan Hale, of Connecticut, was hanged near the corner of East Broadway and Market Street. From the purest motives of patriotism he had volunteered to go within the British lines on Long Island, and obtain information, indispensable to the Commander-in-chief, of the disposition of the forces of the enemy. He was arrested on his return, and taken to Howe's headquarters, the Beekman mansion at Turtle Bay, on the East River. The papers found upon his person were the evidence of his purpose, which, indeed, he made no pretence of denying. No trial was granted him; it is said that he was not permitted to see a clergyman, or to have the use of a Bible in his last hours, and the provost martial to whom, after a single night's confinement, he was delivered up for death, destroyed the letters he had written to his mother and sisters. "I only regret," he said, as he was about to die, "that I have but one life to give for my country." His burial-place is unknown, and no monument has been erected to him by the nation in whose service he met an ignominious death. Like André, he was a gentleman of education and high character; if, by the laws of war, both equally merited the death, the risk of which they took, there is this marked difference in their fates, — that to André was given a fair

and impartial trial upon the evidence, and that his countrymen remembered, after the lapse of a century, to give his body a grave and his memory a monument among the most honored of England's dead.

A second attempt at reconciliation.

During this interval of comparative quiet, the attempt at reconciliation, with which Howe was in a certain degree intrusted, was renewed. General Sullivan, three days after his capture on Long Island, went on his parole to Congress at Philadelphia, bearing a message from the English Admiral that he desired to confer on the subject with some of their members in a private capacity. Congress declined to treat with him in any other way than as the representatives of America; but consented to send a committee to ascertain what powers he possessed as a civil commissioner. Franklin, Adams, and Rutledge met him on the 11th of September, at the Billop House, on Staten Island, opposite Amboy; but the conference only brought out the fact that Lord Howe had no authority to negotiate with the rebels as an independent people, and that the committee had no intention of treating with him on any other basis. Gordon reports that the latter managed the matter "with great dexterity, and maintained the dignity of Congress."

The Billop House.

It was not until the 12th of October that Howe was prepared to renew the offensive measures against Washington. The position of the American army at Harlem Heights was too strong to be assaulted in front, and the British commander was now compelled by the necessities of the situation, rather than of choice, to follow out his favorite tactics and again move on his opponent's flank and rear. Washington, on his part, had made such preparations that he was not for the third time to be taken by surprise. Howe decided now to do that which he might have done immediately after the battle of Long

Island, — to land in Westchester County, march across toward the Hudson, and cut the American communications. But instead of landing well along the coast, at a point where he could quickly seize the main roads in Washington's rear, his advance division, which started from New York on the 12th, and passed through Hell Gate in flat-boats under cover of a fog, stopped at Throg's Neck, six miles distant, which then had no strategical importance whatever. It was simply a projecting tongue of land, connected with the main land by a causeway, which the Americans had already obstructed and covered with works. Here the British wasted five days waiting for provisions and stores, and Washington improved the time by preparing for the next attempt upon his flank.

Howe lands in Westchester County.

This evident design on the Westchester roads prompted the calling of a council in the American camp on the 16th. It was decided that Harlem Heights would be untenable should Howe move upon them, and preparations, therefore, should be made to evacuate the whole of that position, with the exception of Fort Washington. That post, the council, persuaded chiefly by Greene's opinion of its importance and impregnability, decided to retain with a sufficient garrison. Accordingly, the Commander-in-chief gradually withdrew his troops along the hills west of the Bronx River, which runs through Westchester nearly parallel to the Hudson, and thus held the army well in hand to face the enemy wherever they appeared.

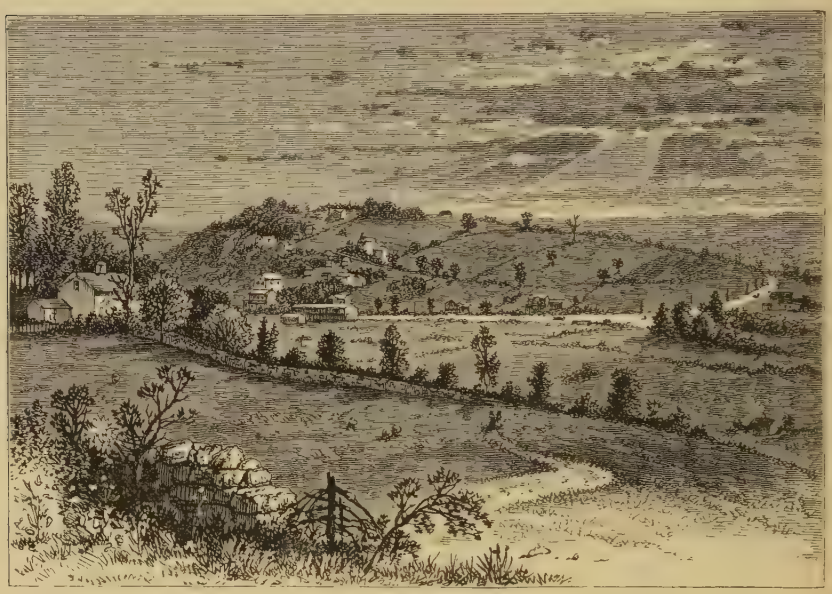
On the 18th Howe left the Neck, and debarked again at Pell's Point, a short distance below New Rochelle. Glover's brigade, consisting of Reed's, Shepherd's, and Bailey's Massachusetts men, opposed the light infantry from behind stone walls, with an effective fire, and then fell back slowly. The enemy advancing took post in the vicinity of New Rochelle, where they delayed again until the 22d, giving Washington ample time to place himself at White Plains, where he held the roads leading up the Hudson and to New England. If Howe's movement was merely to compel the evacuation of Harlem Heights, it was successful; if the intention was to hem in the whole American force south of White Plains, it was a signal failure. On the evening of the 27th the two armies were only four miles apart. Washington's line of works — part of the distance a double line — ran along hilly ground within the village of White Plains, in a southwesterly direction, the left resting on broken ground near a hollow and mill-pond, and the right on a curve of the Bronx, which protected flank and rear. Just across the Bronx rose Chatterton's Hill, a little in advance of the main line, and presenting a steep front. Behind the intrenchments lay the four divisions of the army, mustering about thir-

Marches towards New Rochelle

Battle of White Plains.

teen thousand men. Chatterton's Hill had not been fortified, and Colonel Putnam, the engineer, had gone out to it to mark a line of defence.

The British moved up from Scarsdale, and, driving in the outpost parties under Spencer, reached Washington's position about ten o'clock. They marched in two columns, — Clinton on the right, De Heister on the left, — in numbers about equal to the Americans, or, according to Stedman, "thirteen thousand effective men." The purpose seemed



Chatterton's Hill.

to be, at first, to attack in front, and a company of dragoons approached Heath on the left to reconnoitre, but were checked by a battery. Instead of attempting a direct assault, however, the enemy filed off to the left and extended their lines in the plain some distance in front of Chatterton's Hill. Here the main body halted, and the soldiers sat down on the ground, while a column four thousand strong proceeded to cross the Bronx and move up the hill. The design evidently was, to attempt the capture of that point as preliminary and necessary to subsequent movements. One body, under General Leslie and Colonel Donop, forded the stream in front, and Rahl, with part of his Hessians, crossed farther down. To cover the movement, fifteen or twenty pieces of artillery opened a rapid fire on the Americans opposite.

At the time of Howe's approach, Washington was riding in

company with Lee, Heath, and other officers, examining a stronger position for defence farther to the rear.[1] An orderly brought word of what might be expected, and the generals galloped back to their posts. Colonel Brooks's Massachusetts militia were sent to Chatterton's Hill, and Haslet, with his Delaware men, soon followed. These formed in good positions, the militia considerably to the right, where they were shortly reënforced by McDougall's brigade of Continentals, including his own, Ritzema's, Smallwood's, and Charles Webb's. Captain Alexander Hamilton brought up his two field-pieces. This disposition of the troops was hardly made along the brow of the steep declivity, when the enemy came on, clambering straight up the difficult ascent. The situation was not unlike that at Bunker Hill. Captain William Hull, of Webb's regiment, describes the scene as exceedingly imposing, with the entire British army in full view, and the attack in front, combined with the heavy cannonade, as an ordeal which, under the circumstances, might have tried the nerves of older soldiers. McDougall's men poured a hot fire into Leslie's ranks, before which they recoiled, and sought shelter. A second charge up the slope was met with an equally determined resistance, especially from Smallwood's and Ritzema's men in the centre. For fifteen minutes the enemy were held in check, when Rahl and his Hessians appearing on the American right, drove the militia from their posts. This break on the right made it impossible for McDougall to maintain his position, and he was compelled to retreat. As the fire in front increased, and Rahl was now on their flank, the Americans gave way, at first in some confusion; but a portion of them kept up a fire from behind trees and fences, and the whole force succeeded in retiring to the main line across the Bronx. The loss was about thirty prisoners and less than one hundred and fifty killed and wounded. The enemy's loss was nearly a hundred greater.

Attack on Chatterton's Hill.

In the course of the next two or three days, Washington removed his army to an impregnable position on the Northcastle Heights. It was useless to follow him, and Howe, after several days' delay, marched to the Hudson to the reduction of Fort Washington. All the evils of war were visited upon the people of the neighborhood; the British troops lived upon the country, and the court-house and a part of the village of White Plains were burnt by the Americans after the enemy left it.

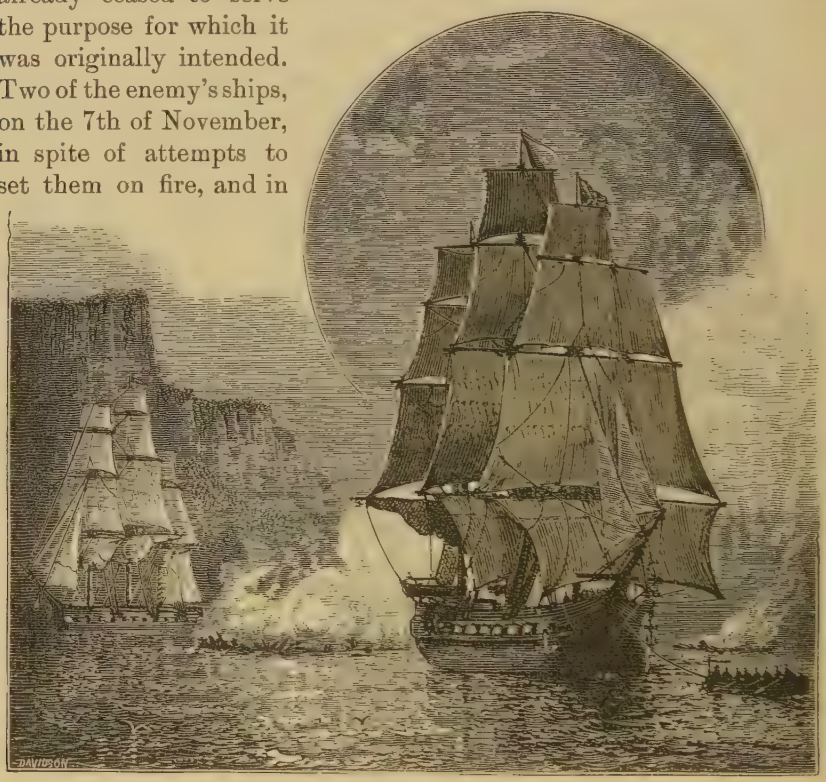
Washington takes position on Northcastle Heights.

Whether Fort Washington should, if possible, be held, was an anxious question, both in Congress and with the generals in the field. Congress wished to hold it at any cost, to guard the Hudson. Greene, who believed that Howe contemplated, as his

Fort Washington.

[1] Heath's *Memoirs*.

next move, a descent upon New Jersey, still urged that it be retained, to compel the enemy to leave part of their force in its vicinity, and thus distract their future operations. Washington was far more anxious as to the probable transfer of the campaign to New Jersey, and a move on Philadelphia. The fort, he thought, even if it should be possible to repulse such a force as Howe could place before it, had already ceased to serve the purpose for which it was originally intended. Two of the enemy's ships, on the 7th of November, in spite of attempts to set them on fire, and in



Ships passing Fort Washington.

defiance of the cannonading from the fort, had broken through the impediments placed in the channel, and ran up the river; and, only two nights before the final attack, thirty or forty flat-boats had passed up into Spuyten Duyvil Creek, unobserved from either shore. Washington accordingly wrote to Greene that, under the circumstances, he did not think it "prudent to hazard the men and stores at Mount Washington," but at the same time left it discretionary with him to give the necessary orders for its evacuation.

The commander of the fort was Colonel Robert Magaw, a lawyer of Philadelphia. He was regarded as a good officer, and had had

some experience as Major of Hand's riflemen at the siege of Boston. The twenty-seven hundred or more troops composing the garrison were chiefly Pennsylvanians. Rawling's Maryland riflemen and Bradley's Connecticut levies were together less than five hundred of the number. Howe demanded a surrender on the 15th, threatening that if he were compelled to take the fort by assault, the garrison should be put to the sword. Magaw replied that to propose such an alternative was unworthy an officer of the British nation, and that, for himself, he should defend the fort to the last extremity.

Colonel Magaw declines to surrender.

Washington had been absent for some days, with several of his

Washington, at Washington Heights.

principal officers, making preparations for any movement farther up the river and on the west side, to secure the important pass of the Highlands by sufficient fortifications. On his return to Fort Lee, on the Jersey side, nearly opposite Fort Washington, he was surprised to find that this post was still occupied. On the 16th, he crossed the

river with the purpose of coming to a final and positive decision, upon the spot, of the question of defence or evacuation. But it was already decided. Howe had begun the attack, retreat was impossible, and the garrison had no choice but defence or surrender. "As the disposition was made," wrote Greene, "and the enemy advancing, we durst not attempt any new disposition; indeed, we saw nothing amiss. We all urged his Excellency to come off. I offered to stay. General Putnam did the same, and so did General Mercer; but his Excellency thought it best for us all to come off together, which we did, about half an hour before the enemy surrounded the fort."

Howe's line of attack.

The British directed their attack from three sides, under cover of a furious cannonade from Fordham Heights on the east bank of the Harlem. Magaw had stationed his men in the outer lines, some distance above and below the fort. Lieutenant-colonel Cadwallader, with Shee's Pennsylvanians, commanded at the lowest of the triple line of works across the island. Towards King's Bridge, on the high ground near Inwood, Rawling and his Marylanders were posted. On his right, Colonel Baxter's Pennsylvania Rifles occupied Laurel Hill on the Harlem, near where Tenth Avenue terminates. The rocky and precipitous side of the river, north and south of the present High Bridge, was watched by small parties. The distance on this defensive line, between Cadwallader below and Rawling and Baxter above, was two and a half miles.

The enemy advanced in three columns. One came up from Bloomingdale and Harlem Plains, led by Lord Percy, who was accompanied by Howe. Knyphausen moved down the road from King's Bridge, and with him marched Rahl and his men, only a little nearer the Hudson. The third force, under General Matthews, supported by Cornwallis, appeared in boats on the upper Harlem, heading toward Baxter. The fighting began everywhere nearly at the same time, Percy leading off. He attacked Cadwallader, and carried a small redoubt; but as Cadwallader had the middle and a much stronger line to fall back to, and could probably hold Percy well in check, Howe ordered a body of Highlanders, led by Lieutenant-colonel Sterling, to move up in boats, and land above Cadwallader. Magaw, observing this movement, sent out an opposing force; but the Highlanders clambered up the hill-side in spite of the destructive fire that tore through their ranks, and, reaching the top, took a hundred and fifty prisoners, besides compelling Cadwallader to beat an immediate retreat to the fort. On the north side, the Hessian columns met in Rawling and his riflemen a stubborn enemy. The woods resounded with the shouts and volleys from either side, until the Americans were pushed back by sheer weight of numbers. Baxter fell on Laurel Hill, where

Matthews attacked him, and the entire American force was soon huddled within the fort. Knyphausen then demanded an immediate surrender. Further resistance would only be to incur great loss of life in a work now crowded with nearly three thousand men. Magaw, therefore, surrendered on honorable terms. The capture cost the enemy nearly five hundred men in killed and wounded. The American loss beyond prisoners was hardly a third of this number.

Surrender of the Fort.

New York City and Island, from the Battery to King's Bridge, were now in the possession of the British. Two days afterward Cornwallis passed up the river, and at a point nearly opposite Yonkers, landed with six thousand men. Fort Lee could be held no longer in the presence of such a force; it was, therefore, abandoned, and the American army withdrew to the other side of the Hackensack River. Howe considered the reduction of these two forts of vital importance, as they commanded the entrance to the Hudson, or, at least, made it perilous for the passage of English ships; and so long as Fort Washington was held by the Americans, the communication of New York with the open country beyond could never be safe and uninterrupted. His objective point in the campaign, therefore, was so far gained. His reasons for reducing Fort Washington, were, on the other hand, precisely the reasons which Greene, and those who agreed with him, had urged for its defence. The real difference of opinion among the American generals, was not so much whether it was desirable, but whether it was possible to maintain that position. If it could be done, it ought to be done; if it could not, then the attempt to do it only involved a loss of life and munitions. The further question — whether its voluntary abandonment without fighting, or its surrender after an unsuccessful defence, would have the more dispiriting effect upon the army and the country — was a question that, however important, could not be permitted to govern the final decision. There could be no doubt that the loss of the fort was most serious; it is equally certain that in the existing state of things, the loss, and the method of losing it, were governed by the inevitable necessities of the case. Washington was not strong enough to hold it, nor had he authority sufficient to compel its evacuation without a fight, decided as his own judgment was, that that was the wiser thing to do. Congress hampered him; and affairs had not yet reached that point where he could demand implicit obedience from his Major-generals, instead of suggesting measures in which he asked their coöperation. That time came the sooner, probably, that he was not in haste to assert and assume the power that should properly belong to the Commander-in-chief.

Evacuation of Fort Lee.

Washington's position.

CHAPTER XXI.

THE NEW JERSEY CAMPAIGN.

CONDITION OF THE ARMY. — RETREAT THROUGH NEW JERSEY. — HOWE'S PROCLAMATION OF AMNESTY. — WASHINGTON CROSSES THE DELAWARE. — CONDUCT OF GENERAL LEE. — HIS CAPTURE. — OUTRAGES BY THE FOREIGN TROOPS. — THE HESSIANS SURPRISED AND CAPTURED AT TRENTON. — WASHINGTON RECROSSES THE DELAWARE. — BATTLE OF PRINCETON. — WINTER QUARTERS AT MORRISTOWN. — RESULTS OF THE CAMPAIGN. — SUFFERINGS OF AMERICAN PRISONERS IN THE HANDS OF THE BRITISH. — THE QUESTION OF EXCHANGE. — WASHINGTON'S POSITION.

Washington apprehends a move on Philadelphia.

LITTLE doubt remained in Washington's mind that the British would follow up their successes about New York by an immediate move upon Philadelphia. This was the opinion of the council of war at White Plains when Howe relinquished further operations in Westchester County. Washington, therefore, left Lee at Northcastle, and Heath in the Highlands, taking Putnam, Greene, Stirling, and Mercer with him southward. Something over four thousand men composed his entire force, and many of these were to leave in December.

Washington wrote to Governor Livingston, of New Jersey, to be prepared for the invasion of his province. He suggested that the militia be in readiness for instant service, and recommended the people, in the strongest terms, to remove their "stock, grain, effects, and carriages," for the enemy in their progress would leave them nothing. "They have treated all here," he wrote from Westchester, "without discrimination; the distinction of Whig and Tory has been lost in one general scene of ravage and desolation." What could not be removed, he advised, should be burned "without the least hesitation."

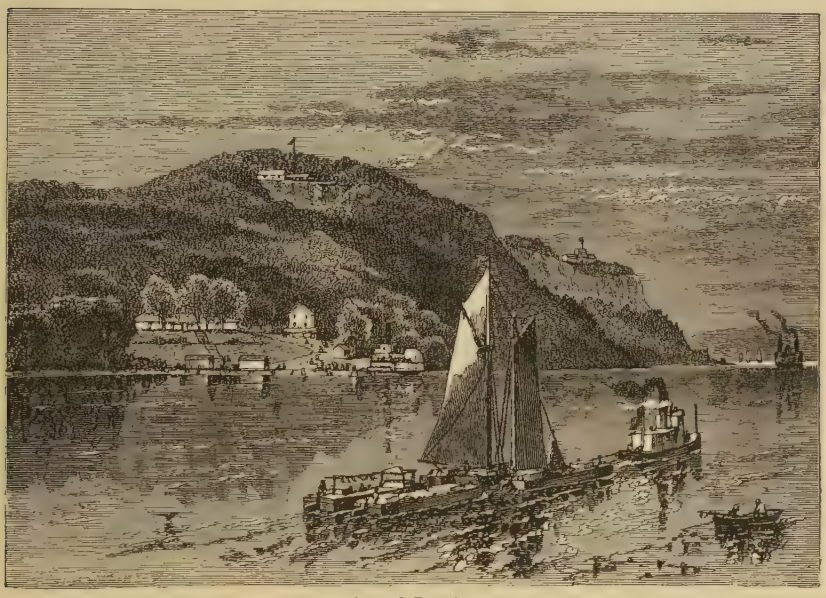
Condition of his army.

The condition of his army still gave him great anxiety. By the 1st of December he would have only about two thousand Continentals on the Jersey side, to oppose Howe's entire force. The several legislatures were exceedingly slow in raising their additional quotas, and Congress still adhered to the policy of short enlistments.

The first necessity now was reënforcements. Adjutant-general Reed

was sent to appeal to the New Jersey Legislature for help, and Mifflin was despatched on a like errand to Congress at Philadelphia. Being a popular and able speaker, he addressed meetings in that city, roused the war spirit afresh, and by the middle of December had contributed much toward raising new troops in both town and country. The Philadelphia "associators," or home-guards, turned out in large numbers. General Schuyler sent down from the Northern Department seven eastern regiments under Gates and St. Clair.

The enemy had renewed operations only four days after the capture of Fort Washington, and Fort Lee was evacuated so hastily by the Americans that the kettles were on the fire, and a thousand bar-



View of Fort Lee.

rels of flour, three hundred tents, and a number of mounted cannon fell into the hands of Cornwallis. As Washington reached Hackensack bridge, the British van appeared in sight on the road above. By the 22d the whole American army had fallen back to Newark. On the 28th, as Washington was leaving Newark at one end of the town, Cornwallis entered at the other.

Northern New Jersey was thrown into a panic at this invasion. Taking advantage of the alarm, the two Howes, as Peace Commissioners, issued a proclamation on the 30th, in which they offered pardon to all who had taken up arms against the King, if they returned quietly to their homes, the offer holding good for sixty days. Many in New Jersey and Pennsylvania accepted

A proclamation of amnesty.

it. Among these was Joseph Galloway, of Philadelphia, a member of the first Continental Congress.[1]

From Newark Washington fell back to Brunswick on the Raritan. Most of the flying camp, Jerseymen and Pennsylvanians, went home, their term of enlistment having expired. The British came on through Elizabethtown, Uniontown, Woodbridge, and other places, impressing cattle, horses, and wagons. On December 1st, Washington retreated by a night march to Princeton, where he left Stirling and Stephen, of Virginia, to watch the enemy, while he moved to Trenton with the other half of his force to transfer stores and baggage across the Delaware. Howe unaccountably ordered Cornwallis to halt at Brunswick. In the lull of the pursuit, Washington urged Congress to raise a permanent army and "have nothing to do with militia except in cases of extraordinary exigency." That he might, in case of necessity, make a safe retreat into Pennsylvania, he had boats in readiness at Trenton, and to prevent pursuit he ordered every sort of craft removed from the Jersey side for seventy miles up and down the Delaware. He gave special orders that the Durham produce-scows should be secured, as any one of them was large enough to transport a whole regiment. Cornwallis, on the 8th, suddenly pushed on again, and nearly surprised Stirling, while the entire American force, less than three thousand, crossed the Delaware as the British were marching into Trenton. Stedman, who was in Howe's army, criticises the easy pace of the pursuit. To him it seemed as if Howe "had calculated with the greatest accuracy the exact time necessary for his enemy to make his escape."

Washington reaches the Delaware, and crosses it.

As the two armies moved southward, the panic in Jersey and Pennsylvania increased. Congress thought it unsafe to remain in Philadelphia, and adjourned early in December to meet at Baltimore. Oliver Wolcott, a delegate from Connecticut, wrote that "it was judged that the Council of America ought not to sit in a Place liable to be interrupted by the rude Disorder of Arms." Putnam and Mifflin were ordered there to put that city in a state of defence.

A panic.

As Washington fell back slowly through New Jersey, warily watching every movement of the enemy, he had repeatedly and urgently ordered Lee to join him with his whole force. But that General chose to construe those orders as conditional, and not imperative. This was in accordance with his settled purpose to acquire a

Lee's conduct.

[1] Howe subsequently made him superintendent of the post at that city, but he appears at the close of the war as a witness in England against the British General who had pardoned him, who was accused of conducting a very sluggish campaign in the Jerseys.

separate command; more than this, — as he had hoped the year before that the supreme command would be bestowed upon him, so he still hoped, undoubtedly, that he might supersede Washington. He assumed to instruct the New England Governors, and even Congress, upon the construction of the army, and the measures which should be adopted for the conduct of military affairs. In November he wrote to the President of the Massachusetts Council, James Bowdoin, that "before the unfortunate affair of Fort Washington, he was of opinion that the two armies — that on the east and that on the west side of North River — must rest each on its own bottom; that the idea of detaching . . . . from one side to the other was chimerical; but to harbor such a thought in our present circumstances is absolute insanity." When Washington ordered him to move, he saw fit to act upon his own judgment rather than to obey the orders of his superior, and directed General Heath to cross the river and join the main army, instead of himself. Heath refused to obey, properly conceiving that his movements were to be governed by the Commander-in-chief. "The Commander-in-chief," was Lee's reply, "is now separated from us; I, of course, command on this side the water: for the future I will and must be obeyed." When, at last, he leisurely took up his line of march to join the main army, where the aid of his troops was so imperatively needed, he wrote that he was "in hopes to reconquer the Jerseys, which were really in the hands of the enemy before my arrival." In a letter to General Gates, two days later, he says, "*Entre nous*, a certain great man is most damnably deficient. He has thrown me into a situation where I have my choice of difficulties — if I stay in this Province, I risk myself and Army, and if I do not stay, the Province is lost forever — . . . . I must act with the greatest circumspection — . . . . as to what relates to yourself, if you think you can be in time to aid the General, I would have you by all means go." Even Gates, he thought, should be governed by his own discretion, rather than obey positive orders; and while he hesitated whether he should stay or not stay in Jersey, Washington had four times written him within ten days — "hasten your march as much as possible, or your arrival may be too late to answer any valuable purpose:" — "the sooner you join me with your division, the sooner the service will be benefited:" — "march and join me with all your whole force with all possible expedition:" — "push on with every possible succor you can bring." [1]

On his march through Jersey he compelled the inhabitants to furnish his men with clothing, of which they were, like all the army,

[1] See *Treason of Major-general Charles Lee*, by George H. Moore. *Lee Papers, N. Y. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, 1872.

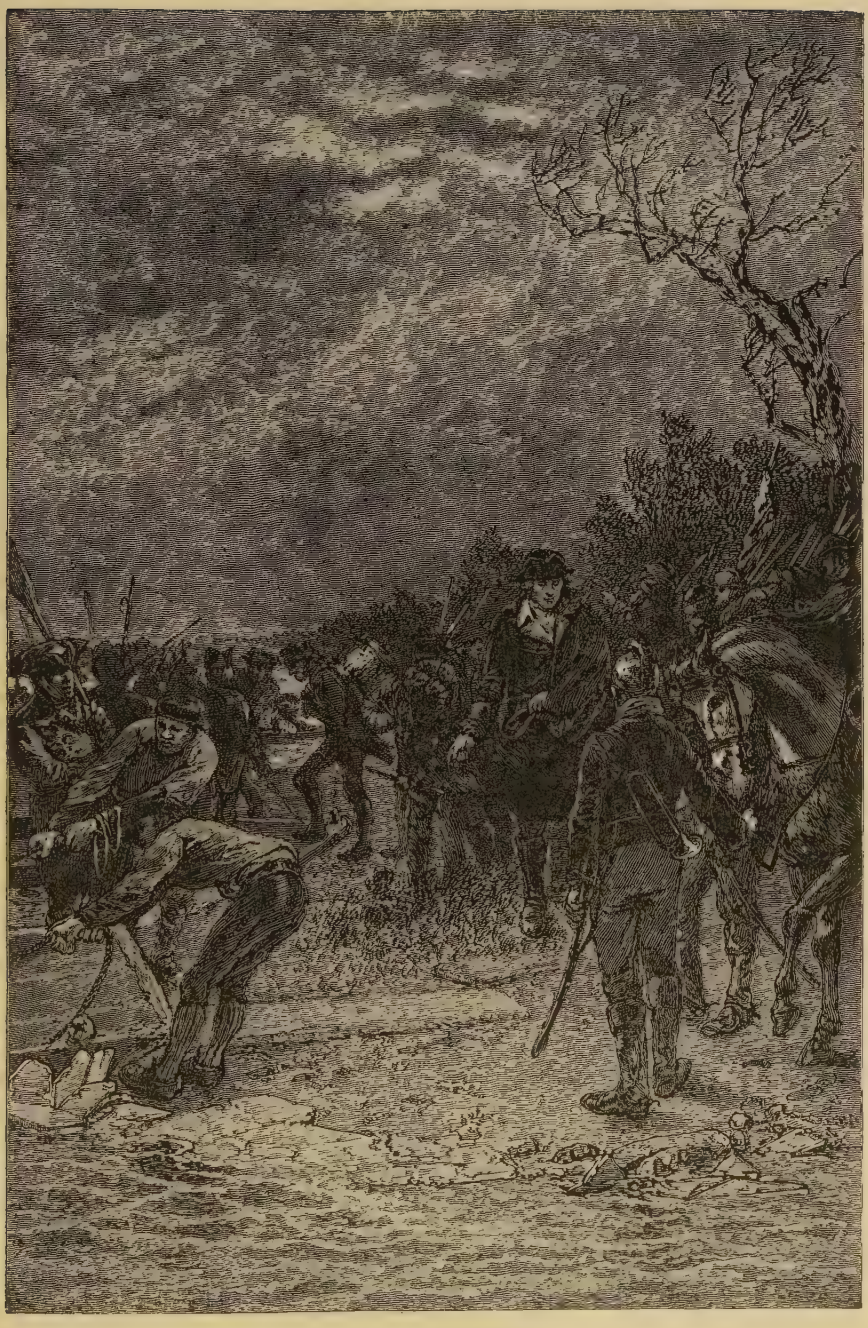
greatly in need, promising that the public should pay for it.[1] He did not cross the Hudson until the 3d of December, sixteen days after he was directed to march. On the 12th he was no farther than Vealtown, and on the next day was taken prisoner. The previous evening, he had pushed on with his staff and about a dozen guards to Baskingridge, and put up at a tavern. "A rascally Tory," according to one account, noticed Lee's exposed position, and

Lee captured.

Capture of General Lee.

galloping away at high speed, gave the information that night to a British scouting-party under Lieutenant-colonel Harcourt, twenty miles distant. Harcourt arrived at Baskingridge, with fifty of his dragoons, about ten o'clock on the morning of the 13th. Lee had

[1] This order, recently discovered, directs Colonel Chester and a party to proceed to Harrington township and collect all the serviceable horses and spare blankets they can find, leaving "a sufficient number to cover the people;" and they are to gather shoes and great coats, "to serve as Watch Coats." "The people from whom they are taken," continues the order, "are not to be insulted either by language or actions, but told that the urgent necessity of the troops obliges us to this measure, — that, unless we adopt it, their liberties must perish."



THE CROSSING OF THE DELAWARE.

sent for his horses, was about to mount, and would have been gone in ten minutes. The dragoons approached cautiously and surrounded the house. Some resistance was made, and a shot cut off the ribbon of Colonel Harcourt's queue. In the attempt to escape, several of the Americans were wounded, and two were killed. Captain Bradford, Lee's aid, evaded the enemy by changing his clothes, and Major Wilkinson hid in safety behind a door. Lee was placed on horseback, bound hand and foot, and hurried off beyond successful pursuit.

The command of his troops fell to Sullivan, who lost no time in obeying the orders Lee had so long disregarded, and reported at headquarters on the 20th. The strictest watch was now kept upon the enemy across the river; scouts were sent to ascertain their position and movements, and particularly whether they were building boats. The critical state of affairs urged Washington to aggressive measures. Bold as any attempt whatever on the enemy might seem, the situation demanded it. Something must be done to offset Howe's sweeping progress; something to cheer the troops; something to assure the country that the army, at least, had not despaired of the cause, and only required vigorous support at home to crown it with success. Washington appears to have contemplated a move of this nature as early as the 14th, when he wrote to Governor Trumbull of the effect "a lucky blow" might have in rousing the spirits of the people, which he knew were quite sunk by late misfortunes. The favorable opportunity soon offered. On the 23d of December he wrote: "Christmas-day at night, one hour before day, is the time fixed upon for our attempt on Trenton."

A plan to surprise Trenton.

Confident in their strength, and believing that the end of the rebellion was near, the British distributed their forces in New Jersey at different points until the freezing of the Delaware should enable them to cross into Pennsylvania and continue their march to Philadelphia. They spread themselves over as much territory as possible, to afford the loyal portion of the inhabitants "protection," as well as to keep recruits from joining the American army. At Brunswick, they collected stores and provisions, guarded by cannon and six or eight hundred men; at Cranberry a camp for Tory recruits was established. Cornwallis fixed his headquarters at Princeton. Donop with two thousand Hessians commanded in Burlington County, where a scout found his men "scattered through all the farmers' houses, — eight, ten, twelve, and fifteen in a house, — and rambling over the whole country;" Rahl, with twelve hundred more, occupied Trenton. The people everywhere were given over to plunder.[1] The British posts were hardly within easy supporting dis-

Disposition of the British forces.

[1] A letter bearing date December 12, 1776, gives a vivid picture of the conduct of these

tance of each other; indeed, Rahl, at Trenton, to show his contempt for the Continentals, would have no supports, and refused to throw up a single defensive work. Cornwallis, even, was so far convinced that the campaign was over, that he had obtained leave of absence to return to England, and had gone from Princeton to New York, leaving Grant in command in lower Jersey. That officer, equally unsuspecting, assured Donop, on the edge of the river, that while he and Rahl should be on the watch, there was nothing to apprehend from the rebels.

Ascertaining the exact position of the enemy, Washington determined to cross the Delaware at night above and below Trenton, fall upon Rahl and his Hessians, surround and capture them, and recross before he could be overtaken. The plan required the coöperation of all the troops that could be mustered. To engage Donop's attention below Trenton, a body of militia, under Colonel Griffin, from Philadelphia, skirmished at Burlington and Mount Holly, and succeeded so far as to draw off part of his force eighteen miles southeast of Rahl. General John Cadwallader was directed to cross at Bristol with a force of Pennsylvanians,[1] and General Ewing had been ordered to

foreign troops, and suggests anew the question whether there can be any such thing as civilized warfare. The writer says the progress of the British and Hessian troops through New Jersey was attended with such scenes of desolation and outrage as would disgrace the most barbarous nations; and he cites half a dozen incidents which he declares well authenticated. William Smith, of Smith's farm, near Woodbridge, hearing the cries of his daughter, rushed into the room and found a Hessian officer attempting to ravish her. "In an agony of rage and resentment, he instantly killed him; but the officer's party soon came upon him, and he now lies mortally wounded at his ruined, plundered dwelling." They entered the house of Samuel Stout, Esq., in Hopewell, and destroyed his deeds, papers, furniture, and effects of every kind, except what they plundered. They took away every horse, and left his house and farm in ruins, "injuring him to the value of two thousand pounds in less than three hours." Old Mr. Philips, his neighbor, they pillaged in the same manner, and then cruelly beat him. "On Wednesday last," says this writer, "three women came down to the Jersey shore in great distress; a party of the American Army went and brought them off, when it appeared that they all had been very much abused, and the youngest of them, a girl about fifteen years of age, had been ravished that morning by a British officer." Sixteen young women in Hopewell, flying from the enemy, took refuge on the mountain near Ralph Hart's; but information being given of their retreat, they were soon carried down into the British camp, "where they have been kept ever since." The settlements of Maidenhead and Hopewell were broken up; "no age nor sex have been spared; the houses are stripped of every article of furniture, and what is not portable is entirely destroyed. The stock of cattle and sheep are drove off; every article of clothing and house-linen seized and carried away. Scarce a soldier in the Army but what has a horse loaded with plunder. Hundreds of families are reduced from comfort and affluence to poverty and ruin, left at this inclement season to wander through woods without house or clothing." — Force's *Archives*, Fifth Series, vol. iii., p. 1188.

[1] Adjutant-general Reed was sent by Washington to Cadwallader to coöperate with and aid him in the proposed movements across the Delaware. Some years after the peace, a controversy sprang up between Reed and Cadwallader, which was embittered by, if it did not originate in, political differences, and has been kept alive in the present century in more than one history of the Revolutionary period. The essential point of this controversy is

make a similar attempt opposite Trenton. The Commander-in-chief proposed to lead the main column himself from McConkey's Ferry, nine miles up the river. The movement was to begin on Christmas night, and every preparation was made to insure success.

But the condition of the river threatened to defeat this bold design. When Cadwallader attempted to cross from Bristol he found the ice so piled up on the Jersey shore as to prevent the landing of artillery. He could do nothing, and relinquished the attempt in despair. Ewing was equally unsuccessful. These two coöperating parties, who were to have cut off communication between Rahl and Donop, being thus effectually baffled, the chances of the success of the main force were proportionately lessened. Washington determined, nevertheless, to push on at all hazards, though without support. He could at least trust the troops under his immediate command. The best general officers then in the service were to go with them; — Greene, who had shared his chief's hopes and anxieties through the cam-

a charge against Reed of meditating a treacherous abandonment of the cause of his country, and a determination to go over to the enemy. Evidence as to the alleged words and acts of the Adjutant-general, while at Bristol, were gathered together and have been repeatedly published to substantiate the charge, and he and his friends — particularly his grandson, the late William B. Reed — have been called upon to prove a negative. For the discussion of this question we have neither space nor inclination. At the same time, we do not hesitate to say that the difficult task of proving a negative was never, perhaps, more completely accomplished, were it not that no evidence could be given to offset the direct, positive, and unbiassed testimony found, a few years ago, in the manuscript journal of the Hessian Colonel Donop, or one of his staff. In this it was charged that Reed had "received a protection," and "had declared that he did not intend any longer to serve," — that is, in the American army. It is true, that Mr. W. B. Reed, having got sight of the original Hessian journal, showed that this, which was made to appear as the assertion of a fact by a mutilation of the journal, was, in reality, the assertion of a rumor only, and one among others so confused that the writer of the journal "would not listen any more to them." But before this was made to appear, the first published extract had done its work, and had been accepted as an absolute confirmation of the original charge of disloyalty made against Reed by Cadwallader.

But even with this satisfactory discovery of the grandson that the alleged assertion of a fact was the assertion only of a rumor, the existence of such a rumor, recorded in a contemporary Hessian journal, while it could not prove the charge against his grandfather to be true, was, at least, very damaging collateral evidence of the truth of that charge. By a fortunate incident, however, it appears, at last, that even the rumor reported by the Hessian was a blunder, and that it referred, without doubt, not to Adjutant-general Reed, but to another officer with a similar name. In 1876, William S. Stryker, Adjutant-general of New Jersey, found in the archives of his office a report of Colonel Donop, made to the British Major-general Grant, on December 21, 1776, in which he says that Colonel Reed had received a protection, and declared to General Mifflin that he would serve no longer, whereupon he was carried off a prisoner by Mifflin. Donop knew no English; the commander at the time and place referred to was Colonel Griffin — not Mifflin; the Colonel Reed, then and there arrested, was not Joseph Reed, Washington's Adjutant-general, but Colonel Charles Read, of the Burlington militia, who, the Memorandum Book of the Philadelphia Council of Safety shows, was still in custody a month later in that city, "taken in New Jersey." With this discovery of Adjutant-general Stryker, the whole case against Joseph Reed may, in legal phrase, be put out of court.

paign; Stirling and Sullivan, both good soldiers; Stephen, who had been with Washington in the French war; Mercer, rising in reputation; St. Clair from the Northern Department; Knox, Hand, and Glover, Poor, Stark, and Patterson, soon to be Brigadier-generals. Gates was offered the command of one of the parties farther down the river, but he preferred to gallop off to Philadelphia to discuss some question of rank before Congress. Twenty-four hundred men composed the expedition, nearly all of whom had seen service — at Bunker Hill, in Canada, on Long Island, at Harlem Heights, and at White Plains; men from every province, from New Hampshire to Virginia.

The general officers.

The swift current of the river was filled with cakes of floating ice. A driving storm of snow and sleet pelted the half-clad troops, benumbed them with cold, and threatened to render both guns and ammunition useless. But officers and men alike were insensible to these difficulties; they knew they had everything to win, that failure would be no disgrace, defeat a less misfortune than to go back, and that victory would be hailed with enthusiasm by the whole country. As they entered the boats, they were inspirited by the calm and resolute bearing of their chief. Knox shouted his orders in a voice whose loud and cheerful tones encouraged the troops; and none doubted of the safe passage of the river, when Glover, with his Massachusetts fishermen, — as good sailors as they were soldiers, — stepped forward to man the oars.

The difficulties.

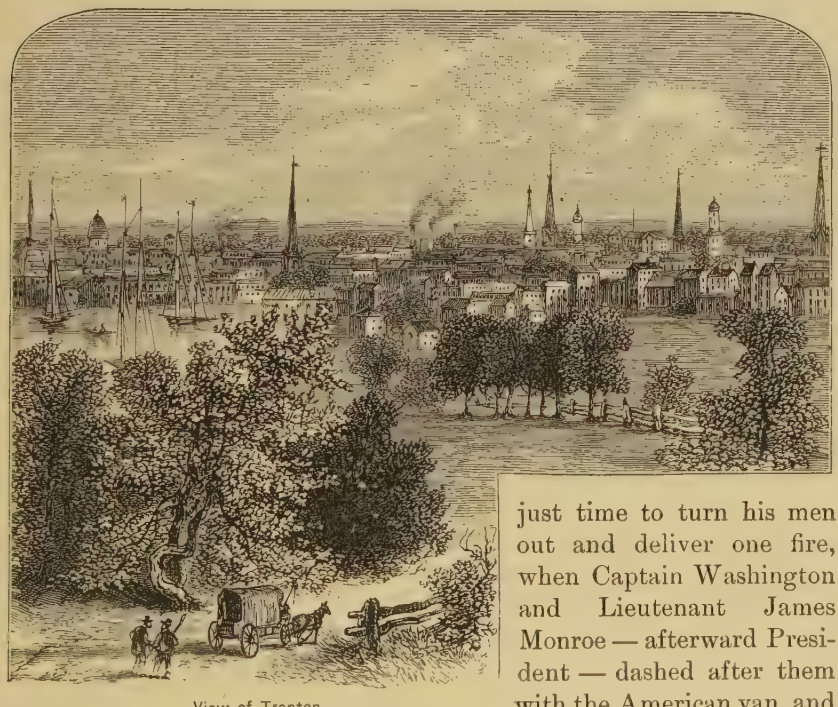
It was four o'clock in the morning before troops and cannon were all safe on the Jersey side, when, by the original plan, they should have been there by midnight. "This," says Washington, "made me despair of surprising the town, as I well knew we could not reach it before the day was fairly broke; but, as I was certain there was no making a retreat without being discovered and harassed on repassing the river, I determined to push on at all events." Despite the slippery road which made quick marching difficult at first, and although many of the men were almost barefoot, the column moved on in good order, without a murmur, and in profound silence. But they were nearly all hardened troops, and could march well; the Eastern regiments, under St. Clair, had just come down from Ticonderoga, four hundred miles distant; the troops under Lee and Sullivan had been on the road three weeks, and the rest had found rapid travelling their only safety in the Jersey retreat. Only those had remained behind who were too foot-sore or too destitute of clothing to leave their quarters.

When Birmingham village was reached, the force divided; one column, under Greene, taking the Scotch or upper road; the other,

under Sullivan, following the parallel river road a mile to the south. With Greene, were Stephen's, Mercer's, Stirling's, and De Fermoy's [1] brigades, in advance; with Sullivan, Glover's, Sargent's, and St. Clair's followed. Washington took the upper road with Greene. The march now was easier and swifter, as they had turned their backs to the storm. Then the discovery was made that the priming for the muskets had become in many cases too wet to use. Sullivan promptly reported this to Washington; Washington replied that they must fight with fixed bayonets.

The Hessians surprised.

At eight o'clock precisely, Greene's advance guard, headed by Captain William Washington, of Virginia, and guided by David Lanning, of Trenton, came upon the enemy's outposts on the skirts of the town. The young Hessian lieutenant in charge had just time to turn his men out and deliver one fire, when Captain Washington and Lieutenant James Monroe — afterward President — dashed after them with the American van, and followed the Hessian pickets rapidly into Trenton. Three minutes later, firing was heard on the lower road, and Washington was assured that Sullivan's wing was up and at work. Stark's New Hampshire men led the advance there, and had fallen upon the enemy with a shout and a rush. Notwithstanding the lateness of the hour, the



View of Trenton.

[1] A French officer, lately commissioned a brigadier by Congress. His regiments were Hand's riflemen and Hausegger's German battalion from Pennsylvania.

surprise was complete. Both American columns moved straight on in support of their advance parties. Two streets running through the town (then King and Queen, now Warren and Greene) converged where the upper road entered. At this junction, Captain Forest planted six guns, and Washington in person directed their fire down King Street, in which the Hessians were attempting to form. The street was quickly cleared. The enemy then brought two field-pieces to reply to Forest, but the column under young Washington and Monroe charged on the gunners, drove them off, and disabled the guns, both officers receiving slight wounds. No chance was given the enemy to rally.

Many of the Hessian officers had been engaged through the night in Christmas festivities, and among them Rahl. He was not, probably, in a condition to meet an emergency, and the suddenness of the attack helped to bewilder him. His orders were wild and confused, though he boldly faced the situation. But the American fire was so close and severe from behind houses, fences, and other points of vantage, that the Hessians, brave and veteran soldiers as they were, fled like raw recruits for their lives. A part attempted to break through to Princeton; but Hand's riflemen took post on the left, and checked them in that quarter. Sullivan's attack was as well sustained as Greene's, and a party of British troopers and yagers, instead of falling back fighting, retreated in haste across the bridge over the Assanpink Creek, which runs through the eastern part of Trenton, and made their way towards Donop's camp. But Sullivan's men held the bridge, and when one of Rahl's regiments attempted to escape over it, they were compelled to surrender. The whole force, now surrounded and thrown into confusion, were soon compelled to lay down their arms. They had been driven back to a field east of the town, where Rahl fell, mortally wounded. Supported by two sergeants, he gave up his sword to Washington.

They surrender.

The Americans took nine hundred and fifty prisoners, six guns, and many small arms and trophies, besides killing seventeen and wounding nearly eighty of the enemy. Their own loss was two killed and four wounded. Washington recrossed the Delaware that evening with all his prisoners, and the next morning warmly thanked his troops for their steady and brave conduct.[1]

[1] Captain William Hull, of Webb's Continentals, who distinguished himself subsequently during the war, wrote, January 1, 1777, of the action at Trenton: "The Resolution and Bravery of our Men, their Order and regularity, gave me the highest sensation of Pleasure. Genl. Washington highly congratulated the Men on next day in Genl. Orders, and with Pleasure observed that he had been in many Actions before, but always perceived some misbehaviour in some individuals, but in that action he saw none. . . . . What can't men do when engaged in so noble a cause?" — Mrs. Bonney's *Legacy of Historical Gleanings*, vol. i., p. 57.

When Donop, at Burlington, heard of what had happened, he at once abandoned lower New Jersey, and Cornwallis went back to Princeton. A party of British hurried down to reconnoitre, but only to find Trenton empty of both Hessians and Americans. Washington crossed the river again on the 30th, and mustered his whole force in the neighborhood of Trenton. The New England regiments, whose term of service expired with the close of the year, were persuaded to remain six weeks longer, and these, with a considerable number of Pennsylvania militia, recruited mainly in Philadelphia, increased the army to about six thousand men.[1] Early on New Year's morning, Robert Morris, the wealthy and patriotic Philadelphian to whom Washington had applied for money to pay the troops, was busy borrowing funds from his friends. He raised fifty thousand dollars in specie, and sent it to camp. On the same date, Washington wrote to Congress: "We are devising such means as I hope, if they succeed, will add as much, or more, to the distress of the enemy than their defeat at Trenton." But his plans were largely contingent on the movements of the enemy, and these were speedily developed.

Morris raises money for the troops

Hearing that Washington had again crossed the Delaware, Cornwallis prepared to meet him and blot out the Trenton disgrace. Concentrating all his available force at Princeton, — seven thousand men, British, Highlanders, Hessians, and Waldeckers, — he marched on the 2d of January, 1777. De Fermoy, with Hand's and Hausegger's regiments, was sent to check this advance. Hand's men, as usual, behaved well; but Colonel Hausegger was made prisoner, and is said to have proved himself a traitor by a voluntary surrender. Some other troops under Greene also harassed Cornwallis on his march, and prevented his reaching Trenton until evening. Washington, meanwhile, drew up his army on the east bank of the Assanpink Creek, covered the crossing at the bridge with artillery, and guarded all the fords above. The enemy came on, driving back the advance, and passing through Trenton, were on the point of storming the Assanpink Bridge, when thirty pieces of cannon opened upon them, as Knox said, "with great vociferation and some execution," and compelled them to withdraw out of range.

Washington across the Delaware again.

[1] There were "bounty-jumpers" in those days. In a general order, issued from his headquarters at Morristown in February, 1777, Washington called attention to the "frauds and abuses committed of late by sundry soldiers, who, after enlisting in one regiment and receiving the bounty allowed by Congress, have deserted, enlisted in others, and received new bounties." The Commander-in-chief, who was a strict disciplinarian and never inclined to be merciful to wrong-doers, proceeded to declare that "this offence is of the most enormous and flagrant nature, and not admitting of the least palliation or excuse; whoever are convicted thereof, and sentenced to die, may consider their execution certain and inevitable."

Hardly had the two armies posted their pickets and lighted their fires along either bank of the Assanpink, when Washington called a council of his officers to discuss their position. Obviously it was critical. The Delaware was between him and Pennsylvania, and filled with floating ice. Its passage in the presence of the enemy, at any point below Trenton, was out of the question. Retreat in that direction was impossible. To cut his way back to McConkey's Ferry, or beyond, would undoubtedly have involved the ruin of his army, and that, he knew, would be the end of the war then and there. He might be able to hold the Assanpink front against Cornwallis, but the stream above could be crossed, and his right flank turned. If he foresaw — as it is to be assumed he did — the possibility, or even the probability of placing the army in so hazardous a position, he voluntarily encountered a great risk by the return to New Jersey. It was to assume the offensive with his eyes open to the possible consequences.

From Princeton to Trenton the main highway ran nearly in a straight course through the village of Maidenhead, and it was along this that Cornwallis had advanced. There was still another and less travelled route between the two places, known as the Quaker road, which followed a roundabout line east of the Assanpink. By this road, the distance to Princeton from Washington's camp was about seventeen miles. It was proposed at the council to take this unfrequented route, make a night march to Princeton, reverse the situation, and find a safer position beyond. The feasibility of this "most extra manœuvre," as Knox describes it, was demonstrated, all the generals approved it, and orders were issued to carry it out immediately with great secrecy and precaution.[1]

On the march for Princeton.

About one o'clock at night the march was begun. St. Clair directed the details of preparation. The baggage was first sent to Burlington, for no encumbrance on the road could be permitted. Along the front appearances were maintained as of an army quiet in its encampment. A party left behind relieved the guards as usual through the night, and fence-rails and dry wood were piled on the camp-fires along the bank of the Assanpink, about which the pickets gathered closely as the cold increased. Others were at work with picks and shovels on a breastwork near the bridge.

[1] In his brief narrative reviewing his military career, General St. Clair claims the credit of having proposed this move to the Council. "The General," he says, "summoned a Council of the general officers at my quarters, and after stating the difficulties in his way, the probability of defeat, and the consequence that would necessarily result if it happened, desired advice. I had the good fortune to suggest the idea of turning the left of the enemy in the night, gaining a march upon him, and proceeding with all possible expedition to Brunswick. General Mercer immediately fell in with it, and very forcibly pointed out both its practicability and the advantages that would necessarily result from it, and General Washington highly approved it; nor was there one dissenting voice in the Council."

So far as the pickets of the enemy could see, or conjecture, the Americans were resting quietly in their camp all the night through, while the troops, ignorant of their destination, were quietly set in motion along the Quaker road toward Princeton. The ground, which had been muddy during the day, was hard from a sudden frost, and the artillery was moved without difficulty. As the men pushed on, in silence and perfect order, though sometimes stumbling over rocks and stumps, and shivering in the keen northwest wind, they discussed among themselves what the General meant to do.[1] All night the pickets piled high the fires in front of the deserted camp, and when morning broke they also stole quietly away on the line of march.

The Stolen March.

St. Clair's brigade of New Hampshire and Massachusetts troops moved at the head of the column. Captain Isaac Sherman, of Connecticut, son of that Roger Sherman who signed the Declaration of Independence, led the advance guard.[2] In the van, also, were Captain Thomas Rodney with an independent company from Delaware and the "Red Feather company of Philadelphia Light Infantry," which alone of all the troops pretended to be in uniform. The column moved on all night "in the most cool and determined order," though once the cry was raised in the rear that the Hessians were upon them, and

[1] *Journal of Captain Thomas Rodney, of Delaware.*

[2] Wilkinson's *Memoirs.*

some of the militia took fright and fled toward Burlington. Washington, as usual, kept with the van. The only cavalry that he could use for guards, couriers, and patrols was a company of twenty-one "gentlemen of fortune" from Philadelphia, who volunteered their services and paid their own way.

At Princeton.

It was a little after daybreak when the troops neared Princeton. The morning was bright, serene, and extremely cold. Washington's plan was to leave the main column with Sullivan's division in advance, wheel to the right and surprise the town on the flank, while Mercer should keep straight on, at the same time detaching a party to break down the bridge over Stony Creek on the main road, to retard the enemy's pursuit from Trenton. Thus at sunrise on the morning of January 3d, the situation was directly the reverse of what it had been on the previous morning. Cornwallis was at Trenton, Washington at Princeton. Cornwallis was outgeneralled, and the American army once more saved from threatened ruin.

Some serious work, however, remained to be done before the success of the manœuvre was completely assured. Three British regiments, — the 17th, 40th, and 55th, — with three companies of dragoons, had been left at Princeton as a rear guard. Two of them had been ordered to join Cornwallis, and before sunrise this morning they were on the road, — the 17th, under Lieutenant-colonel Mawhood, and the dragoons twenty minutes in advance of him. After crossing Stony Creek, a mile below the town, Mawhood discovered the Americans on the Quaker road half a mile to his left. Unable to account for their appearance there, he nevertheless promptly faced about and recrossed the creek to reconnoitre, and, if necessary, show fight. "You may judge of the surprise of the British," says Knox, "when they saw such a large column marching up. They could not possibly suppose it was our army, for that, they took for granted, was cooped up near Trenton. They could not possibly suppose it was their own army returning by a back road; in short, I believe they were as much astonished as if an army had dropped perpendicularly upon them."

Battle of Princeton.

Mawhood, believing that some advantage could be gained by attacking and delaying the Americans, hastened to take position just off the road, on a hill near the house and barns of a Quaker named Clark. It so happened that Mercer, with a small Continental brigade composed of the remnants of Smallwood's and Haslet's regiments, and a detachment of Virginians under Captain Fleming, about three hundred in all, on seeing the British returning, aimed for the same point, reached it first, and formed behind a fence. As the enemy came up, Mercer's men poured a volley into their ranks, which was immediately returned. Major Wilkinson, of St.

Clair's staff, recollected that the smoke from the discharge of the two lines mingled as it rose and went up "in one beautiful cloud." Mawhood, riding on a little brown pony, with two favorite spaniels bounding in front of him,[1] directed the movements of his small force, which he held under thorough discipline and now brought to the field in the best fighting condition. Preserving its line, the Seventeenth followed up its fire with one of those irresistible charges for which the British regular has been famous since the days of Marlborough in Europe and Wolfe in America. Despite the efforts of their officers to keep them to their ground, Mercer's men, who had but few bayonets, took to flight. General Mercer himself was unhorsed at the outset and, refusing to surrender, struck out with his sword, only to be bayoneted on all sides and left for dead. The brave Colonel Haslet, of the Delawares, while endeavoring to rally his men, Colonel Potter, Captain Fleming, Captain Neal of the artillery, and other officers, were also killed. General Cadwallader's militia brigade, which had been sent to support Mercer, then gave way before Mawhood.

But fortunately, Captain Moulder's volunteer artillery from Philadelphia, and Captain Rodney's men, firing under cover of the barns and stacks of hay in the vicinity, temporarily checked the enemy and enabled Washington, who was now at the front, to take measures against further disaster. He sent word to Nixon's brigade of the New England Continentals, then commanded by Colonel Daniel Hitchcock, of Providence, to come up on the enemy's right, while Hand's veteran riflemen threatened their left. The Commander-in-chief then rode in among Mercer's and Cadwallader's routed troops, regardless of personal danger, and succeeded, with others, in re-forming the greater part of them, and again drew them up in front of the British. Both sides opened fire. Hitchcock, Hand, and Cadwallader pushed on, and Mawhood, finding himself in danger of being surrounded, was compelled to retreat. His men had thus far fought bravely, but now they sought safety in flight, and throwing down their arms, scattered down the road, up the creek, and over the fields, pursued by the shouting Americans. The danger was over. The army moved on to Princeton and drove the other British regiments, who had posted themselves in the College building, out of the town. The exhausted troops encamped that night at Somerset Court House, fifteen miles beyond. The intention of making a push for Brunswick, where Washington had hoped to capture the British stores, had to be abandoned,

[1] Wilkinson's *Memoirs*. Wilkinson was St. Clair's Brigade-major, afterward General-in-chief of the American army, and gives many particulars in his account of the battles of Trenton and Princeton.

for the men, "having been without rest, rum, or provisions for two nights and days, were unequal to the task of marching seventeen miles farther." [1]

The losses.

In the fighting of this day, the British lost over sixty killed, and many wounded, besides two hundred and fifty prisoners. The American loss was about thirty killed, and a proportionate number of wounded; but among them was the gallant Mercer, who died a day or two later, and Haslet, whose services had been valuable from the beginning of the campaign. Hitchcock, who was thanked by Washington in person for his conduct in the battle, died ten days later from the hardships of the campaign.

When Cornwallis discovered that the enemy was beyond pursuit, he at once marched his troops to Princeton, and entered the place an hour after the Americans had left. They came on, it was said, "in a most infernal sweat — running, puffing, and blowing, and swearing at being so outwitted." [2] Washington, however, could not be overtaken. On the 6th, the army reached Morristown, and

Winter quarters at Morristown.

preparations were immediately made to go into winter quarters. The campaign was virtually over for that winter, though Heath and Lincoln made a demonstration toward New York a few days later, and summoned Fort Independence to surrender. The movement served, perhaps, to alarm Howe for the safety of New York, but was otherwise so far from answering the purpose intended, that the generals in command were rebuked for its failure. They permitted themselves to be driven from the investment of the fort by a sortie of the garrison. "Your summons," wrote Washington to Heath, "as you did not attempt to fulfil your threats, was not only idle, but farcical, and will not fail of turning the laugh exceedingly upon us."

Results of the campaign.

With the general result of the campaign, however, the Commander-in-chief had every reason to be satisfied, as the country had every reason to be satisfied with the Commander-in-chief. The wisdom of trusting him with almost irresponsible power was made manifest, as it became plainer every day that he knew how to use and would not abuse supreme authority. In about six months he had completely changed the aspect of affairs. Successive disasters — the loss of Long Island, the evacuation of New York, the surrender of Fort Washington, the retreat through New Jersey to the banks of

[1] Captain Rodney, mentioned above, was from Dover, Delaware, and was a brother of Hon. Cæsar Rodney, delegate in Congress from that State. Writing on the evening of the fight, he says of Princeton: "This is a very pretty little town on the York road twelve miles from Trenton; the houses are built of brick, and are very elegant, especially the College, which has 52 rooms in it; but the whole town has been ravaged and ruined by the enemy."

[2] Knox, in letter of January 7, 1777.

the Delaware, the apparently impending fall of Philadelphia — had made the most sanguine almost despair of the war. But the main army was now safely and firmly seated in the very heart of New Jersey; anxiety for New York had compelled Howe to abandon, at least for the present, his designs upon Philadelphia; Brunswick and Amboy were the only towns that he could really call his own in all that province, which, a little while before, he and his troops believed they could overrun at will; he had been outgeneralled by the rebel chief whom he affected to despise, and his veteran, disciplined, and well appointed troops had been out-fought by raw militia, just taken from the plough and the workshop, and about to return there, half-starved, half-clothed, almost shoeless in the winter weather, almost without any of the ordinary appliances of the camp, short of ammunition, short of arms, — short of everything but an invincible determination to fight to the end, and an intelligent understanding of what they were fighting for. Trenton and Princeton had shown that at the head of such an army was a great soldier, one who knew how to wait, who could never be hurried, who could never be put to fear; with the mental resources of foresight, of combination, and of concentration that make military genius. The English Ministry and European statesmen recognized in the New Jersey campaign the character of the American Revolution and the certain coming of a new nation.

Old Sugar-House, Liberty Street.

Meanwhile the penalties of war were exacted in full measure. The sufferings of the American soldiers who had fallen into the hands of the British, and were held as prisoners in New York, were notorious at the time, and have long been famous in the annals of cruelty, — Sufferings of prisoners.

> "Since man first pent his fellow men
> Like brutes within an iron den."

A writer in the New London "Gazette" gave an account of their treatment, writing it down from the recitals of some of the prisoners

themselves. As soon as they were taken, they were robbed of their baggage, money, and clothes. Some of them were put on board the prison-ships and thrust down into the hold, where they were so crowded together that they were in a constant perspiration; and from here they were suddenly transferred to some of the churches in New York, where, without any covering or a spark of fire, they suffered from the other extreme of temperature, "and the consequence was, that they took such colds as brought on the most fatal diseases, and swept them off almost beyond conception." The food that was given them for three days was scarcely enough for one day, "and in some instances they went for three days without a single mouthful of food of any kind." "For the bread," says this writer, "some of it was made out of the bran which they brought over to feed their light-horse; and the rest of it was so mouldy, and the pork was so damnified, being soaked in bilge-water in the transportation from Europe, that they were not fit to be eaten by human creatures." Sick and well were thrust in together in the churches, than which no buildings could be more unfit for the confinement of men who must eat and sleep there; and "many lay for six, seven, or eight days in all the filth of nature and of the dysentery, till death, more kind than the Britons, put an end to their misery." It was said that the English officers were continually cursing the prisoners as rebels, and threatening to execute them as such, and that at one time they ordered each man to choose his halter, out of a parcel offered, wherewith to be hanged. And many of them were hanged, the executions taking place at night on a permanent gallows in what is now Chambers Street, New York. Out of about five thousand prisoners, fifteen hundred died in captivity, and many others scarcely survived to reach their homes when they were released.

The buildings used for prisons in New York were Van Cortlandt's sugar-house, at the northwest corner of Trinity church-yard; Rhinelander's sugar-house, corner of William and Duane Streets; another sugar-house in Liberty Street, a short distance east of the old Post Office; the North Dutch Church, still standing in William Street; the Middle Dutch Church, of late years the Post Office, at the corner of Liberty and Nassau Streets; the Brick Church, formerly at the head of Nassau Street; the New Jail, now the Hall of Records in City Hall Park; and the New Bridewell, in the same park, which has been demolished. Eight hundred prisoners were packed into the North Dutch Church.

The prison-ships were mainly devoted to the confinement of American sailors. The principal ones were the *Good Hope*, anchored in the North River, and the *Scorpion*, the *Falmouth*, the *Stromboli*, the

Hunter, and afterward the *Jersey*, anchored in Wallabout Bay, the present site of Brooklyn Navy-yard. As the agreement concerning prisoners only provided for exchanges in kind, those on the prison-ships were left much longer in confinement than the other captives of war, since they were mostly privateers, and the privateering vessels were accustomed to parole their prisoners instead of bringing them into port, — the Americans thus being left without sailors to exchange for sailors. At one time the British authorities offered to exchange these seamen for soldiers; but the Americans refused, as that would only fill up the ranks of the enemy, with no corresponding benefit to their own. The *Jersey* was an old sixty-four-gun ship, dismantled, and moored about twenty rods from shore. Her port-holes were closed up, and two tiers of holes twenty inches square, barred with iron, were cut in her sides. For a long time the average number of prisoners on board was one thousand. Their allowance of rations was two thirds the quantity issued to British seamen, but with no fresh vegetables of any kind. The rations were mostly cooked in an immense boiler called "the Great Copper," the meat being boiled in sea-water, which corroded the copper and rendered the food poisonous. There was some relief, however, for those of the prisoners who happened to possess any money. An old woman known as "Dame Grant" came alongside on alternate days, in a boat rowed by two boys, and sold fresh bread, vegetables, and other dainties, prudently requiring that the cash be placed in her hand before the goods were delivered. The prisoners had no means of washing their linen, except by dipping it in sea-water and then laying it on the deck and treading on it. No light or fire was furnished, and every night there was a struggle for the places nearest to the small, grated openings. The prisoners lost almost every feeling of humanity for one another; and the principal anxiety of the volunteer nurses seemed to be to claim their perquisites by robbing the dead and dying of their clothing. "Death has no relish for such skeleton carcasses as we are,"

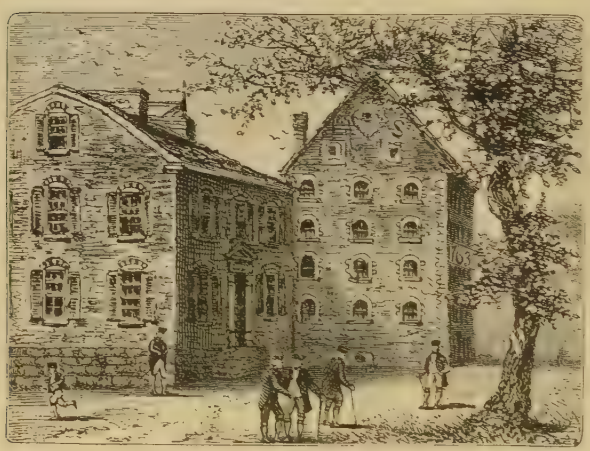
Prison-ships.

Middle Dutch Church.

said an emaciated prisoner to Captain Dring, as he went on board; "but he will now have a feast upon you fresh-comers." The Captain, finding there were several cases of small-pox on board, at once inoculated himself, using a common brass pin for a lancet. The Rev. Thomas Andros, who was confined on the *Jersey*, says an armed guard was necessary in the well-room, to compel the prisoners to work the pumps enough to keep the hulk from sinking, and they would not use the buckets, brushes, and vinegar which were furnished for the cleansing of the ship. The highest privilege that any prisoner could aspire to was to go ashore as one of a burying-party. General Johnson, who lived near Wallabout Bay, estimated the number of deaths on the prison-ships anchored there at eleven thousand five hundred. No estimate puts it lower than ten thousand.[1]

The question of exchange.

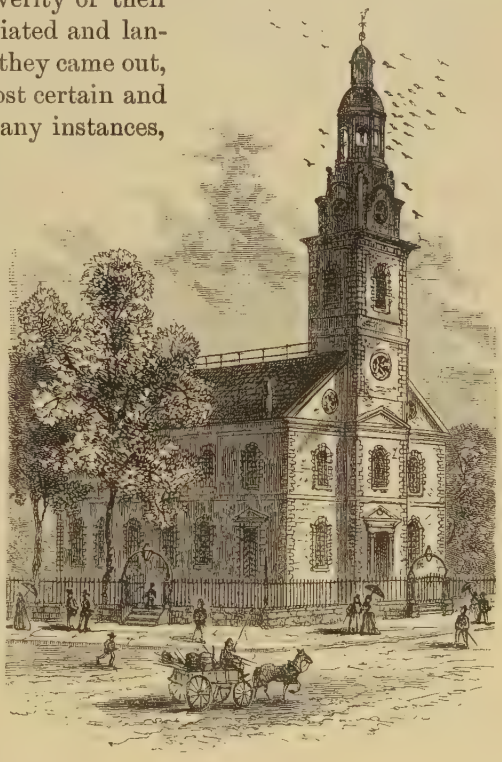
Finally a cartel for a general exchange was agreed upon, and was at once carried out by Howe, who had everything to gain and nothing to lose by it. He gave up men so broken down by close confinement, short rations, and barbarous treatment, that they could be of little further use as soldiers, and expected to receive in return an equal number of well-fed red-coats and Hessians who could resume their places in his army at once. In no other way could he get recruits for that army, except by bringing them three thousand miles across the sea. A writer of the time, in a letter dated Morristown, January, 1777, remarked that General Howe had "discharged all the privates who were prisoners in New-York: one half he sent to the World of Spirits for want of food; the other he hath sent to warn their countrymen of the danger of falling into his hands, and to convince them, by ocular demonstration, that it is infinitely better to be slain in battle than to be taken prisoners by British brutes."



Rhinelander's Sugar-House

[1] See *Recollections of the Jersey Prison-ship*. From the original manuscript of Captain Thomas Dring. Third edition, edited by Henry B. Dawson. 1865. The Americans also had a prison-ship, the *Retaliation*, moored near New London, Conn., for captured British sailors. But it was never crowded, and presented no such scene of wretchedness.

In April, 1777, General Howe demanded of Washington a return for a considerable number of officers and twenty-two hundred privates whom he had released and sent within the American lines. Washington refused to make the return by releasing an equal number of British prisoners; his argument in support of this refusal being, that though the enemy had kept the letter of the contract, they had deliberately violated its spirit and nullified its purpose. He would not hold himself bound, he told Howe, "either by the spirit of the agreement or by the principles of justice, to account for those prisoners who, from the rigor and severity of their treatment, were in so emaciated and languishing a state at the time they came out, as to render their death almost certain and inevitable, and which, in many instances, happened while they were returning to their homes, and in many others after their arrival." The American commander proceeded at considerable length to lay down the principles applicable to the case, and to charge Lord Howe in the most direct manner with purposely disabling the prisoners in his hands. "The object of every cartel or similar agreement," he said, "is the benefit of the prisoners themselves and that of the contending powers. On this footing, it equally exacts that they should be well treated as that they should be exchanged; the reverse is therefore an evident infraction, and ought to subject the party on whom it is chargeable to all the damage and ill consequences resulting from it. Nor can it be expected that those unfitted for future service by acts of severity, in direct violation of a compact, are proper subjects for an exchange. In such a case, to return others not in the same predicament, would be to give without receiving an equivalent, and would afford the greatest encouragement to cruelty and inhumanity." The circumstances that called for an



North Dutch Church.

application of these principles were as forcibly stated as the principles themselves. Washington declared that he was "compelled to consider it a fact not to be questioned, that the usage of our prisoners whilst in your possession, the privates at least, was such as could not be justified. This was proclaimed by the concurrent testimony of all who came out; their appearance sanctified the assertion; and melancholy experience, in the speedy death of a large part of them, stamped it with infallible certainty." He proclaimed his purpose to retain and care for these released prisoners, as an act of humanity, but not to consider them exchanged, and not to return for them an equal number of able-bodied British soldiers.

Howe admitted the justice of the principles laid down, but denied that they were applicable to him. He claimed that the prisoners had been supplied with the same food, in quantity and quality, that was issued to the King's troops not on service; that the sick had been received into British hospitals, and that he was entirely at a loss to account for the great mortality among them. After an interval of nearly two months (June 10, 1777) Washington sent him a long rejoinder, going over the ground with great particularity and specifying the methods and means of ill-treatment which had been pursued. He closed by declaring that he would not recede from his position on the question, but was extremely anxious for a general exchange on equitable principles.

The Chew House at Germantown.

CHAPTER XXII.

THE CAMPAIGN IN PENNSYLVANIA.

THE NEW ARMY. — FRENCH ASSISTANCE. — THE BEAUMARCHAIS TRANSACTIONS. — SYMPATHY OF THE FRENCH COURT. — SPAIN'S ATTITUDE. — OPENING SKIRMISHES OF THE CAMPAIGN IN NEW JERSEY. — BURNING OF DANBURY, CONNECTICUT. — MEIGS'S SAG HARBOR EXPEDITION. — GENERAL HOWE SAILS FROM NEW YORK. — APPEARS IN THE DELAWARE, AND THEN IN THE CHESAPEAKE. — WASHINGTON MARCHES TO MEET HIM. — BATTLE OF BRANDYWINE. — DEFEAT OF THE AMERICANS. — WAYNE SURPRISED AT PAOLI. — PHILADELPHIA OCCUPIED BY THE BRITISH. — BATTLE OF GERMANTOWN. — A VICTORY LOST.

THE work of the winter, after the troops were placed in winter quarters at Morristown, was the formation of a new army in preparation for a new campaign. Congress had decided in August, 1776, that eighty-eight battalions be raised, to take the place of the regiments in the field upon the expiration of their terms of service, and that they should be apportioned to the several States in accordance with their relative populations. The appointment of officers, except the Generals, was given to the State Assemblies, but the commissions issued from Congress. The power of removal and appointment of all officers below the Generals was, however, subsequently given to Washington. To raise this army and put it into the field, was an exceedingly slow, vexatious, and laborious process. Even in March, Washington had not four thousand men on his muster rolls.

A new army raised.

Indeed, the whole number of men called for by Congress was never recruited by the States. The strain upon the population was severe, and the question of length of service was a difficult one to deal with. On the one side, it was contended that an effective and well-disciplined army could never be organized

The difficulty with enlistments.

with men whose terms would expire in a year; on the other, it was declared that the northern farmers and mechanics would enlist with alacrity for that length of time, and keep the army full, but could not be induced to leave their farms and workshops for a period so long that it was practically their ruin. The difference of opinion marked the difference between North and South. The Northerner, with his quick intelligence and active habits, required but little time to become a good soldier; and he was not willing to sacrifice all that he had acquired, or all his hopes for the future, by a long enlistment, though he might make repeated short ones. The social condition of the South, on the other hand, produced men whose lack of education, and whose smaller intelligence, required long and severe training, and to whom a long term of service was little or no sacrifice, for their stake in society was small, as they left neither farms nor workshops behind them. It was only one of those questions which, growing out of disparity of race and social conditions, and the consequent difference of civilization, have always, from the first moment of the political union of the States, made that union precarious. But when the summer campaign fairly began, Washington had under his immediate command seven thousand three hundred Continentals. The army south of the Hudson was divided into ten brigades, under Generals Conway, De Haas, Berre, Maxwell, Muhlenberg, Scott, Smallwood, Wayne, Weedon, and Woodford.

Door of Washington's Headquarters at Morristown.

From the first outbreak of hostilities in 1775, to the opening of the campaign of this year, the difficulty of procuring munitions of war was quite as serious as that of procuring men to use them. The supply of gunpowder depended partly upon what could be picked up in the West Indies and on the coast of Africa, and partly upon the capture of English vessels by the privateers. But so limited and uncertain was this resource, that powder-mills were established in several places; every possible encouragement was given to the domestic production of saltpetre, and the thrifty farmer turned his barn-yard into a laboratory. Arms, at first, were equally scarce, till the government provided for that want, in part, by establishing manufactories in Massachusetts at Springfield, and in Pennsylvania at Lancaster. But for the relief of this dire poverty in all that made the continuance of war possible, the reliance was largely upon the friendly, though secret, aid of France. In the spring of 1776, Beaumarchais, an agent of Vergennes, proposed to Arthur Lee, then in London, to provide arms, ammunition, and even money, for the use of the Americans. The negotiations were, of course, without any apparent sanction of the French government, as they were in violation of its treaty obligations to Great Britain; but the arrangement was finally concluded with Silas Deane, at Paris. Beaumarchais fulfilled his engagements under the commercial style and name of Roderique Hortales & Co. Large supplies of powder, cannon, and field equipage were shipped from France in spite of the protestations of the English minister in Paris. The French government, in reply, regretted that any of its subjects should be so regardless of treaty obligations, denied all responsibility for such illegal acts, pretended to interfere, but let the ships slip out to sea without hindrance.

Scarcity of munitions.

Aid from France.

But in January, 1777, France took a more positive position, when the Commissioners — Benjamin Franklin, Silas Deane, and Arthur Lee, whom Congress sent to Europe — asked the King to recognize the independence of the United States. This decisive step the King was not prepared to take; but, he said, in his reply to the Commissioners — "to prove his good wishes towards the United States, he had ordered two millions of livres to be paid to them by quarterly payments, which should be augmented as the state of his finances would permit." At the same time the commissioners were to be at liberty to make purchases of military stores and forward them as private merchandise. A year was yet to pass before France was quite ready to avow publicly the sympathy which her people felt in the cause of the Americans, by the recognition of the new Republic, though Vergennes had shown for a dozen years his anxiety that the old enemy of France should be crippled by the loss of her colonies.

Spain's attitude.

An effort was made to enlist Spain on the side of America. Lee started for Madrid in February, but the Spanish Court would not admit him to an interview. Yet it secretly joined with France in aiding the colonists to the extent of a million livres. This course was dictated purely by policy. Spain desired to be on good terms with France; but the independence of the English colonies in America she dreaded rather as a mischievous example for her own, than approved of it as a struggle for the liberties of a people which should command her respect and sympathy.

Frederick's opinion.

Frederick of Prussia was too closely bound to England to encourage openly the revolt of any portion of her subjects. But he was not wanting in frankness of speech. He spoke of Parliament as acting "like an infuriated fool in the American business." "I like those brave fellows," he said of the American soldiers; "and cannot help secretly hoping for their success." He exacted the payment of an impost duty on the German legionaries, hired by England, when they passed through his dominions to a port of embarkation, for, he said, "they are cattle exported for foreign shambles." If England cared for the approbation of Europe in her efforts to subjugate America, she found little anywhere except among the petty princes whose soldiers she purchased.

Morristown.

At Morristown, N. J., Washington's headquarters were at the Freeman Tavern, a house which is still standing. The town, from its elevated position, could be easily defended, and was a convenient point from which to observe the movements of the enemy during the winter. The army, reduced to a mere handful, took up quarters in log huts, and at intervals engaged in skirmishes with the English, who had drawn in their posts close to Staten Island and New York.

Skirmishes in New Jersey.

A party of New Jersey militia, under Colonel Oliver Spencer, attacked an equal number of Waldeckers at Springfield on the 5th of January, two days after the battle of Princeton, and routed them, taking thirty-nine prisoners. On the 20th, General Philemon Dickinson, of Trenton, at the head of three hundred New Jersey militiamen, with two independent companies of Continentals, raised under Captains Ransom and Durkee in the Wyoming Valley, defeated an English foraging party sent out from New Brunswick to seize the flour in a mill near Somerset Court House. The enemy had loaded their plunder in wagons, and were about to carry it off, when Dickinson's men waded Millstone Creek, waist-deep, and fell upon the foragers with so much spirit that he compelled them to fly, leaving wagons and flour behind them.

Later in the spring, the British also organized raids against points

where American stores had been collected. Peekskill, on the Hudson, was a general depot for cattle, provisions, and other supplies for the troops. Here General McDougall was posted, with less than three hundred effective men. On the 22d of March the enemy appeared off the town with a fleet of ten sail, from which a body of five hundred regulars, under Colonel Bird, landed to attack McDougall. That officer, fortunately, had been apprised of Bird's approach in time to withdraw the garrison and a considerable part of the stores. The English destroyed all that remained, and burned two or three houses. Some skirmishing occurred on their retreat, in which they lost nine killed, and the Americans one.

Raids of the English.

A far more destructive incursion was that of April 26th, into Connecticut, under Ex-governor Tryon. With two thousand men, Tryon, who had been made a Major-general of provincials, sailed down the Sound from New York, and on the 25th, late in the evening, debarked his force on the east bank of the Saugatuck River. The distance from this point to Danbury was about twenty miles. Tryon, keeping on the east side of the Saugatuck, marched with but slight opposition toward Danbury, where he arrived at two o'clock the next day.

Danbury burned.

The neighboring country was speedily alarmed, and General G. S. Silliman, of Fairfield, started in pursuit with five hundred militia. Major-general Wooster, of the State troops, Brigadier-general Arnold, Lieutenant-colonel Oswald, of the artillery, and other officers, were at New Haven, sixty miles distant, and they rode with all speed toward Danbury. A heavy rain on the afternoon of the 26th prevented any considerable numbers of the militia from reaching the village of Bethel, two miles southeast of Danbury, until near midnight. The American plan was, to intercept the enemy as they returned to their vessels in the morning.

Tryon rapidly accomplished the object of his expedition, destroying over sixteen hundred tents — a loss the Americans could ill sustain — and other stores, and after burning all the buildings belonging to rebels, set out on his return. Finding the militia in force on the road by which he had come, he turned westerly toward Ridgefield, intending to reach his ships by another route. Wooster, Arnold, and Silliman divided their forces to meet this movement. By a forced march, Arnold reached Ridgefield before noon on the 27th, in advance of Tryon. Wooster was in pursuit with a small body. If his courage had ever been doubted before, he proved it now. Urging his men to

Wooster's Signature.

follow him to the attack of the enemy, he fell, mortally wounded, and was carried from the field upon his sash.

Arnold's bravery.

At Ridgefield, Arnold attempted, with his usual daring, to check the enemy, but could effect nothing with his small handful of men. Here he had a horse shot under him, and the tradition is, that while he was struggling to release his feet from the stirrups, a Tory from New Fairfield, named Coon, advanced and called to him, "Surrender!" "Not yet," returned Arnold, who at that moment, having extricated himself, drew a pistol, shot the Tory, and dashed into the woods amid a shower of bullets. He presently reappeared and renewed the attack.

Unable to check the retreat of the enemy, the militia gathered at Saugatuck Bridge on the morning of the 28th, where Arnold, Silliman, and Colonel Huntington, with a small party of Continentals, prepared to make a final stand. Lieutenant-colonel Oswald and Colonel Lamb, of the artillery, had guns posted advantageously; but the enemy crossed the stream above, and passing down the east side before they could be attacked, reached Compo and their vessels. Their loss was forty killed, and many wounded; on the other side eighty were wounded, and twenty killed, among them Dr. David Atwater of New Haven, and Lieutenant-colonel Gold.

Other marauding expeditions followed this, on both sides. On the 21st of May, Colonel Return J. Meigs, of Parsons's brigade, then at New Haven, embarked a detachment in thirteen whale-boats for a descent on Long Island; a gale compelled them to put in at Guilford, but on the 23d, reëmbarking with one hundred and seventy men, he crossed the Sound under convoy of two armed sloops, and landed at Southold, on the northern shore of Long Island, at six o'clock P. M. Finding that the enemy's troops at that point had marched for New York two days before, the Colonel determined to surprise the detachment guarding stores at Sag Harbor, fifteen miles distant, on the south side of the island.

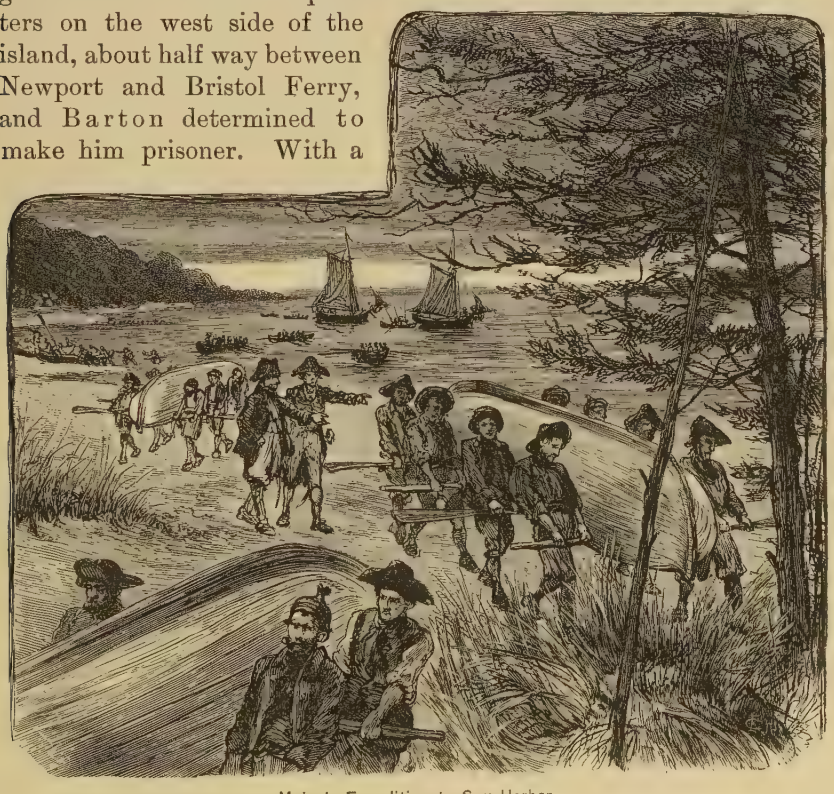
Meigs's expedition to Sag Harbor.

Taking one hundred and thirty men, and eleven boats, which were carried across the strip of land to the broad bay on the other shore, he reached a point four miles from Sag Harbor about midnight. Concealing his boats in the woods, he led his men, with bayonets fixed, to the assault of the barracks of the enemy — who were chiefly American loyalists. The attack was made at five different points at the same moment; at the first alarm an armed schooner, carrying seventy men and twelve guns, lying within a hundred and fifty yards of the shore, opened a brisk fire of grape and round shot. The action continued for nearly an hour, but Meigs succeeded in capturing the whole of the Tory guards, in burning twelve brigs and sloops, one of them armed

with twelve guns, and in destroying more than a hundred tons of hay, large quantities of grain, ten hogsheads of rum, and other stores. Before night he was in his quarters again at New Haven, without having lost a man. For this exploit Congress voted him a sword, with an assurance of its high sense of "the prudence, activity, enterprise, and valor," displayed in the expedition.

But the destruction or capture of military stores was not always the object of these raids. On the night of July 20, Lieutenant-colonel William Barton, of the Rhode Island militia, entered upon an adventure of another character, for which the commander also was presented a sword by Congress. The British Major-general Prescott was in quarters on the west side of the island, about half way between Newport and Bristol Ferry, and Barton determined to make him prisoner. With a

Colonel Barton captures General Prescott.



Meigs's Expedition to Sag Harbor.

party of forty men in five whale-boats he pulled through the British fleet without being discovered, landing in the night about a mile from the house where Prescott lodged. The surprise was complete; the English General was not even awakened till a negro with Barton came head foremost, as the easiest way of forcing it, through a panel

of the door into the bedchamber. The capture of Prescott was considered as an offset to that of Lee, and Washington, as well as Congress, hoped that they might be exchanged for each other.[1]

Lee's treason.

That Lee should be restored to the army was considered at that time, by most people, desirable — by many, as absolutely necessary; yet it was four months before, in March, 1777, that he, the second Major-general in the American army, had voluntarily drawn up that plan of a campaign for the Howes by which, he believed, Washington and his army could be isolated, and the Middle States cut off from all aid from the North and from each other, and then, one by one, reduced to submission, so that, as he said, "I will venture to assert with the penalty of my life, if the plan is fully adopted, and no accidents (such as a rupture between the powers of Europe) intervene, that in less than two months from the date of the proclamation [of pardon] not a spark of this desolating war remains unextinguished in any part of the Continent." "The country," he said, "has no chance of obtaining the end she proposes to herself;" to continue the war was to waste blood and treasure on both sides; he put it upon his conscience "to bring matters to a conclusion in the most compendious manner and consequently the least expensive to both parties." And the conclusion he proposed was, the subjugation of the people who were struggling for their liberties, who had lavished upon him their confidence and regard, and whose cause he meant to betray by giving to their enemies the benefit of his assumed knowledge of how that cause could be most easily and most speedily ruined. His conduct was none the less base, that, unlike Arnold, the enemy did not think him worth heeding or buying.[2]

Washington breaks camp.

The summer months had come before Howe developed his proposed operations, which Lee had hoped to influence. To watch him more closely and be in a position to follow his movements rapidly, Washington, on the 28th of May, broke camp at Morristown and marched a short distance southeast to Middlebrook, on the Raritan, ten miles from New Brunswick. His force now numbered seven thousand Continentals. The English General made no

[1] Congress bestowed upon Barton, besides the usual honor of a sword, a tract of land in Vermont. He was distinguished for his services later in the war, and attained to the rank of colonel. When Rhode Island adopted the Federal Constitution Colonel Barton was the special messenger sent to announce the fact to Congress. Later in life he was unfortunate, and was imprisoned for debt growing out of some irregularity in the transfer of a portion of his land in Vermont. Lafayette, on his visit to the United States in 1825, heard of the unhappy fate that had befallen the veteran, with whose services he was probably familiar, paid the claim against him, and he was released.

[2] The remarkable document in which Lee set forth his plan of a campaign for the Howes, was discovered by George H. Moore about twenty years since, and published in full and in fac-simile in his *Treason of Major-general Charles Lee.*

move until the 12th of June, when he pushed out Cornwallis to surprise Sullivan at Princeton. Failing to overtake Sullivan, who fell back to Flemington, or to disturb Washington in his strong position at Middlebrook, Howe retired toward Staten Island Sound, and the Americans advanced to Quibbletown (the present New Market) with Stirling's division in the front at Metuchen. Finding Washington at some distance from his old and well fortified camp, the English General, on the 26th of July, again moved out in force to bring him to action or get in his rear; but Washington thwarted both plans by a timely retreat to his former ground. Cornwallis, however, encountered Stirling, and took from him three cannon and about two hundred prisoners. On the 30th the English again withdrew, this time crossing in a body to Staten Island.

Howe's manœuvres.

Crosses to Staten Island.

From this moment, for six weeks, the movements of the enemy were veiled in so much secrecy that Washington at times was totally at a loss where to post himself most advantageously. His anxiety was partly dispelled when, on July 23d, Howe set sail from New York with about eighteen thousand men, leaving six thousand in the city under Clinton. His destination was concealed, but on the 30th the fleet appeared in the Delaware, and Washington quickly put his army in motion. But Howe, finding the Delaware so obstructed that he could make no landing above Christiana Creek, again put to sea. Washington had encamped on the Neshaminy Creek, about twenty miles north of Philadelphia, in the vicinity of the present village of Hartsville, where, for two weeks, he awaited events in great anxiety.[1] To venture far

Sails from New York.

Washington's Headquarters at Hartsville.

[1] Washington made his headquarters here at the two-story dwelling still standing on property owned by the heirs of William Bothwell. At the time of the Revolution it was one of the best finished houses in the neighborhood. — W. J. Buck in *Penn. Mag.*, i. 275.

from Philadelphia would have been hazardous, and yet if the enemy should sail to New England, and a junction be made there with Burgoyne, they would gain valuable time and be many days' march in advance of the American army. Greene wrote that Howe's movements were so strange they "exceeded all conjecture." When ten days had passed without tidings from the fleet, and Washington was persuaded that Howe's objective point was not Philadelphia, he called a council of war. The unanimous opinion of this body was, that as the enemy had in all probability sailed for Charleston, and would arrive there long before any succor could reach the place, it would be advisable to make a retrograde movement toward the Hudson. There the army would be in a position to threaten New York or resist Burgoyne, if he should succeed in defeating Gates and move southward.

Lafayette's Statue, Union Square, New York.

But fortunately before there was time to carry out this intention tidings arrived that the British fleet had been seen off the capes of the Chesapeake. This intelligence was confirmed the next day by a despatch from one William Bardly, dated the afternoon of August 21st, announcing that one hundred ships had anchored off the river Patapsco, and that their number was continually increasing. As the tide was running a strong ebb at that hour, Bardly was unable to report whether the enemy would land at Baltimore or farther up the bay.[1] The despatch did good service; it was evident that Howe had not relinquished his designs upon Philadelphia, and orders were immediately given to break camp and move to meet the enemy. While the soldiers were busy with their preparations, the cheering news of Stark's victory at Bennington was brought to them.

Appears in the Chesapeake.

[1] Manuscript letter in *Collections of Mass. Hist. Soc.*

At the camp on the Neshaminy, Washington's army was joined by several of those foreign officers who subsequently rendered efficient and distinguished service to the American cause. Lafayette, a young Frenchman, of noble descent, then twenty years of age, first learned of the war in America and its character while stationed at Metz as a captain of dragoons, and he determined to offer it his personal aid. As Franklin was unable to provide a vessel to transport him to the American coast, he purchased one on his own account, not without opposition both from his friends and at court. He secretly set sail from the Spanish port of Passage, early in 1777, and arrived at Georgetown, S. C., in April. With him were twelve other officers, among them Baron John De Kalb. Congress at first declined to commission Lafayette, on his arrival at Philadelphia; but when he explained that he came as a volunteer, and wished to serve in the army without pay, that body, on the 31st of July, gave him the honorary rank of Major-general. He immediately reported to Washington, and was made a member of his military family.

Lafayette joins Washington.

De Kalb was by birth a German, but held rank in the French army. Some years before the war — as we have elsewhere mentioned — he, as well as a M. de Fontleroy, had travelled through the American Colonies, by direction of the French minister Choiseul, to learn the character and resources of the people, the extent of the disaffection to the mother country, and the probabilities of success in case of a revolt. De Kalb executed his commission with ability, and had since watched with deep interest the progress of revolution in America. In September Congress gave him also a commission as Major-general. He remained with Washington till he was detached in 1780 to serve in the southern campaign, where he fell on the field of battle.

De Kalb.

Washington marched his army in good order through Philadelphia on the 22d of August, and proceeded to Wilmington. On the 28th, Howe reached the head of the Elk, fifty-four miles from Philadelphia, and on the 10th of September, after skirmishing with General Maxwell's advance corps, concentrated his force at Kennett Square, six or seven miles south of the Brandywine River. Here Washington determined to oppose his farther progress.

Howe at Kennett Square.

Howe's position on the right bank of the Brandywine was excellent for defence. By commanding the principal fords, he left his antagonist the choice of assaulting him at a disadvantage in front, or marching circuitously to the right. The crossing on the line of the main road to Philadelphia was known as Chads's Ford. Brenton's, Jones's, and Wistar's fords were above, at intervals of three or four miles, and a few miles beyond, where the river forked, there were

Battle of Brandywine.

fords on each branch. The American army lay mainly opposite the middle fords, — a position selected by Greene. At Chad's, Wayne was posted with his division and artillery. Greene's was some distance to his right, and still farther on were Stephen's, Stirling's, and Sullivan's divisions, forming the right wing of the army, commanded by Sullivan, the senior Major-general on the field. This main line stretched along the thickly wooded bank of the river for three miles, and the farthest crossings on the right, which it did not cover, Sullivan was instructed to watch.

Early on the morning of the 11th, the English flanking division, under Howe and Cornwallis, marched for the upper crossings at the forks of the river, with the intention of moving down upon Sullivan on the other side and turning his flank. Although conducted in broad daylight, and occupying nearly eight hours in its execution, the manœuvre was successful. The Americans were distracted by conflicting intelligence, — or rather failed to assure themselves of the enemy's position. To ascertain what Howe was about, Colonel Theodoric Bland, under Washington's instructions, crossed the Brandywine at Jones's Ford. He sent word back to Sullivan and the Commander-in-chief that Cornwallis was certainly aiming for the upper fords — intelligence which was confirmed by a later courier. Washington immediately decided to cross the river with his own force, and attack the division of the enemy under Grant and Knyphausen opposite Chad's Ford. Sullivan and Greene were sent to engage Howe's flanking column. This bold move on the part of Washington promised success, and a part of the troops had already forded the river, when Major Spear, who had gone in the direction of the Brandywine forks, reported to Sullivan that there were no signs of the enemy in that quarter. Sullivan accordingly, on his own responsibility, halted his column and sent word to Washington at Chad's Ford, three or four miles away, that the first report of Howe's flanking movement must be erroneous, since nothing had been seen of it by the scouts who had just come in from the right. Surprised at this, as he believed the first reports to be true, the Commander-in-chief, nevertheless, decided to abandon his proposed attack upon Grant and Knyphausen on the other side of the river.

Howe's flank movement.

At about one o'clock in the afternoon, however, 'Squire Thomas Cheney, of Thornbury township, galloped into Sullivan's camp with a report that the English had crossed the forks of the Brandywine and were nearing Birmingham meeting-house, on Sullivan's right. To make sure that his information reached headquarters, Cheney rode on and informed Washington of the enemy's approach. Washington hesitated for a moment to accept tidings

MARQUIS DE LAFAYETTE.

(*After a contemporary portrait, 1789.*)

so directly in conflict with Sullivan's latest report. "If you doubt my word," said Cheney promptly, "put me under guard until you can ask Anthony Wayne or Persie Frazer if I am a man to be believed;" and then turning to some of the General's staff, who were less inclined to believe him than their chief, he indignantly exclaimed: "I

'Squire Cheney bringing the News.

would have you to know that I have this day's work as much at heart as e'er a blood of you!"[1]

Cheney's report, however, was presently confirmed by direct intelligence from the right, and Washington set his troops in motion to meet the enemy. Sullivan, when fully assured of the presence of the British at Birmingham meeting-house, ordered the right wing, consisting of Stirling's, Stephen's and his own divisions, to take up a

[1] Historical Address by J. Smith Futhey, *Penn. Mag. of Hist.*, vol. i., p. 293.

position across the line of the enemy's march. In the hurry and excitement of the movement, Sullivan's division, while manœuvering to get into the general line on the left, was attacked, and, after a brief struggle, forced to retreat. The divisions under Stirling and Stephen offered better resistance; but the defection on the right confused the entire line, and in spite of Sullivan's personal efforts and the brave stand made by Conway's brigade, the whole front was forced back by Howe's vigorous assault.

To recover this reverse, Washington hurried Greene's division to the support of the right wing. But after a forced march of four miles across the country, it could do no more than cover the retreat. Weedon's Virginia brigade succeeded in checking the enemy until dark; and the entire column under Sullivan kept on toward Chester. Wayne, in the mean time, had been attacked by Knyphausen and Grant at Chads's Ford, and forced back with the loss of some cannon.

In this action Lafayette distinguished himself, and received a wound in the leg which confined him to his quarters for two months.[1] The American loss was nearly three hundred killed, five hundred wounded, and ten field-pieces. The English lost something less than six hundred in killed and wounded.

The retreat.

The worn and broken columns of the American army found rest that night at Chester, and on the following day retreated toward Philadelphia and Germantown. On the 15th of September, it crossed the Schuylkill, and on the 16th drew up in position near Goshen meeting-house, on the Lancaster road. Howe advanced, and skirmishing opened, with Wayne in the American advance. A stubborn pitched battle appeared to be imminent, when a storm of extraordinary violence set in and compelled the cessation of all field movements. The rain so damaged the arms and cartridges that Washington retired to French Creek, in Warwick township, to repair damages, but detached Wayne, with fifteen hundred men and four field-pieces, to threaten and harass the enemy's flank and rear whenever opportunity offered.

Wayne's movement.

On the 19th, Wayne was at Paoli, and in the forenoon was able to approach within half a mile of Howe's encampment without being observed. He reported to Washington that the enemy were then quiet, "washing and cooking," too compactly massed to be openly attacked by his small force, but in a position to be struck a heavy blow if the Commander-in-chief should come to his aid with the whole army. Howe, he learned, was about to take up his line of march, and though his pickets and patrols were thrown well forward,

[1] The U. S. frigate in which Lafayette returned to France at the close of his visit to this country in 1825, was appropriately named the *Brandywine*.

Wayne hoped that by a skilful and rapid movement, the next night, he might surprise the enemy and do some damage. "Here we are, and there they go!" was the watchword in Wayne's camp that night, where it was believed that Howe was completely ignorant of the movement against him. But some vigilant Tories were keeping the British General exactly informed of Wayne's position and his probable purpose, and he, on his part also, had a surprise in store for his opponent.

General Grey was sent out, with three regiments of infantry and some dragoons, toward Paoli, under Tory guides. The men were ordered not to fire a gun, but depend altogether upon the bayonet. About midnight, two hours before the time fixed by Wayne for his own movement, the British had silently approached, and surprised his pickets, killing some and driving the rest upon the main body. Wayne instantly ordered his men under arms, but before they could form, the enemy rushed upon the camp, cutting down and bayonetting the men, now thrown into utter confusion. Then followed, wrote an English officer who was present, "a dreadful scene of havoc." The Americans were easily distinguished by the light of the camp-fires, as they fell into line. It offered to Grey's men an advantage which quickened their movements. The charge was furious, and all Wayne's efforts to rally his men were useless. They were driven through the woods for two miles, and nearly one hundred and seventy were killed. It was the chance of war that one side did what the other hoped to do, but the action, nevertheless, is recorded as the "Paoli Massacre."

Philadelphia alarmed

The steady advance of the English upon Philadelphia threw that city into great panic. It was one o'clock at night on the 19th, when Aid-de-camp Alexander Hamilton rode into town with a message from Washington to Congress that the enemy had crossed the Schuylkill, and could be in the town in a few hours. The members were roused in their beds and told of their danger. Naturally they stood not upon the order of their going. One sedate delegate, according to a diary of the time, rode off bare-back. Congress had already adjourned to Lancaster.

Late as it was, the news spread rapidly. Thomas Paine, then secretary of one of the committees of Congress, describes the fright and confusion into which the town was thrown. "It was a beautiful, still, moonlight morning," he wrote to Franklin, "and the streets as full of men, women, and children as on a market-day." Some moved away at once, but a considerable portion of the inhabitants, especially the Tories and the non-combatant Friends, many of whom were Tories, remained in their homes. The excitement and terror were greatly

increased by the fear that the town would be set on fire, as was done, whether accidentally or purposely, in New York, the year before. For several nights the streets were patrolled to guard against this possible danger.

Howe occupies the city.

Howe marched leisurely down from Swede's Ford, and did not occupy the city until the forenoon of the 26th. On the evening before, he assured the inhabitants that those who remained peaceably at their homes should not be molested in person or property. In the forenoon Cornwallis, with his division of English and German troops, entered the city. The Tory citizens received them with loud cheers, as they marched down Second Street, in gay uniforms and brilliant array, to their allotted quarters at the Alms House and the State House. For his own residence, Howe first occupied the house of General Cadwallader, on Second Street, below Spruce, and afterwards the mansion on Market Street where Washington lived during his Presidency.

Howe's Headquarters. — Cadwallader's House.

From two intercepted letters it was learned, a few days later, that Howe had sent down a small detachment to reduce the American forts on the Delaware. It took little from his strength, but when added to the several battalions under Cornwallis in Philadelphia, four miles from the main camp, the decrease in Howe's force was sufficient to invite an attack from a watchful opponent. Washington determined to seize the opportunity.

Howe's army was encamped in nearly a straight line from the Schuylkill, across the main street of Germantown, to a point called Luken's Mill, near the old York road. There were four approaches to this line of the enemy: the Manatawny road near the river ran in on their extreme left; the Reading road, or Germantown Street, pierced the centre; the Lime-kiln road at Luken's Mill was at the right,

and the York road, still farther to the right, was guarded by patrols and Simcoe's Rangers. Washington's plan was to advance on all these four roads, and engage the enemy along the whole line at the same moment. His orders were, that the attack should be made everywhere at "precisely five o'clock" on the morning of the 4th of October. That such accuracy in the movements of four separate columns would be observed in the then condition and discipline of the American troops, was hardly to be expected; but if the plan should be only partially carried out, it promised success. The main reliance was on the two central columns of Continental troops. That which was to move direct upon Germantown, along the Reading road, was under Sullivan's command, and was composed of his own and Wayne's divisions, and of Conway's brigade on the flank. The column next to the left, marching by a longer route along the Lime-kiln road, was under Greene, and included his own and Stephen's divisions, flanked by McDougall's brigade. These two bodies numbered about nine thousand good troops, inclusive of Nash's and Maxwell's brigades, which formed a *corps de reserve* under General Stirling. The remaining two columns on the right and left were militia, without artillery, commanded respectively by Generals Armstrong and Smallwood. Armstrong was ordered to move down the Manatawny road by Van Deering's mills, to turn the enemy's left, while Smallwood and Forman, with Maryland and New Jersey militiamen, were to attempt to turn the right. Washington's purpose was to take the English off their guard in front and flank, and by a determined attack, break and rout their line before reënforcements could arrive from Philadelphia.

About eight o'clock on the evening of the 3d, the army left its encampment on Metuchen Hill, and, marching all night, reached the points aimed at about daybreak on the 4th. Sullivan's attack. Sullivan's column, having the shortest and easiest route, reached Chestnut Hill, where lay the centre of Howe's main line, and advanced to the attack before the other columns arrived. The enemy's pickets were posted on this road at Mount Airy, a mile or more below Chestnut Hill. On Mount Pleasant, a short distance farther, lay their supports, which consisted of the Second Light Infantry Battalion. Nearly half-way between them and the main line, Colonel Musgrave's Fortieth Regiment was stationed, opposite the stone mansion known by the name of its late occupant, as the "Chew house."

The night had been dark, and the morning broke in clouds and mist. The precautions taken by the Americans against giving an alarm on the march had succeeded, and they were on the outposts of the enemy before their approach was known. The American advance guard, under Captain McLane, of Delaware, charged upon the pickets

at Mount Airy without firing, killed the sentries, and drove the others back to the light infantry. Sullivan detached a Maryland and a Pennsylvania regiment to follow rapidly in support, and then formed his division in line on the right of the road. The British infantry held their ground for a few minutes, but gave way before superior numbers. Wayne's division then came up, and Sullivan formed it on the left of the road, while Conway's brigade was transferred to the right of both divisions. Thus aligned, Sullivan's and Wayne's troops pushed forward on both sides of the road, driving before them both the infantry and the Fortieth Regiment, which had come to their relief. Wayne's men rushed eagerly after the Second Infantry, and sought to revenge, at the point of the bayonet,[1] the bloody work of that battalion at the "Paoli Massacre."

Howe under fire.

It was an auspicious and animating opening of the battle for the Americans. When Howe heard the unexpected firing on his front, he mounted his horse and dashed up the road, where his men were falling back hurriedly before the steady advance of their assailants. "For shame, light infantry!" he shouted: "I never saw you retreat before." But, warned by the heavy volleys that the enemy was upon him in force, he turned back to the main line to prepare for a general battle.[2] Sullivan's and Wayne's columns pressed on, impeded, however, by the many fences in the outskirts of Germantown, through which they were compelled to break their way. It was not many minutes before they had forced their way to within half a mile of the British line, steadily driving the enemy before them.

Chew's house.

But here an unlooked-for obstacle interfered with the forward movement. In retreating before Sullivan, Colonel Musgrave and six companies of the Fortieth Regiment threw themselves into the Chew house, which stood a short distance from the road, and, barricading the lower story, converted the strong building into a temporary citadel. Sullivan and Wayne passed this mansion without observing that Musgrave occupied and was prepared to defend it; but this was seen when Stirling came up with the reserve. Washington, Knox, Reed, Pickering, the Adjutant-general, and other officers of the staff, rode with Stirling's troops, and a consultation was held as to the propriety of attacking this stronghold. Knox insisted that it was against all military rule to advance with a

[1] Lieutenant Hunter, of this battalion, writing a few days afterward, says: "When the first shots were fired at our pickets, so much had we all Wayne's affair in our remembrance, that the battalion were out and under arms in a minute. . . . . Just as the battalion had formed, the pickets came in and said the enemy were advancing in force. They had hardly joined the battalion when we heard a loud cry, 'Have at the bloodhounds! Revenge Wayne's affair!'"

[2] Moorson's *Historical Record of the Fifty-second Regiment*, "Lieut. Hunter's Diary."

fort in one's rear, and it was accordingly decided to send a flag to Musgrave, demanding his immediate surrender. Major Caleb Gibbs, of Washington's guard, had in the first instance offered to carry the flag, but his offer was then declined. Upon the final decision, Lieutenant-colonel Matthew Smith, of Virginia, an accomplished officer, acting as Assistant Adjutant-general, volunteered to make the demand; but when near the house, he was fired upon and received a wound from which he afterward died. Maxwell's brigade of the reserves was then called up and ordered to attack the place. Four light field-pieces — no large ones having been brought with the army — opened upon the building, but it effectually resisted bombardment. No impression could be made upon its walls. The musketry-fire was even less effectual. Brave as Maxwell's men were, the garrison withstood them quite as bravely. The defence was as vigorous as the assault was fearless. The house was riddled with bullets, as may be seen to this day; the chivalric Duplessis and Lieutenant-colonel Laurens recklessly exposed themselves in futile attempts to set it on fire; so hard pushed were the besieged that an officer had his horse shot under him within three yards of the building; in two New Jersey regiments alone the loss was forty-six officers and men.[1]

For more than an hour this hot contest continued, making itself the pivotal point of the battle, — not so much from any importance attaching to the possession of the house, as from the effect of the struggle on the general movement. It arrested at this point all Stirling's reserve force on their way to the support of Sullivan and Wayne; and not only that, but it alarmed and confused Sullivan's and Wayne's men in the centre, who did not understand this noise of an engagement in their rear; and it misled Greene's forces on the left, as to the position of the enemy. General Stephen, on the Lime-kiln road, hearing the firing, and believing that he should find the enemy in that direction, left his own line of march and was presently engaged in a warm fight with the rear of Wayne's troops, each mistaking the other for British. The fog and the smoke of the battle made the early morning almost as dark as night. Wayne, in a letter written two days afterward, says his forces were already in possession of the whole camp of the enemy, when they became involved in this blunder. Victory, he thought, was already within his grasp, when his men, under this attack from a quarter where they had no reason to look for it, fell back two miles in confusion. Greene's column was to have come up on Sullivan's left and have formed a continuous line directly in Howe's front. The advance was retarded by fences, hedges, and thickets; the heavy fog rendered every movement uncertain; but all these difficulties

[1] *Pennsylvania Magazine of History*, vol. i.

might have been surmounted but for Stephen's blunder, and possibly Stephen would not have blundered but for the attack on Chew's house. It was shown afterward, before a court-martial, — by whose sentence Stephen was dismissed the service, — that he was drunk, and nothing can be predicated on the possible conduct of a drunken man.

The Americans retreat.

As it was, however, the battle was lost. Howe had time to form and to make, first, a vigorous defence, and then to assume the offensive. Washington ordered a retreat, and the American army regained its position on Metuchen Hill, with a loss in killed, wounded, and prisoners of about a thousand men. On the other side the loss was about half that number. Howe was afterward accused of having received, the night before the battle, information of Washington's design. If this were true, he made no preparation to meet it; and it remains, therefore, an open question, whether Washington's good generalship would have equally availed for the salvation of his army had Howe been prepared for him. It is not a question, if the charge were true, that Howe's besetting sin of unreadiness came near proving his own destruction.

Howe returns to Philadelphia.

Howe soon withdrew his army from the open country into the city, as a safe retreat from the operations of his active and energetic opponent, as well as to find comfortable quarters for the winter. That those quarters should be comfortable, however, one thing was requisite. On the land-side communication with the country was cut off by the presence of the American army, which constantly intercepted supplies, and it was absolutely necessary, therefore, that there should be free access to the city by the Delaware River. So long, moreover, as it was commanded by the Americans, Howe was isolated from his fleet, and he was, in a measure, subjected to some of the inconveniences of a beleaguered position, and to its possible dangers.

Operations on the Delaware.

The navigation of the river was impeded by sunken obstructions, and until these were removed, no vessel of war could pass above the mouth of the Schuylkill. To attempt their removal was difficult and dangerous, for about them hovered a fleet of galleys of light draught of water; on one side of the river, just below the mouth of the Schuylkill, was Fort Mifflin, on Mud Island; on the opposite shore, at Red Bank, was Fort Mercer; and at different points, along the shore, were several floating batteries. Colonel Christopher Greene, of Rhode Island, commanded at Fort Mercer, and Lieutenant-colonel Smith, of Baltimore, at Fort Mifflin, and each had been reënforced by Washington till their garrisons numbered four hundred men. Colonel Sterling had taken possession of Billingsport, farther down the Delaware on the Jersey side, on the

1st of October, before Howe had fallen back upon Philadelphia. The occupation of Billingsport enabled the British men-of-war to break through the *chevaux-de-frise* placed in the channel at that point, and pass farther up the river. Sterling, observing the importance of the position at Red Bank, then feebly garrisoned by the Americans, proposed to take that also; but Howe, with his usual procrastination, delayed his consent, till Washington, with his usual promptness, took advantage of the blunder, and filled the fort with a strong garrison. Three weeks later Howe recognized the soundness of Sterling's advice, and the Hessian Colonel Donop was sent with twelve hundred men to reduce Fort Mercer. The exterior works

Defence of Fort Mercer,

Fort Mifflin.

were in too unfinished a condition to be defended, and the garrison withdrew into the interior lines, but not, as Donop supposed, from any doubt of their ability to hold the place. The assault was incautious to rashness, in the confident expectation of immediate success; and it was a fatal mistake. Donop and his Lieutenant-colonel, Minnigerode, both fell with mortal wounds; the loss altogether was four hundred of the twelve hundred Hessians who made the attack, and in less than an hour the remainder were in retreat to Philadelphia. Two British ships which moved as far up the river as the obstructions would permit, to aid in the assault, ran aground; one was blown up by the fire from the fort, the other was burnt to escape capture.

and of Fort Mifflin.

The next attempt to open the river was better managed and more successful. Fort Mifflin was invested by the British fleet on the 10th of November, and some heavy guns brought to bear upon it from a neighboring island. The garrison made a determined fight so long as there was any hope of repelling their assailants. But it was impossible to hold out long against the heavy metal of so many vessels, surrounding the fort at so short a distance that hand-grenades could be thrown over the walls from their decks, and sharp-shooters in their tops could pick off the gunners as fast as they could man the guns. The fight was not given up, however, until the principal officers were disabled, and two hundred and fifty men out of the four hundred of the garrison were either killed or wounded. The place was therefore evacuated at night, the men taking refuge on the other side of the river, in Fort Mercer.

Both forts evacuated.

But Fort Mercer could be maintained only a few days longer. Cornwallis moved into New Jersey at the head of so large a force that the fort was cut off from all relief in case of an attack, and it was wiser to save the garrison by abandoning the post to the enemy. The Americans, at the same time, burned their galleys, except a few that contrived to escape to Bristol, and the Delaware below Philadelphia was completely under the control of the British fleet.

Fights near Chestnut Hill.

On the 4th of December — the American army then being encamped at White Marsh, about twelve miles from Philadelphia, and reënforced by twenty-two hundred men — Howe moved out as far as Chestnut Hill with fourteen thousand men, to feel the enemy, and in the hope of provoking him to battle. Washington was quite ready to be provoked if Howe would attack him in position; he was not disposed to gratify his antagonist by going out to meet him where the advantage of position would be on his side. On the 5th an attack was made on the American right; and though there was some sharp fighting, the loss was small on either side, and Washington, with the main army, remained immovable. An attempt on the 7th to bring about a general action was equally unsuccessful. An attack was made at Edge Hill, on the American left, which was met by Colonel Gist with the Maryland militia, and by General Morgan with his corps of Virginia riflemen, who had recently arrived from the northern army. They gave the enemy a warm reception, but were compelled at length to retire, Morgan and his men, however, doing great execution upon the enemy with their unerring marksmanship and pursuing them through the woods. But the retreat of the Maryland militia released their opponents to reënforce those in Morgan's front; and he also was compelled to retreat. The loss on

the American side was certainly inconsiderable; but as more than eighty wagons were reported as going into Philadelphia filled with dead and wounded, the Virginia rifles must have made great havoc among the British soldiers.

Howe, discouraged by the result of this attempt to bring on a general battle, retired the next day to Philadelphia. Washington, a few days later, moved to his chosen winter quarters at Valley Forge, and the march of his army over the frozen ground might have been tracked, from the want of shoes and stockings, "from White Marsh to Valley Forge by the blood of their feet."[1]

Winter quarters at Valley Forge.

[1] Gordon, in his *History of the American Revolution*, says: "General Washington mentioned it to me when at his table, June, 3, 1784."

Donop's Grave.

CHAPTER XXIII.

BURGOYNE'S CAMPAIGN.

BURGOYNE SUPERSEDES CARLETON. — PLAN OF A NORTHERN CAMPAIGN. — EMPLOYMENT OF INDIANS. — DEATH OF JANE MCCREA. — LOSS OF TICONDEROGA. — BATTLE OF HUBBARDTON. — ST. LEGER'S EXPEDITION INTO THE MOHAWK VALLEY. — BATTLE OF ORISKANY. — DEATH OF GENERAL HERKIMER. — BATTLE OF BENNINGTON. — MILITARY JEALOUSIES. — GATES DISPLACES SCHUYLER. — BATTLE OF FREEMAN'S FARM. — CLINTON'S EXPEDITION UP THE HUDSON RIVER. — FALL OF FORTS MONTGOMERY AND CLINTON. — SECOND BATTLE OF STILLWATER, OR BEMUS'S HEIGHTS. — BURGOYNE'S SURRENDER.

AT the close of the campaign of 1777 — the year which the Tories loved to call the year of three gibbets — the British were in quiet possession of two of the three principal cities of the new Republic, one of them its capital; the national legislature was a fugitive body; the national army, after successive defeats, had marched with naked, "bloody feet," to winter quarters, where, neglected by Congress, they were for months to suffer with hunger, to shiver for want of clothing through the long and dreary winter, and many, when the power of endurance was exhausted, to lie down and die of privation or disease. Yet, notwithstanding these gloomy and threatening clouds hung over the dawn of the new year, the fading light of the year that was passing away was ruddy and warm with the glow of one great success — a golden sunset that gave promise of a glorious to-morrow.

The Northern campaign.

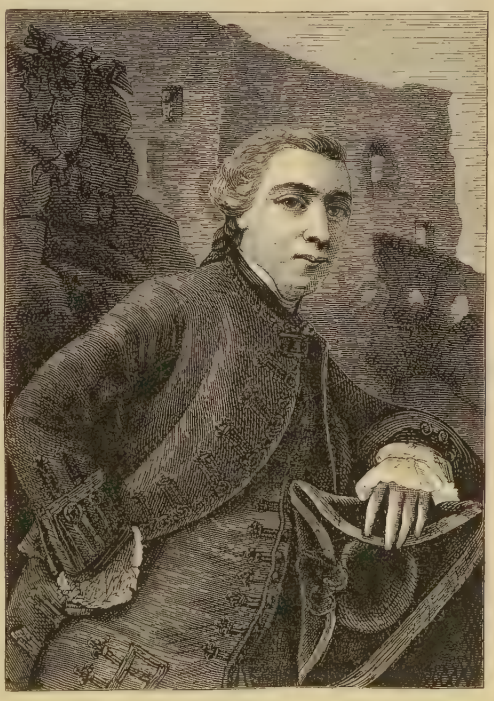
While at the South, Washington had been able only, in the face of enormous difficulties, to avert overwhelming catastrophe and hold up the war against the splendid army and inexhaustible resources of Howe, at the North the plans of the ministry had come to naught, and such disaster had followed as, all things considered, had never before befallen the arms of England.

For reasons chiefly personal, there was no cordiality between the Secretary of State for the colonies and the Governor of Canada. Germain disliked Carleton. Carleton had great contempt for Germain. "That there is great prejudice," wrote the King to Lord North, in December, 1776, "perhaps not unaccompanied with rancor, in a certain breast against Governor Carleton, is so manifest to who-

ever has heard the subject mentioned, that it would be idle to say any more than that it is a fact. Perhaps Carleton may be too cold, and not so active as might be wished, which may make it advisable to have the part of the Canadian army which must attempt to join General Howe led by a more enterprising commander. . . . . Burgoyne may command the corps to be sent from Canada to Albany."

Burgoyne's plan.

Burgoyne, on his return to England about this time, after seeing the end of the American campaign in Canada, submitted to the Ministry his "Thoughts for conducting the war from the side of Canada." At a Council held in March it was determined to give him the command, and at the same time it was provided that a force under Lieutenant-colonel St. Leger should make a diversion on the Mohawk River. The instructions addressed to Carleton, acknowledging that "this plan cannot be advantageously executed without the assistance of Canadians and Indians," bade him furnish both expeditions with "good and sufficient bodies of those men." Carleton at once tendered his resignation of the governorship, yet did his utmost to assist Burgoyne. But this utmost, it appears, was not much, for Burgoyne describes the Canadians as "ignorant of the use of arms, awkward, disinclined to the service, and spiritless." Against the Indians none of these objections, at least, could be urged; but Burgoyne understood well enough the more serious objections to their employment.



General John Burgoyne.

Burgoyne's plan assumed that the object of an expedition from Canada would be to obtain possession of Albany, control the Hudson River, coöperate with Howe, and thereby enable that General to act with his whole force to the southward.[1] This, in the main, was the

[1] *Burgoyne's Plan of the Campaign from the Side of Canada, with the Remarks thereon of George the Third.* Fonblanque, p. 483.

old project which had been broached and in part attempted the year before, to divide New England from the other States, and thus reduce the rest with greater ease. In the prosecution of the plan, Burgoyne would have been glad to be allowed a certain latitude and discretion, such as a deviation from his line of march into Massachusetts and down the Connecticut; but his final orders, which were precise and imperative, left him no choice but to march straight upon Albany and "force a junction" with Howe. Singularly enough, it nowhere appears that any such obligation was put upon Howe to meet Burgoyne, and, as events proved, Howe felt no such obligation. In this respect the scheme was fatally weak in execution. Coöperation was absolutely enjoined on the one General, but not upon the other.[1]

No instructions sent to Howe.

Burgoyne's army concentrated at St John's, on St. John's River, the outlet of Lake Champlain, on the 12th of June, and a day or two later embarked. A little less than eight thousand men composed the force, half of whom were British regulars and Canadian volunteers, and half Hessian contingents under General Riedesel. Forty pieces of artillery — the finest train in America — made the column especially formidable. Burgoyne's subordinate officers were experienced and skilful soldiers, including Generals Phillips, Riedesel, Fraser, Specht, Hamilton, and Earl Balcarras and Major Ackland, who respectively commanded the two choice corps of light infantry and grenadiers. The English fleet on the lake, consisting of nine vessels carrying one hundred and forty-three guns, and manned by six hundred and forty seamen, received its orders from Captain Lutwidge of the *Royal George*, acting as Commodore.

Burgoyne's force.

Encamping, about the 17th, at the river Bouquet, on the western shore of the lake, the English General at once prepared for active operations against Ticonderoga. During his delay at this point he addressed his Indian allies in an intensely rhetorical speech which became the subject of ridicule with Americans and opposition members

[1] The Earl of Shelburne thus explains the origin of this fatal blunder. In writing of Lord George Germain's incapacity, he says: "Among many singularities he (Germain) had a particular aversion to being put out of his way on any occasion; he had fixed to go into Kent or Northamptonshire at a particular hour, and to call on his way at his office to sign the despatches, all of which had been settled, to both these Generals. By some mistake, those to General Howe were not fair copied, and upon his growing impatient at it, the office, which was a very idle one, promised to send it to the country after him while they dispatched the others to General Burgoyne, expecting that the others could be expedited before the packet sailed with the first, which, however, by some mistake, sailed without them, and the wind detained the vessel which was ordered to carry the rest. Hence came General Burgoyne's defeat, the French declaration, and the loss of thirteen colonies. It might appear incredible if his own secretary and the most respectable persons in office had not assured me of the fact; what corroborates it is, that it can be accounted for in no other way." — Fitzmaurice's *Life of Shelburne*, vol. i.

in Parliament. The employment of savages in the expedition, suggested first by Burgoyne and then sanctioned by the King,[1] had been defended in the House of Lords upon grounds of necessity, and also as permissible on principle. "It is perfectly justifiable," said Suffolk, "to use all the means that God and nature has put into our hands." But Lord Chatham, astonished and shocked at the proposition, expressed his indignation in the strongest terms. There were many officers in the service who were opposed to having the red men as companions in arms.

Indians as allies.

Burgoyne himself appears to have appreciated the possible disgrace that the cruelties of these forest allies might bring upon his army, and in his address he invited them to fight for the King's cause, only on condition that they kept to the King's code. "I positively forbid bloodshed," he told them, "when you are not opposed in arms. Aged men, women, children, and prisoners must be held secure from the knife or hatchet, even in the time of actual conflict. You shall receive compensation for the prisoners you take, but you will be called to account for scalps. In conformity and indulgence to your customs, which have affixed an idea of honor to such badges of victory, you will be allowed to take the scalps of the dead when killed by your fire or in fair opposition; but on no account or pretence or subtlety or prevarication are they to be taken from the wounded or even from the dying, and still less pardonable will it be held to kill men in that condition."[2]

The unhappy fate of Jane McCrea, which was indirectly due to the employment of the savages by the English, excited everywhere the deepest horror and indignation, not merely against the Indians — though that could hardly be increased — but against the invaders who had made of these savages their allies and instruments. The manner of her death was at first uncertain; but as the horrible story sped far and wide through the country, the romance of personal considerations gathered about a tragic incident of war, and the feeling aroused was universal and intense. The certain facts appealed to the tenderest sympathies; so much was known to be true, that none thought of asking if anything could be false. She was young; she was beautiful; she was gently nurtured and of high

Death of Jane McCrea.

[1] The King's memorandum on Burgoyne's plan contains the sentence: "Indians must be employed, and this measure must be avowedly directed."

[2] In ridicule of this appeal, Burke indulged in an illustration which delighted the House of Commons. "Suppose," he exclaimed, "there was a riot on Tower Hill. What would the keeper of his Majesty's lions do? Would he not fling open the dens of the wild beasts, and then address them thus: 'My gentle lions — my humane bears — my tender-hearted hyenas, go forth! But I exhort you, as you are Christians, and members of civilized society, to take care not to hurt any man, woman, or child!'"

social position; she was betrothed and about to be married to a young loyalist officer; she met her sudden death when in the hands of two Indians, and the long and beautiful hair, torn from her head, was shown afterward at Burgoyne's headquarters. So much was true, and it was enough to excite universal execration, even if the stories that were told of the manner of her death were untrue. It was natural enough that exaggerations should be accepted where there could be no doubt of so much that was sad and pitiful.

Though all that was told was not true, the incident exercised as

Death of Jane McCrea.

deep an influence then, — and has ever since in its various forms — as if it were. But Jane McCrea was not killed by the Indians, though she was their captive. A Mrs. McNeal, at whose house she was visiting, near Fort Edward, had received warning that there were Indians in the neighborhood, and she must take refuge at Fort Miller. Lieutenant Palmer with twenty men was sent by General Arnold as an escort for the family. While waiting for the household goods to be packed, Palmer made a reconnoissance in the neighborhood, fell into an ambuscade of savages, and twelve of his men, with Palmer himself,

were killed at the first fire. The Indians then rushing to the house, seized Mrs. McNeal and Miss McCrea, mounted them on horseback, and started to escape, before their flight should be intercepted by assistance from the fort. The soldiers, however, were in time to fire upon them before they were quite out of reach, and by this fire Jane McCrea fell. She alone, sitting upright, was killed, as the Indians stooped at the fire, one of them exclaiming, "Um shoot too high for hit!" One of the Indians, though in rapid flight, paused long enough to seize her long hair and scalp her, exasperated, probably, at the loss of the reward offered by Burgoyne for white prisoners. "I never saw Jenny afterward," said Mrs. McNeal, — who arrived the next day at the British camp, and related the facts, — "nor anything that appertained to her person, until my arrival in the British camp, when an aid-de-camp showed me a fresh scalp-lock which I could not mistake, because the hair was unusually fine, luxuriant, lustrous, and dark as the wing of a raven." Miss McCrea was buried the next day by the soldiers who attempted her rescue, and who had heedlessly caused her death. Three bullet-holes were found in her body, but no other wounds, according to the testimony of Colonel Morgan Lewis, under whose direction the interment was made. When many years afterward the remains were disinterred, the skull was unbroken; no savage tomahawk had ever been "sunk" in it, as had been so long believed.[1]

After a brief stay at Crown Point the British army appeared before Ticonderoga on the 1st of the month, and immediately invested the fortress. This stronghold, the key of the North, as it was then assumed to be, it was confidently expected would prove a serious obstacle to Burgoyne's farther advance. The possibility of its capture or a necessity for its surrender was not contemplated by the Americans, and this over-confidence in the strength of the position led to that careless negligence common with inexperienced soldiers. General Arthur St. Clair, of Pennsylvania, was now in command of the post, with a force of three thousand men, and this he believed quite strong enough to hold it. His early messages had been so assuring that even Washington had no misgivings. Major-general Schuyler, who had superseded Gates in the command of the Northern Department, made all possible haste to strengthen the chain of posts from Ticonderoga to the Hudson and Albany. He called upon the governors of contiguous States which this invasion immediately threatened, for speedy assistance; Putnam, who was in command on the Hudson,

[1] The evidence on this subject seems conclusive. Mrs. McNeal was a cousin of General Fraser, and in his tent she told the story to General Burgoyne the day after her own escape and the death of Jane McCrea. It was related to Judge Hay, of Saratoga, who verified it fully by the evidence of other contemporary witnesses. All the testimony is carefully collated in an article in the *Galaxy* magazine for January, 1867, by William L. Stone.

was asked to send up regiments from Peekskill; the several Committees of Safety were urged to diligence to provide against the common danger, and word was sent to General Herkimer, up the Mohawk, to be prepared for the enemy on the western frontier. But responses to these appeals came in slowly, and Schuyler's resources for meeting the emergency were altogether inadequate. Moreover, neither he nor St. Clair had fully fathomed Burgoyne's designs. They did not know whether his move upon so strong a post as Ticonderoga was simply a feint to cover an extended flank manœuvre, or whether he would march directly from that point into New England. St. Clair's force was too small to cover every exposed point, and to save some of his outpost detachments he withdrew them. One of those he was compelled to abandon was the commanding eminence of Mount Hope. This the English General Fraser promptly took possession of, and mounting heavy guns there cut off the communication of the Americans with Lake George. The unexpected occupation of another point, made the enemy masters of the position and brought to their opponents disaster that, at the moment, seemed irremediable.

Ruins of Old Fort at Crown Point.

Fort Defiance.

South of the American fortress a steep, wooded height rose more than six hundred feet above the level of the lake, and overlooked every fortified elevation in the vicinity. It was known as Sugar Loaf Mountain, and because of its supposed inaccessibility had been neglected in former wars, and thus far in this. The possibility of dragging cannon to its summit had been admitted by offi-

cers in the American camp, but it was not supposed that the enemy would attempt it, and St. Clair, even had he occupied it, had not sufficient force to hold more ground than had already been fortified. Burgoyne's engineers, however, were men of skill and energy. Noticing the importance of this eminence, they secretly made a path over which artillery could be hauled to the top, and, on the morning of the 5th, surprised the Americans with a line of nearly completed works whose fire could not be endured by the garrison of Ticonderoga for an hour. The aspect of affairs was suddenly and completely changed.

Evacuation of Ticonderoga.

From Fort Defiance, as the enemy called their new position, a terribly destructive cannonade would undoubtedly be opened within twenty-four hours, and to the plunging shot from that elevation there could be no return. A council of war was hastily summoned, and it was decided that Ticonderoga should be evacuated that night, though it was hardly hoped that it could be done without great loss. It was the only rational thing to do. The capture of the place was inevitable, and resistance would be madness; there was just a chance of saving the garrison, and this St. Clair and his officers wisely concluded to attempt before it was too late.[1] That the purpose should not be suspected by the enemy, firing was kept up as usual through the day, but at dusk the guns were spiked, tents were struck, and the women and the sick were sent up the lake with the stores in boats to Skenesborough, under the charge of Colonel Long's regiment. At three o'clock in the morning of the 6th the troops marched out of the Ticonderoga forts and moved toward Castleton, nearly thirty miles southeast. All had safely left the place without giving the alarm, when suddenly the house which General De Fermoy had occupied as his headquarters burst into flames, having been set on fire contrary to orders. Its blaze discovered the Americans on the retreat, and immediate preparations were made for pursuit.

Retreat of the Americans.

Generals Fraser and Riedesel pushed after St. Clair, while Burgoyne and Phillips, with the fleet and right wing of the army, breaking through all obstructions, sailed up the lake, or South River, in chase of Colonel Long and the American flotilla. Long and his party reached Skenesborough about three o'clock in the afternoon, and at once marched to Fort Ann, eleven miles southward. Here Colonel Long, determined to retreat no far-

[1] The subordinate generals at the post were Poor, of New Hampshire, Paterson, of Massachusetts, and De Fermoy, a French officer. The troops were composed of 2,500 Continentals, poorly clothed and armed, and about 900 militia. Both Schuyler and St. Clair were tried by courts-martial, as being responsible for the supposed disaster, but both were honorably acquitted.

ther without a fight, faced about. The next day, three miles north of Fort Ann, at Wood's Creek he met the Ninth regulars under Lieutenant-colonel Hill, whom he handled so severely that but for the arrival of a party of Indians the enemy would have been dispersed, if not captured in a body. Gathering his wounded, Long abandoned Fort Ann, and fell back to Fort Edward, thirteen miles below.

Battle of Hubbardton.

St. Clair was less fortunate. He retreated all day through the woods, leaving a part of his force at Hubbardton, and marching with the rest to Castleton. Fraser followed promptly on their heels, with ten companies of light infantry, ten of grenadiers, and two companies of the Twenty-fourth regiment — in all, eight hundred men.[1] On the morning of the 7th he attacked the detachment St. Clair had left at Hubbardton, of about thirteen hundred men, under the New Hampshire Colonels Warner, Francis, and Hale. A sharp engagement followed, in which the Americans held their ground for a while, in spite of the defection of Hale's regiment, which abandoned the field. But Fraser was reënforced by Riedesel with fresh troops, who by a spirited bayonet-charge turned the right wing and compelled a retreat. Warner and Francis, however, had made a good fight. The American loss was about three hundred and fifty; forty officers and men — among them Colonel Francis — were killed; the rest were wounded or taken prisoners. The subsequent capture of Colonel Hale and many of his men increased the loss in prisoners to more than three hundred. The British also suffered severely,[2] though victory remained on their side. The American force dispersed through the woods. On the 12th inst. General St. Clair, after making a circuitous march of more than a hundred miles, reached Fort Edward with the remnant of the army which he had led from the fort.

The loss of Ticonderoga and the reverses that followed it, excited universal alarm. The whole Northern Department seemed at the mercy of the enemy. The inhabitants along the upper Hudson believed that nothing could hinder Burgoyne from rapidly advancing to Albany, and, that point gained, the junction with Howe would be all but accomplished. "The evacuation," wrote Washington, when the news reached him, "is an event of chagrin and surprise not apprehended, nor within the compass of my reasoning. This stroke is severe

[1] *Diary of Joshua Pell, Junior*, an officer of the British army in America, 1776–1777 *Magazine of Am. Hist.*, vol. ii., p. 107. (1878.)

[2] According to Pell's diary, *ante*, the enemy's loss was: Major Grant, 1 Captain, and 2 Lieutenants killed; Majors Balcarras and Ackland, 4 Captains, and 8 Lieutenants wounded. Two Sergeants and 24 men killed; 10 Sergeants and 104 men wounded. The Hessians lost two killed and one Lieutenant and 22 men wounded.

indeed, and has distressed us much." When the news reached England, it was received there with as much exultation as it aroused despondency in the States. As the first important and successful step in the campaign, it was hailed as an evidence of the wisdom of the Ministry, as well as a proof of the weakness of the colonists. In the first moment of triumph on one side, and of disappointment on the other, the fact was overlooked that the loss, on one side, and the gain on the other, of even a commanding position, involved no question of the general efficiency of either. There was undoubtedly an error of judgment, and — if Ticonderoga was of the importance so long attached to it — a very serious error; but it ought to have been remembered that the scientific soldier on one side could see the possibility and importance of a move, which the civilian lately turned soldier on the other side would be utterly blind to. Had either Schuyler or St. Clair had a military training, he perhaps would have seen the strategic importance of Sugar Loaf Mountain, and the absolute necessity of preventing its being occupied by the British. This certainly ought to have been done, though there were those who were by no means disposed to look upon the loss of Ticonderoga as an irremediable misfortune. "It is predicted" — wrote Thacher, in his "Military Journal," under date of July 14th — "by some of our well-informed and respectable characters, that this event, apparently so calamitous, will ultimately prove advantageous by drawing the British army into the heart of our country, and thereby placing them more immediately within our power." But this was a blind trusting in Providence without regard to the condition of the powder.

All the troops that General Schuyler could muster at Fort Edward by the middle of July numbered barely five thousand, — militia and Continentals. Again he called for assistance. Washington sent him Nixon's and Glover's brigades and Morgan's unequalled riflemen, besides guns, ammunition, and tents which he could ill spare from his own army. General Arnold and General Lincoln, of Massachusetts, were also ordered to report to Schuyler. Burgoyne's delay gave time for the arrival of these reënforcements, and by the 6th of August the Americans numbered six thousand, two thirds of whom were tolerably well armed Continentals.

Reënforcing Schuyler.

Schuyler, on retreating from Fort Ann to Fort Edward, tore up the roads, felled trees, destroyed all the bridges, and drove off the cattle, to the great disgust and delay of Burgoyne's soldiers, who had hoped that their recent successes would insure them an easy march to the Hudson River.[1] They were seriously delayed, moreover,

[1] Colonel John Trumbull, Schuyler's Adjutant-general, wrote on July 25 as follows: "Our little army are now returned to Moses Kill, two or three miles below Fort Edward.

by the tardy arrival of their provisions, which had to be brought from Canada by a long and tedious route through the lakes and over difficult portages. The month of July had almost gone before they reached the river at Fort Edward. Schuyler abandoned this fort on the 22d, to take a better position on Moses Creek, three miles below. Thence he fell back a few days later to Saratoga, then to Stillwater, and finally to Van Schaick's Island, where the Mohawk runs into the Hudson.

Burgoyne's plan of the campaign included a coöperating force to go up the St. Lawrence to Oswego, and through the Mohawk Valley to Albany, there to join the main body. The purpose was, to distract the Americans on their flank, crush out rebellion in the valley, secure the active coöperation of the large Tory element in its population, and thus bring all western New York completely under control of the English by the time the British army should reach Albany. The force sent upon this expedition to the Mohawk Valley was composed of seven hundred white troops of all arms, including regulars, Sir John Johnson's Loyal "Greens," many of whom had their homes along the Mohawk, and about one thousand Indians under Joseph Brant, the chief of the Mohawk tribe. Barry St. Leger, Lieutenant-colonel of the Thirty-fourth Regiment of the British army, to whom the preference was given, both by Burgoyne and the King, had the chief command. His corps, rather less than eighteen hundred strong, reached the vicinity of Fort Stanwix on the 3d of August.

St. Leger's expedition.

This old fortification, built in the previous war, on the Mohawk River, a few miles east of the present village of Rome, was now better known as Fort Schuyler. Recognizing the importance of the post, the Americans had garrisoned it with about seven hundred and fifty New York and Massachusetts Continental troops under Colonel Gansevoort, of New York, who had served in Montgomery's expedition to Canada. He had put the place in an excellent condition for defence, and St. Leger's summons for surrender was met with a prompt refusal.

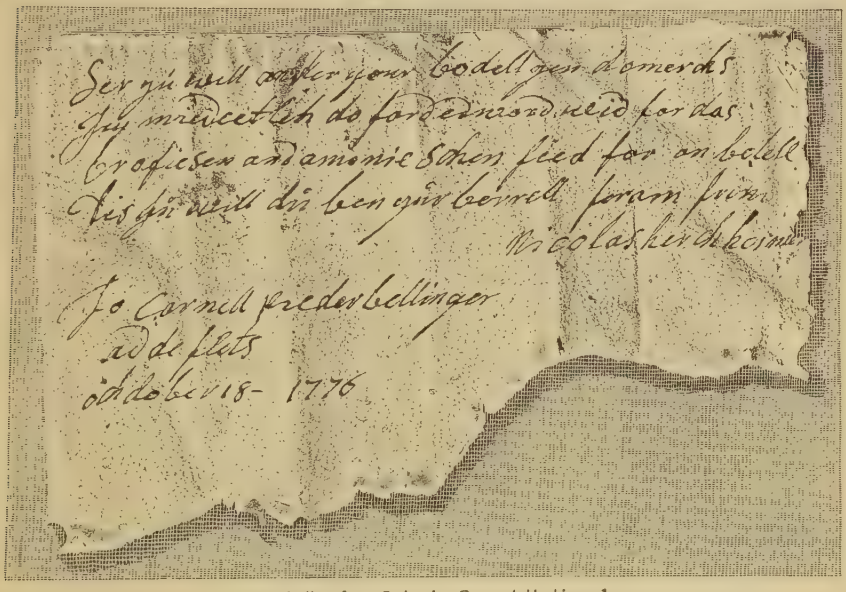
Fort Schuyler invested.

The patriotic people of the valley, warned in time of the approach of the enemy, and yielding neither to panic nor despair, were ready to

All the houses, barracks, stores, etc., at the latter place, are burned and destroyed. It seems a maxim to General Schuyler to leave no support to the enemy as he retires; all is devastation and waste when he leaves. By this means the enemy will not be able to pursue so fast as they could wish; want of carriages, I am told, will be a great hindrance to their progress; they were not provided, it seems, from Canada. . . . . Ten days or a fortnight, I fancy, will put our people into a situation to stand, if we can obtain that time from the enemy, and in that time are reënforced from below with 2,000 or 3,000 Continental troops. . . . . I wish General Washington could *see* our situation; am sure he would give us a reënforcement." — MS. letter. Trumbull Papers, in the possession of the Massachusetts Historical Society.

throw themselves in St. Leger's path, and save the fort, their farms, and their homes. At the earliest alarm, the militia turned out, eight hundred in number, and hurried forward to the relief of Gansevoort, with the veteran General Nicholas Herkimer at their head. This old soldier, an energetic German, had so heartily identified himself with the popular cause, was so well known through central New York, and so highly esteemed among his neighbors, that his leadership was in itself an element of strength. On the 4th of August, the militia crossed the Mohawk where Utica now stands, and the following day Herkimer sent word to Gansevoort of his approach, and proposed that the garrison should meet him at an ap-

Herkimer's attempt to relieve the fort.



Fac-simile of an Order by General Herkimer.[1]

pointed time by a sortie. This plan, however, was defeated by some delays in the march.

St. Leger had heard of Herkimer's approach, and had taken measures to intercept it. Having failed in his first purpose, Herkimer would have moved slowly and with caution; but permitting his better judgment to be overruled by the reproaches of younger officers — especially of Colonel Parris, one of the Committee of Safety, and of Colonel Cox, who accused him of want of energy and spirit — he or-

[1] *Explanation:* Sir, — You will order your battalion to march immediately to Fort Edward, with four days' provisions, and ammunition fit for one battle. This you will disobey [at] your peril. From [your] friend, Nicolas Herchheimer.
To Colonel Peter Bellinger, at the Flats, *October* 18, 1776.

dered a rapid advance. The militia of the Mohawk Valley, whose experience of Indian warfare should have taught them better, marched carelessly along the bends of the river and through ravines, till a deep wooded hollow was reached near Oriskany. At one end of this the British regulars lay in ambush, and the Indian allies were in concealment on both sides. When Herkimer and his men were fairly within this defile, a destructive fire was opened upon them by the hidden enemy; the rear guard was cut off from the main body, driven back, and dispersed, many being taken prisoners, and the provision train captured. Herkimer was mortally wounded, and his horse shot under him. Seating himself upon his saddle at the foot of a tree where he could overlook the field, he continued to give orders while he calmly smoked his pipe. To all remonstrances, urging him to retire, he said, "I will face the enemy." His men, as brave now as they had been rash before, determined to fight to the last. In groups of two or three, from behind trees, or any point of advantage that the nature of the ground afforded, they met or assailed the enemy; men encountered each other in hand-to-hand fights with clubbed rifles, with tomahawks, with knives. Captain Gardener killed three men in quick succession with his spear. Captain Dillenback, attacked at once by three men, brained the first, shot the second, and bayonetted the third. Henry Thompson rested long enough to take his lunch, as he sat upon the body of a dead soldier, and then resumed his fighting.[1] Thirty men of Johnson's Greens, who rushed into the midst of the fight under the pretence of reënforcing the Americans, were fallen upon and instantly killed. For five hours the desperate battle continued, till the ground was covered with the dead and wounded, nearly two hundred being killed on each side.

Battle of Oriskany.

At length the welcome sound of firing was heard in the direction of Fort Schuyler. The messengers sent forward the day before, had reached the fort, and immediately Gansevoort organized a sortie composed of two hundred and fifty New York and Massachusetts men under Lieutenant-colonel Willett, of New York. The party made a rapid dash into the enemy's camp, where only a few troops remained, captured flags, baggage, stores, and papers, and by their firing relieved Herkimer of the enemy on his front and flanks.

Sally from Fort Schuyler.

The Indians, having lost many of their warriors, were the first to retreat at the sound of Willett's musketry, and the whole British force soon followed, leaving the Americans in possession of the field. It was a complete check to St. Leger's proposed movement, though he still persisted in the siege of the fort. When, however, soon after, rumors

[1] *Address at the Centennial Anniversary of the Battle of Oriskany.* By Ellis H. Roberts.

reached him of the approach of Arnold with a second relief party of Continentals, whose numbers were magnified by couriers sent designedly into the enemy's camp, the Indian allies became alarmed, and compelled St. Leger to abandon the siege and hurry back in the direction from which he came.

To the memory of Herkimer, who, ten days after the battle, died "like a philosopher and a Christian," Congress ordered a monument, — which has never been erected; to Willett it presented a sword, and to Gansevoort its thanks. It was not an over-estimate of the importance of this repulse of the British invasion of the Mohawk Valley. Burgoyne's plan of the campaign was in one essential part entirely

Herkimer at the Battle of Oriskany.

frustrated, while soon after fresh disaster met his advance in another direction.

At Bennington, Vt., then known as the "Hampshire Grants," twenty-five miles east of Burgoyne's line of march, the Americans had established a depot of horses and stores, which, in the destitute condition of his army, was much coveted by

Battle of Bennington.

the English commander. His provisions were giving out, and a timely supply from Canada was doubtful. On the 6th of the month there was hardly enough on hand for the consumption of two days. Encouraged by the statements of Philip Skene, the principal loyalist in that region, and of scouts and deserters, Burgoyne organized a secret expedition, not only to capture the Bennington depot, but to demonstrate toward the Connecticut Valley, overawe the country, and then to return by a circuitous march to Albany. For the leader of the raid he selected Lieutenant-colonel Baume, an accomplished and trusted German officer, and gave him for his command a select corps, about five hundred strong, consisting of Hessians, dragoons, English light infantry under Captain Fraser, and a party of loyalist rangers. About one hundred Indians also hung upon the column. Receiving minute instructions from his commander-in-chief as to what he was to do in any possible emergency, and to exercise the utmost caution, Baume left the main army on the 11th, and on the afternoon of the 13th reached the township of Cambridge, sixteen miles distant. On the next day, writing "on the head of a barrel," he sent word back to Burgoyne, that the rebels were now apprised of the expedition, but that the Tories were flocking in to him; that his Indians were uncontrollable, ruining or taking everything they pleased; and that reports made the strength of the American militia at Bennington about eighteen hundred, all told. On receiving this information, Burgoyne ordered forward, on the 15th, Colonel Breyman and five hundred Brunswick chasseurs, to reënforce Baume.

Stark leads the New Hampshire men.

In the old farming town of Dunbarton, Merrimack County, New Hampshire, still stands the venerable mansion from which John Stark hurried with the farmers to Boston, at the news of the fight at Lexington, and which he had now again left to meet this marauding expedition sent against his own neighbors. At Bunker Hill and Trenton the veteran colonel had already gained high reputation, and in this exigency he was the man above all others to lead whatever troops might gather at Bennington. All that region would answer his call. Why he was not with Schuyler and the main American body at this time, is to be explained by the unfortunate jealousies existing in that department, and his own conviction that he had been neglected in the last promotion of general officers. But his patriotism was unimpeached, and at such a moment he was ready for action. Burgoyne's approach had aroused all New Hampshire to renewed efforts to do her duty in the defence of the country. "I have," said John Langdon, President of the Assembly, "three thousand dollars in hard money; my plate I will pledge for as much more. I have seventy hogsheads of Tobago rum, which

shall be sold for the most they will bring. These are at the service of the State. If we succeed, I shall be remunerated; if not, they will be of no use to me." The State promptly ordered out the militia, and gave Stark the command.

The men answering to the summons came from the best class of people in the "Grants." Stark's brigade consisted of fifteen hundred militia under Colonels Nichols and Stickney, while Colonels Seth Warner, Herrick, and Williams reported with companies of Green Mountain boys. The entire force which gathered to resist invasion was not far from twenty-two hundred. On the morning of the 14th the greater part of it reached Bennington, Warner's men marching all night in the rain from Manchester, Vermont. Stark had heard of Baume's approach, and he marched instantly to support Lieutenant-colonel Gregg, who had been detached the day before to skirmish with and delay the enemy. During the forenoon of the 14th the forces came within sight of each other, and Baume at once took up a commanding position overlooking a bend in the Walloomscoik River.

General John Stark.

A heavy rain prevented movements on the 15th. On the 16th Stark moved to attack the enemy on three sides at once. Colonels Nichols and Herrick, with about five hundred men, made their way through the woods to his left and rear, their approach frightening the Indians off the field. Colonels Stickney and Hubbard engaged some detached parties, while Stark with the main body attacked Baume in front. Tradition runs that, as soon as the General came in sight of the enemy, he exclaimed, "See there, my men!—there are the red-coats! Before night they 're ours, or Molly Stark 's a widow."[1] For two hours the fight continued, the Americans pressing upon

[1] The tradition may be wrong, however, as tradition so often is. Mrs. Stark's name was neither Molly nor Mary, but Elizabeth.

the enemy with the steadiness and cool persistency of men used to battle, at times dashing up the hill at the earthworks, in spite of the warm reception given them. Surrounded nearly on all sides, by this determined conduct of the militia, the British finally gave way, and attempted to escape by their only road of retreat; but in this they were foiled, and the entire body surrendered. Baume was mortally wounded.

Greatly elated by their success, the militiamen scattered to plunder the abandoned camp. In this disregard of discipline and loss of order, they came near losing all the advantage they had gained by their courage and previous good behavior. Colonel Breyman arrived upon the field with reënforcements, and all that had been won would have been lost had not Stark, who was prompt to see it, met this new emergency, and sent Colonel Warner with a fresh regiment to the rescue of the almost discomfited and disordered men. Breyman was driven back by Warner with considerable loss. When night closed, victory for the Americans was assured. They had taken four cannon and nearly seven hundred prisoners, with a loss to themselves of less than a hundred in killed and wounded.

This new disaster to Burgoyne, following so closely upon the repulse in the Mohawk Valley, gave a new and cheerful aspect to affairs in the Northern Department. New England was full of enthusiasm, and volunteers hastened from all quarters to strengthen the American army. "Pray let no time be lost," wrote General Glover to James Warren in the Massachusetts Legislature, to urge the sending on of men; "a day's delay may be fatal to America. Let the body be as large as can possibly be collected." In Connecticut hundreds of the militia pressed forward. As an evidence of the general enthusiasm, Noah Webster records that his father, his two brothers, and himself shouldered their muskets and marched to the field, leaving their mother and sisters alone to carry on the farm. The militia in northern and central New York turned out with equal alertness.

Rivalries in the Northern army.

Rivalries and disputes as to precedence and the right of promotion were among the fruits of the want of discipline which existed in the Revolutionary armies, and sometimes, no doubt, interfered with the efficiency of military operations. But party spirit and sectional jealousies not unfrequently governed Congress in the choice of major-generals; and both Arnold and Stark had been passed over, early this year, and their juniors preferred to them from other considerations than those of military merit. Arnold never recovered from this wound to his pride and self-love; and if the vindictiveness it engendered did not lead him to treason, it made it easier

for him to be a traitor. Stark was of different stuff. It was his self-respect, not his self-love, that was wounded, and though he retired from the army where his past services entitled him to recognition which he did not receive, no man could be quicker than he to take the field again, as we have just seen, when it was clear that his services were again needed. Nowhere had jealousy and misunderstanding bred so much mischief and bitterness as in this Northern Department. One general after another had been displaced, and each had been exposed to reprehension where each had probably done the best that circumstances would admit of. Wooster, Thomas, Sullivan, Schuyler, Gates, had followed each other in rapid succession, till the autumn of 1776, when Schuyler by an appeal to Congress had procured his reinstatement.

Battle-field of Bennington.

Both he and Gates had strong friends and bitter opponents. Schuyler had little confidence in the New England troops, and the New England troops and their representatives in Congress had just as little confidence in him. Both were wrong: there were no better soldiers in the army than those from New England; there was no more devoted patriot, nor a braver soldier in the country than Schuyler. Provincial jealousies, as old as the French and Indian wars, had much to do with the feeling of mutual mistrust; and Schuyler's misfortunes rather than his faults, in the conduct of the campaign thus far, could be easily used as effective weapons against him by those who sincerely doubted his military ability, or who resented his avowed contempt

of the New England troops. When Ticonderoga was lost, it was attributed to his want of generalship, and before that was atoned for by the subsequent successes under his command, Gates, who was a better politician than soldier, had induced Congress to give him Schuyler's place at the very moment when he had nothing to do but reap the advantage of Schuyler's successful movements. Congress had not heard of Herkimer's and Stark's victories when they reinstated Gates at the head of the northern army.[1]

Gates in command.

As September advanced, the distance between Gates and Burgoyne decreased. On the 12th, the former moved his camp from the mouth of the Mohawk and took position on Bemus's Heights in the town of Stillwater, twenty-five miles north of Albany. The site, which was commanding, and capable of easy defence, had been selected by Arnold and Kosciusko, and under the direction of this Polish engineer was strengthened by a line of breastworks and redoubts. With the right resting on the Hudson, the left on ridges and woods, and the front made impregnable by a ravine and abatis, Gates felt himself secure against direct assault. To continue his march to Albany, Burgoyne must first crush this obstacle.

Camp at Bemus's Heights.

The difficulties encountered by the British in bringing up supplies, fatally delayed their progress. Recognizing the absolute necessity of pushing on, they attacked the Americans on Bemus's Heights as soon as they reached that point. Both sides had their entire force in hand. The strength of Gates's army was about nine thousand. On the right, where he himself commanded, were posted Nixon's, Glover's, and Patterson's Continental brigades, all Massachusetts troops; in the centre, Learned's brigade, mainly from the same State; and upon the left, where Arnold was assigned the command, lay General Poor's brigade of the three New Hampshire Continental regiments under Colonels Cilley, Scammell, and Hale; the third and fourth New York, under Colonels Van Courtlandt and Henry Livingston, and two large Connecticut militia regiments under Colonels Thaddeus Cook, of Litchfield, and Jonathan Latimer, of New London County. Attached to Arnold's wing, but usually operating at the front, were the famous rifle corps[2] under Colonel Daniel Morgan,

[1] "Gen. Gates is a happy man to arrive at a moment when Gen. Schuyler had just paved the way to victory; he has not taken any measures yet, and cannot claim the honor of anything that has as yet happened." — *MS. letter from Col. Varick, Albany, Aug.* 23, 1777. *N. Y. Mercantile Library.*

[2] This corps, which rendered conspicuous service in the engagements with Burgoyne, was made up of good marksmen chosen from the regiments which composed Washington's army at Morristown in the spring. They were nearly all from the Middle and Southern States. Morgan's seconds in command were Lieutenant-colonel William Butler of Pennsylvania, and Major Morris of New Jersey. Washington organized the corps for his own campaign, but sent it to Gates, upon the latter's urgent request for reënforcements.

of Virginia, and a body of about three hundred Continental light infantry, detailed for the campaign and commanded by Major Henry Dearborn of New Hampshire.

Skirmishing on the 18th warned the enemy that parties for forage could go out safely only in force. A party of soldiers gathering potatoes, a mile from camp, were attacked, and killed or captured by the Americans. Burgoyne immediately issued an order threatening instant death to every man who ventured beyond the advanced sentries. No useless exposure was permitted. "The life of the soldier," he declared, "is the property of the King."

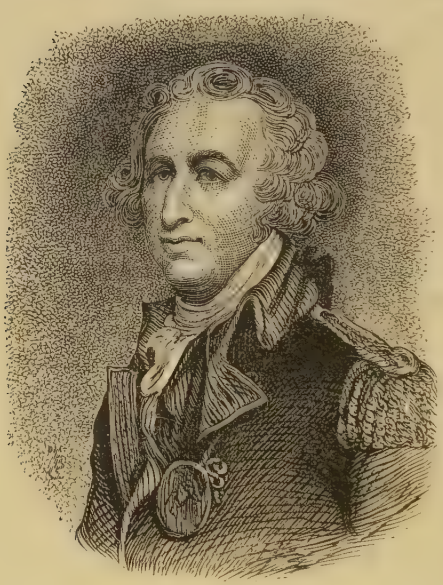
On the 19th serious work began. Breaking camp at Swords' Farm, on the river bank, five miles north of Gates's position, Burgoyne moved forward to the attack in three columns. Generals Phillips and Riedesel followed the main road along the Hudson, with the artillery; the centre, which Burgoyne accompanied, moved toward Freeman's Farm, about opposite the American left; while General Fraser took a more westerly route, with the design of turning Gates's left flank. Battle of Stillwater, or Freeman's Farm.

The intentions of the enemy being evident, the regiments of Arnold's wing were successively ordered out to face Fraser and Burgoyne, while the brigades on the right remained at their posts within the works, awaiting events. Fraser's advance consisted of Canadians and Indians, and the engagement opened towards noon, about a mile from the lines, between them and Morgan's riflemen and Dearborn's infantry. The enemy's skirmishers were at first driven back, but on the approach of Fraser's supports, Morgan was compelled to retreat in some confusion, with the loss of a captain and twenty men taken prisoners. Rallying his corps, however, with his powerful voice and the call of his shrill whistle, Morgan was soon in position again. Scammell's and Cilley's New Hampshire regiments had been already sent out to support him, and in a short time nearly the whole of Poor's brigade was in line to resist the advance of the enemy on that flank. The engagement opens.

By this time, between one and two o'clock, Burgoyne's central column had reached Freeman's Farm, and with Fraser on the right presented a determined front. The left column was still advancing along the river. But as Morgan and Poor's brigade had now concentrated in front of Burgoyne, Fraser could not have continued his independent flank movement without exposing the centre, and the two columns were soon compelled to join their fronts as a continuous line.

Thick woods, interspersed with occasional clearings and ravines, covered the battle-ground. Taking advantage of this protection, the contending lines could approach each other within close range. As

the New Hampshire men came up to reënforce Morgan, and the action was renewed, the firing steadily increased in volume and effect, continuing until sunset. For some distance between the two lines lay a hollow, and the attempt on each side to drive the other from its position was invariably followed with serious loss. When Cilley first became engaged, so many of his men fell in twenty minutes that he could save himself only by falling back on reënforcements. With these the regiment went into the fight again with great spirit, and fought till night. Colonel Scammell fearlessly led his regiment where the fire was the hottest. Lieutenant-colonels Adams and Coburn, of the Second and Third New Hampshire, fell dead in the heat of the battle. The two New York regiments, which were sent out during the action, became hotly engaged, especially the Second under Colonel Courtlandt. Cook's and Latimer's Connecticut militiamen also distinguished themselves by their steadiness and courage, Cook's losing fifty men killed and wounded, or more than any other regiment except Cilley's. Major William Hull, of Massachusetts, lost nearly half of three hundred men under his command. For four hours the battle continued in the woods, without a decisive result. The enemy fought with desperation, under the lead of their gallant officers. Their four pieces of artillery — the Americans having none on the field — became at one time the central point of the contest. A party of New Hampshire men charged upon and seized a twelve-pounder, only to be driven from it by a larger body of the enemy. Again it was taken by the Americans, and again they were forced back. Private Thomas Haines, of Concord, sat astride the muzzle of the piece when the enemy last came up, and killed two men with his bayonet before a bullet struck him down.[1] Thirty-six out of the forty-eight British gunners in this desperate struggle were either killed or wounded.



General Horatio Gates.

Later in the afternoon Learned's brigade entered the field, and Ar-

[1] *Journal of Lieutenant Thomas Blake.*

nold's entire wing was thus engaged. The General himself was present during at least a portion of the afternoon, not only issuing orders, but keeping the troops up to the fight by his daring example.[1] From the nature of the ground, however, and as the troops were sent into action at intervals by regiments, the movements were conducted mainly by the colonels. At sunset the firing ceased, the Americans withdrew to their fortified line, and the enemy were left in possession of the field. In a military point of view, it was a drawn battle; but it had checked Burgoyne's advance and was in reality a decisive success for the army under Gates.[2]

The British fortified the ground they held from the river to Freeman's Farm. Their loss had been heavy, especially in officers, the total being over six hundred and fifty,[3] while the American loss was sixty-five killed, two hundred and eighteen wounded, and thirty-eight missing, or less than half the enemy's. Of the Twentieth and Sixty-second British regulars, scarcely fifty men and five officers survived the battle.

Eighteen days elapsed before there was any further movement. In the interval Gates grew stronger, Burgoyne weaker. The action of the 19th and its result were hailed with joy throughout the country. Militia continued to march northward. General Ten Broeck joined the army with over two thousand men from New York; Lincoln brought in as many from Massachusetts and New Hampshire. General Oliver Wolcott, of Connecticut, went up with three hundred volunteers, the majority of the militia from that State being retained

[1] General Wilkinson, Gates's Adjutant-general, asserts in his *Memoirs* that no general officer was on the field on the 19th, and this statement is adopted by Mr. Bancroft and others, who insist that Arnold took no part in the fight. Beyond the authorities which have been quoted to the contrary, we have the *Memoirs* of Major Hull and the diary of Colonel Courtlandt, both of whom say they received orders from Arnold in the field. General Carrington, in his recent *Battles of the Revolution*, properly observes that it would be utterly inconsistent with Arnold's nature and the position he occupied to suppose that he remained quietly in camp while his entire division was out fighting the enemy.

[2] General Glover briefly described the action as follows, in a letter of September 21: "The battle was very hot till half-past two o'clock; ceased about half an hour, then renewed the attack. Both armies seemed determined to conquer or die. One continual blaze, without any intermission, until dark, when by consent of both parties it ceased; during which time we several times drove them, took the ground, passing over great numbers of their dead and wounded. The enemy in their turn sometimes drove us. They were bold, intrepid, and fought like heroes, and I do assure you, sirs, our men were equally bold and courageous and fought like men fighting for their all." — *Essex Institute Hist. Coll.*, vol. v. No. 3.

[3] The enemy's loss on the 19th has heretofore only been estimated. From Pell's diary, already quoted, we get the details, namely: 4 captains, 9 subalterns, 11 sergeants, 219 rank and file, killed. Two lieutenant-colonels, 2 majors, 7 captains, 13 subalterns, 6 sergeants, 400 rank and file, wounded. The American loss is given by Gordon, who took it from the report of the Board of War.

at Peekskill under Generals Putnam and Silliman. Stark threatened Burgoyne's communications at Fort Edward. Colonel John Brown, of Pittsfield, with five hundred men, made a dash at Ticonderoga, and took prisoners and guns.

Around the enemy a net was forming, which they must break through at one end or the other, or be captured. One gleam of hope remained for them. Operating in dense woods, with uncertain means of communication with New York, Burgoyne had for weeks been in total ignorance of the progress of events elsewhere. He had advanced, expecting every hour to hear that a coöperating column was moving up the Hudson to Albany, which would compel Gates to fall back both to save that point and to save his army. As time passed, the hope of this relief grew stronger. On September 21st intelligence came from Sir Henry Clinton that an expedition would sail up the Hudson in about ten days, for the purpose of attacking Forts Clinton and Montgomery, a few miles below West Point, and thus create a diversion which must be in Burgoyne's favor.

Clinton's co-operation.

Clinton kept his promise, and succeeded in doing much damage and creating much alarm along the Hudson. On the 3d of October he left New York, moving with a large force by land and water, and on the 5th reached Verplanck's Point, forty miles up the river. From this point a large detachment was sent in boats, convoyed by ships, toward Peekskill, as a feint to cover the crossing of the main body early on the 6th, to King's Ferry on the west side of the Hudson. A heavy fog favored the move. General Putnam, in command at Peekskill, was deceived by this manœuvre and took no precautions against the advance at King's Ferry. Following a circuitous route around Dunderberg mountain, Clinton appeared in the afternoon before Forts Montgomery and Clinton, and carried both by assault. Governor George Clinton of New York exerted himself to save the posts, and General James Clinton received a bayonet-wound. The American loss was about three hundred, of whom sixty or seventy were killed and wounded. The British dismantled the forts, burned two American frigates, destroyed stores, and ended their incursion by marching to Esopus (now Kingston) and laying it in ashes. Putnam, who could send no assistance to the forts in time, retreated farther up the river, abandoning the fortified points, and took post at Fishkill. The Hudson was thus left open to the fleet of the enemy, who, satisfied with their success, returned to New York. A court of inquiry relieved Putnam from responsibility for these reverses in his department, serious as they were, and disastrous as they might have been.

Capture of Forts Clinton and Montgomery.

Kingston burned.

Burgoyne's situation was becoming more and more critical. His

provisions were giving out, and it was necessary either to advance or to retreat. He determined to advance, and on the 7th of October moved with a select detachment of fifteen hundred regulars and ten guns to turn the American left. His best general officers were with him — Phillips, Riedesel, and Fraser. Taking position in open ground within less than a mile of the American works, his advance sought to reach the American rear.

Second battle of Stillwater, or Bemus's Heights.

No sooner was Gates apprised of Burgoyne's appearance than he ordered out Morgan and his riflemen "to begin the game." The fighting was even more desperate and decisive than that of the 19th of September. The enemy's advance was driven in, and Morgan made his way to Burgoyne's right, where Fraser was in command. Poor's and Learned's brigades were ordered to attack the left, while other troops were held in readiness to enter the action where needed. As Poor and Learned advanced, they were met by a sharp but ineffectual volley from Ackland's grenadiers, to which they replied with close and telling discharges. The attack soon proved decisive, and the grenadiers and artillerymen fled from the field, leaving Ackland wounded and a prisoner. Nearly at the same moment Morgan and Dearborn fell upon the right of the enemy and routed it with serious loss. The centre held its ground until driven back by further reënforcements from Gates's lines, including Ten Broeck's New York militia. Scarcely one hour after the British gave battle, their whole line was retiring in disorder towards their camp.

Arnold and Gates.

At this juncture Arnold appeared upon the field. Personal differences with Gates had led to his removal from command since the battle of the 19th, but he had remained in camp. When this action opened, he joined his old division, now hotly engaged, and assumed control of its movements, notwithstanding his removal. On hearing of this defiance of his authority, Gates sent an aid to recall him; but Arnold, keeping out of the way of the messenger, placed himself at the head, now of one brigade and now of another, and led them to the attack at different points with good judgment and undaunted courage. His conduct roused the troops to enthusiasm, who cheered and followed wherever he led. As he entered the field the British line was already breaking. Under his impetuous assaults, first with Patterson's and Glover's brigades, and then with Learned's, the enemy gave way everywhere in confusion. Even when driven to their intrenchments, at dusk, the vigorous charge of Arnold and Morgan on the extreme right, broke through the line of works and forced the Germans to abandon their position. In this last charge Arnold was wounded as he was entering the sally-port. In his report of the action, Gates had the magnanimity to men-

Arnold wounded.

tion Arnold's services, and Congress at once promoted him to the rank of major-general.

The loss on the side of the Americans in this well-fought field was remarkably small; not over fifty were killed, and about one hundred were wounded. On the other side the loss was much heavier, their killed alone outnumbering all the casualties of their opponents.[1] Their heaviest blow was in the fall of General Fraser. Quite as brave and almost as reckless as Arnold, his example was no less inspiriting to the troops he led, and to him more than to any other British officer was due their desperate resistance. Morgan saw the contagion of his example; and, if tradition may be trusted, pointed him out to three of his unerring riflemen as a proper object for their aim. When he fell, mortally wounded, the tide of battle turned. Not even Burgoyne, who also exposed himself wherever his presence seemed needed, could save the day. Shot through the hat and waistcoat, he narrowly escaped a fate like Fraser's, and only returned to his camp when driven back with his troops. His principal aid, Sir Francis Clerke, was mortally wounded, and died next day a prisoner in Gates's tent. Lieutenant-colonel Breyman, commanding the Germans on the right, was also killed. Eight of the guns brought into the field were lost.

Death of Fraser.

This signal defeat of the enemy on the 7th was decisive. Gates was now more than twice as strong as his antagonist. Conscious of the danger of his situation, Burgoyne, on the night of the 8th, abandoning everything not immediately needed, quietly retreated to Saratoga, and encamped on the north side of the Fishkill. On the morning of this day, General Lincoln, while reconnoitering the enemy's position, received a severe wound. In the evening, Fraser was buried with military honors in a redoubt near the Hudson. Burgoyne, Phillips, and other general officers, with their staffs, were present at these last services over the grave of their comrade, where the requiem was the fire of American cannon aimed at a group easily distinguished by the artillerymen, but who were unconscious of the purpose of that sad and solemn gathering.[2]

Burgoyne retreats.

Gates followed the enemy, making such disposition of his troops

[1] British loss on October 7 — *Pell's Diary:* One General, 1 lieutenant-colonel, 2 captains, 7 subalterns, 5 sergeants, 160 rank and file killed. [No return of wounded.] Two majors, 2 captains, 8 subalterns, 16 sergeants, 7 drums, 234 rank and file, prisoners. Estimating their wounded at 250, their total loss was nearly half of the select body they brought into the field.

[2] The wives of several officers accompanied Burgoyne's expedition, notably those of General Riedesel and Major Ackland, and suffered all the hardships of the campaign. Madam Riedesel, in her *Memoirs*, describes the burial of Fraser under fire of the American artillery.

as to surround them. General Fellows, with Massachusetts militia, severed their line of retreat by holding the crossing of the Hudson. Morgan, Poor, and Learned threatened their rear on the west. Nixon, Patterson, and Glover remained in their front, and, in attempting to advance beyond the Fishkill on the 10th, narrowly escaped collision with the entire British force, which had not yet, as supposed, left its position. On the 12th Burgoyne had but five days' rations in

Fraser's Burial.

camp, and on the 13th his desperate situation compelled him to summon a council, and propose the question of capitulation.

His officers unanimously declared that in consideration of all that the army had already suffered, and its present critical position, proposals for surrender could be made without dishonor, and a flag was accordingly sent to the American commander.[1] Proposals of surrender.

[1] "On the 12th frequent cannonading and skirmishing; commanding officers of regiments were sent for by General Burgoyne, to know what a face their regiments bore. The

On the 17th, after the negotiation was once on the point of being broken off, — Burgoyne receiving information which led him to hope for reënforcements from the south, — the articles of capitulation, or "Conventions," as they were officially designated, were signed by Gates and Burgoyne. It was agreed that the British army should march out with all the honors of war, and have free passage to England, upon condition of not serving again during the war. Five thousand seven hundred and sixty-three officers and men were included in the surrender. On the forenoon of the 17th, they marched out from their camps, and laid down their arms in a field near Old Fort Hardy, in the presence only of Majors Wilkinson and Lewis of General Gates's staff. Burgoyne presented himself to Gates, with the remark that the fortune of war had made him his prisoner; and for several days after the English officers were received and treated with every mark of consideration due to worthy foes.

Terms of capitulation.

The surrender of Burgoyne's army on the 17th of October was, up to this time, the most important event of the war; and the battles of September 19th and October 7th are counted among the decisive battles of the world. The whole country was jubilant, not only that so much had been gained where so little had been hoped for, but that in that gain they saw the promise of greater things to come. In England the tidings of disaster and defeat were received with bitter disappointment, and reproaches were heaped upon the General for the failure of a campaign in the plan of which the King and his minister had blundered. Congress presented to Gates a medal for completing the work which others had begun and made possible if not inevitable; but the people did not forget to be grateful to the brave officers and men who in battle after battle had wrested victory from as brave an army as England could send to the field.

answer of the British, they would fight to a man. The German officers returned to their regiments to know the disposition of their men; they answered: 'Nix the money, nix the rum, nix fighten.' The British regiments being reduced in number to about nineteen hundred, and having no dependence on the Germans, General Burgoyne, on the 13th October, opened a treaty with Major-Genl. Gates." — *Pell's Diary.*

CHAPTER XXIV.

ALLIANCE WITH FRANCE. — PROPOSALS FOR PEACE REJECTED.

The Winter at Valley Forge. — The Conway Cabal. — Baron von Steuben. — Alliance with France. — North's Propositions for Peace. — Lafayette at Barren Hill. — Evacuation of Philadelphia. — Battle of Monmouth. — Lee's Conduct. — Tried by Court-martial. — The Rhode Island Campaign. — Arrival of a French Fleet with Troops. — The Tory and Indian Warfare in Central New York. — The Pioneers of Tennessee and Kentucky. — Colonel Clark's Expedition to Illinois. — Operations begun at the South. — Loss of Savannah. — Partisan Warfare. — Naval Affairs. — Fight between the "Bon Homme Richard" and the "Serapis."

The camp at Valley Forge was laid out in parallel streets of log huts, built by the soldiers with timber found in abundance in the neighboring woods. Each brigade was encamped by itself; the quarters of the officers were opposite their respective regiments and companies; in each hut — measuring fourteen by sixteen feet — were lodged twelve privates. The headquarters of the Commander-in-chief were at the house of Isaac Potts, the proprietor of the forge which gave a name to the locality, and near by were those of Greene, Steuben, Lafayette, and other officers of rank, — "small barracks," wrote Lafayette to his wife, "which are scarcely more cheerful than dungeons." The camp was protected by forts and intrenchments; in advance of the lines Morgan and his riflemen were stationed, and more distant points were guarded by outposts of dragoons and militia.[1]

Encampment at Valley Forge.

The army was well sheltered, for a log house is a comfortable dwelling, and the woods near by afforded plenty of fuel. But in everything else there was absolute impoverishment. Had food been abundant in the surrounding country, there were no horses and wagons to draw it to camp; even had there been no lack of these, the roads were almost impassable for any beast of burden or any carriage. Pro-

1 "General Washington keeps his station at Valley Forge. I was there when the army first began to build huts. They appeared to me like a family of beavers, every one busy, some carrying logs, others mud, and the rest plastering them together. The whole was raised in a few days, and it is a curious collection of buildings in the true rustic order." — Letters from Thomas Paine to Dr. Franklin. *Penn. Mag. of Hist.*, vol. ii.

visions of all kinds were scarce and poor, and what there were the men themselves were compelled to transport, "who, without a murmur," a Congressional Commission reported, "patiently yoke themselves to little carriages of their own making, or load their wood and provisions on their backs." They would have been cheerful as well as patient had they been in a condition for such work, for work in itself is no hardship. But they were weak from the want of sufficient and proper food; they went to their labor in thin and tattered clothing and with uncovered feet; and when they sought for rest and vigor in sleep, it was on the bare earth that made the floors of their huts, — for they were without even loose straw for their beds. This last necessity Washington endeavored to relieve, and at the same time to secure provisions, by issuing an order to farmers within seventy miles to thrash out all the grain in their barns and deliver the straw in camp before the 1st of March, under the penalty of having "all that shall remain in sheaves after the period above mentioned seized by the commissaries and quartermasters of the army and paid for as straw." By the 1st of February the want of clothing was so absolute that about four thousand men in their huts were necessarily relieved from duty on this account. From destitution came sickness, and the death-rate increased thirty-three per cent. from week to week. "Nothing," said the report addressed to the President of Congress, referred to already, "Nothing, sir, can equal their sufferings, except the patience and fortitude with which the faithful part of the army endure them." There were, however, the unfaithful also, whose patriotism was not proof against hunger and cold and pestilence, and they deserted in large numbers. In February there were in camp only about five thousand effective men.

The sufferings of the army.

Congress was at York, Pennsylvania. If it was not powerless to relieve the poverty which was so sorely trying the army, then it was indifferent to the welfare of the men on whom the safety of the country so largely depended. Both propositions, probably, were, in a measure, true. Washington was authorized to take supplies wherever he could find them within seventy miles, for which he was to pay in money, if he had it, if not, in certificates. But Congress failed to provide for the redemption of these certificates, even in the depreciated paper money, which, poor as it was, at least, was a little better than nothing at all. There was then, as there is now, a considerable portion of the rural population of Pennsylvania slow to understand, and slower still to accept, new ideas, and reconcile themselves to new relations. These were either still loyal to the King, or, if favorably disposed to the new government, their devotion was moderate and not animated with any very

Difficulty of procuring supplies.

deep sense of the spirit of self-sacrifice. In Philadelphia, where the British army passed the winter in gayety and almost riotous plenty, the farmers, if they could get there, were paid in gold for their produce. The ardent patriotism that would lead them to Valley Forge instead, to receive, in place of gold, certificates that were absolutely worthless, was a patriotism not in daily use.

Before the winter was over, it was a question whether the army would break up in mutiny or be dissolved for want of the neces-

Valley Forge.

saries of life. The burden of anxiety and responsibility was heavy upon the Commander-in-chief, and perhaps for that reason his enemies thought it a good opportunity to bring about his overthrow. The success of the northern campaign had added greatly to Gates's reputation. Easy as it is to see now, at the distance of a hundred years, that the laurels which he gathered should have been bound upon the brows of others, the credit he had acquired stimulated his own ambition and made him the central figure in the opposition to

Washington, both in Congress and in the army. He was made in the autumn President of the Board of War; Mifflin was one of its members; Conway — by birth an Irishman, but by adoption a Frenchman, a colonel in the French army, and one of the officers whom Silas Deane had sent to America — was made a Major-general over the heads of his seniors in commission, and was appointed Inspector-general. He was at the head of a secret movement by which it was intended to remove Washington and put Gates in his place.

The "Conway Cabal."

This was, as it has ever since been called, the "Conway Cabal," and Conway spent the winter at York intriguing with Mifflin, Lee, — who had been exchanged — and some members of Congress, to bring about the removal of Washington. An intrigue of this sort could not long remain a secret, for it was necessary to its success that various influences should be brought to favor it. The correspondence between Gates, Mifflin, and Conway, reflecting upon Washington, became known through the indiscretion of Wilkinson, who had seen one of the letters and repeated its purport to Stirling. The unfavorable impression produced by this discovery was not removed when Gates, with some bluster, first demanded of Washington to know who had tampered with his letters, and then denied that Conway had written the letter whose words had been quoted. It was hoped to secure the alliance of Lafayette by offering him the command of a new invasion of Canada, which came to nothing; he would only accept it on condition that he should report to Washington as Commander-in-chief. Anonymous letters to Patrick Henry, Governor of Virginia, and to Henry Laurens, President of Congress, were at once forwarded by those gentlemen to Washington himself. Attempts to influence State legislatures proved equally abortive, and when the purpose of the "Cabal" became known to the country and to the army, it met with universal condemnation.[1] The scheme was not only completely frustrated, but its principal instigators either repented of their share in it, or were deprived of the power of attempting further mischief. Gates and Mifflin both ceased soon after to be members of the Board of War. Gates was ordered in the spring to take charge of the fortifications on the Hudson. Mifflin was brought to trial for mismanagement in the affairs of the quartermaster's

Signature of Henry Laurens.

[1] Captain Selden, of Connecticut, writing from Valley Forge, in the spring, undoubtedly reflected the feeling of the army. He says: "I am content if they remove almost any General except his Excellency. The country, even Congress, are not aware of the Confidence the Army Places in him, or motions never would have been made for Gates to take the Command." — *Manuscript Letter.*

department, in which, however, nothing was proved against him but incapacity and confusion in the accounts. He resigned his commission as Major-general, but acquired some distinction afterward as a member of Congress. The next campaign brought Lee before a court-martial. Conway, who was also sent in March to the Northern Department, offered his resignation to Congress, which, contrary to his expectation and wishes, was accepted. Not long afterward he was shot in a duel by General Cadwallader, who accused him of cowardice at the battle of Brandywine. Supposing himself fatally wounded, he wrote a contrite letter to Washington, and on his recovery returned to France.

But notwithstanding the hardships and threatened disasters of the winter at Valley Forge, there came to the army in that encampment one signal advantage which told in all the future military operations of the war. This was the arrival of Frederick William von Steuben, a veteran Prussian General, who had learned the art of war under the great Frederick, and whose experienced eye saw beneath the tattered clothing and worn frames of the men the material for excellent soldiers. He proposed to introduce the Prussian system of minor tactics, and, beginning on a small scale, he gradually brought the whole army to an admirable condition of drill and discipline. Congress appointed him to the office of Inspector-general, and adopted the regulations he had drawn up for the American service[1] — regulations which were rather an adaptation of the Prussian system to the character of the men before him, and the needs of the army, than a rigid adherence to its tactics.

Services of Baron von Steuben.

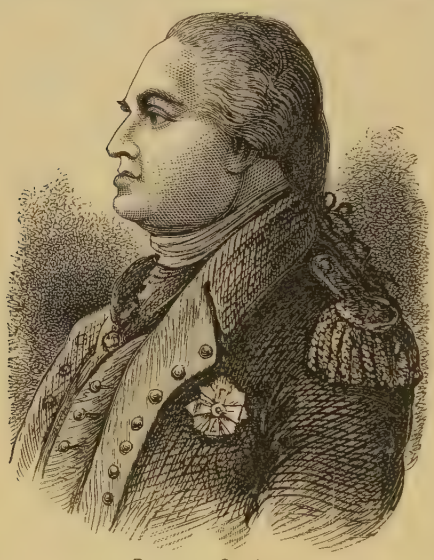
The soldiers were quick enough to see that this new Inspector-general, unlike the man for whom the office was created — Conway — put his heart into his work, and was moved by no personal ambition, but by a deep interest in the struggle for which they were suffering so much, and a sincere desire to fit them to achieve success. His very roughness of manner and quickness of temper were to them an evidence of his sincerity. The grim Prussian veteran appealed irresistibly, without perceiving it, to the sensitive American humor when, having exhausted his vocabulary of German oaths upon an awkward squad at drill, he would cry out to his aid, — "Come and swear for me in English; these fellows will not do what I bid them!" When in after battle-fields these men manœuvered with the precision and coolness of a grand parade, simply because they knew they were parts of a great machine, whose effectiveness depended upon the method of its movement, and the adaptation of the parts to the

[1] For details of the special services and their importance to the Revolutionary War, see *Life of Steuben*, by Frederick Kapp; and *The German Element in the War of Independence*, by G. W. Greene.

whole, — then they remembered and blessed the Baron von Steuben, and the way he hammered tactics into them with his big, strange oaths. In other respects his military knowledge was of immense value in various ways, and of all the European officers who sought service under the new Republic, he did more than any other in aid of its complete establishment.

Alliance with France.

The effect in Europe of Burgoyne's surrender was not long in manifesting itself. It gave strength to the opposition in England, which was shown at the opening of the next session of Parliament; but far more important than this, it decided the policy of France. It was easy, under the new aspect which the annihilation of one army in the North, and the vigorous campaign of Washington at the South, gave to the war, for the French Minister and the American Commissioners in Paris to come to terms. On the 6th of February a treaty was concluded, providing that if war should break out between France and England, during the existence of that with the United States, it should be made a common cause; that neither of the contracting parties should conclude either truce or peace with Great Britain without the formal consent of the other first obtained; and they agreed not to lay down their arms until the independence of the United States should have been formally or tacitly assured by the treaties that should terminate the war. The news of this important step reached the United States in April; on the 2d of May the treaty was ratified by Congress; and nowhere were the tidings received with more satisfaction than at Valley Forge, where a day was set apart for public rejoicing with all the demonstrations that an impoverished military camp could afford.[1]



Baron von Steuben.

The impending event in Paris was no secret in England. The op-

[1] M. Capellan, the patriotic Hollander, who made a speech in the popular House of the Dutch government, against loaning troops to England in 1775–76, wrote this letter — hitherto unpublished — to Franklin on the conclusion of the French alliance: —

"Zwolle, 28 *April*, 1778.

"Sir: As I have been the first, or say better, the only one of all the members of our State who has dared himself to declare openly for ye American Cause, and that in a

position in Parliament sought to open negotiations with the American Commissioners to avert the French alliance, but this came to nothing. Lord North, knowing that, if a treaty were made, war between France and England was sure to follow, was reduced to a humiliating position without being certain that even humiliation would keep him in office. In February he brought into Parliament two conciliatory bills, which were passed in March. The plan proposed yielded all that England had been contending against — the right to tax the colonies — and Congress was recognized as a legal representative body, by the appointment of Commissioners to treat with it. But that which the insurgents contended for was not conceded — their right to be entirely independent of the British Crown. The scheme was sure to come to the ground, — would have come to the ground, even had there been no alliance with France, — but it was North's best as it was his last card.

English attempts at conciliation.

A part of the opposition, had they had the power, would have conceded independence to the revolted colonies. Others would, if they could, have come to some compromise, not essentially differing from that proposed by North, but which would have left the question of independence in abeyance, to be settled afterward when peace was once restored. There was faith enough in such a policy — futile as it would have proved — to have overthrown North, and restored Chatham to office, had it not been for the obstinacy of the King. He hated Chatham with the intensity that belongs to unsettled reason, and refused to admit him to his presence. "I solemnly declare," he said, "that nothing shall bring me to treat personally with Lord Chatham." There still lurked in his clouded mind the belief that the colonies could yet be subdued. Chatham, he said, would insist on a total change.

But Chatham's plan, it is known, involved the idea that the States could still be retained as English colonies. He would have rescinded all obnoxious laws, withdrawn all the troops from America, leaving garrisons only in a few strongly fortified places, and concentrated all the strength of England upon a struggle with France. When that was ended — and no Englishman could permit himself to doubt what the end would be — he would trust to the common ties of race, of language, of religion, and of interest, to bring back the Americans to

problematical time, Congratulate you out of the bottom of my heart of the happy success with which providence has crowned America.

"The joy I feld on the news of the taking the army of General Burgoyne, which will shine in the annalls of America and its Liberty, surpassed with a greater joy which occasioned the Treaty concluded with France, and by which the U. S. of America see themselfs placed amongst the Independent Powers in the world." — MS. in *Trumbull Papers*, in the possession of the Massachusetts Historical Society.

their allegiance. "The moment," said Shelburne — who thoroughly understood Chatham's views — "that the independence of America is agreed to by our Government, the sun of Great Britain is set, and we shall no longer be a powerful or respectable people."[1]

North's scheme of reconciliation was, after all, no more impracticable than those devised by rival statesmen. Chatham's plan, whatever it was, he could not have carried out, had he again come into power, for he died on the 11th of May. When he fell in the House of Lords a month before, stricken unto death, he was about to reply to the Duke of Richmond, who had moved a resolution for an address to the Crown, asking the King to withdraw his fleets and armies from the revolted provinces, and "to effectuate conciliation with them on such terms as might preserve their good will," — by which the duke meant that their independence should be acknowledged. The resolution was lost by a majority of only seventeen, notwithstanding the dying words of the great statesman were against it.

The Commissioners, with Lord North's proposals for peace, arrived in June. Their credentials were immediately presented to Congress, who received them on one day, and gave on the next an answer, curt, conclusive, and almost defiant. Nothing, they said, but "an earnest desire to spare the effusion of human blood, would have induced them to read a letter that so reflected upon their ally, the King of France; that they were ready, however, to enter upon the consideration of peace whenever the King of Great Britain should show that he had any "sincere disposition for that purpose;" and that the only evidence of that sincerity would be "an explicit acknowledgment of the independence of these States, or the withdrawing his fleets and armies."

It was near midsummer before this point in the history of the year was reached. Arms had rather waited upon diplomacy. For though through the spring there were some military movements, there were none of much moment. When made, they were less to gather glory, and more to gather corn and cattle. Two such expeditions were made into New Jersey in March, and twice, near Salem, at Quinton's Bridge and at Hancock's Bridge, the militia were called out to resist such raids upon their fields and barn-yards. A like attempt at plunder was made at Montgomery, in Pennsylvania, on the 1st of May. To check these incursions, and, at the same time, to have a force near by in case Philadelphia should be abandoned — of which already there was some expectation — Washington ordered Lafayette, with about two thousand men, to take a position at Barren Hill, half way between Valley Forge and the city. This move-

Raids in New Jersey.

[1] Fitzmaurice's *Life of the Earl of Shelburne.*

ment Howe determined to defeat, and he sent out Grant with five thousand men to surround and capture this force under Lafayette. When apprised of his danger, Lafayette made a feint of attacking Grant, and then by a rapid march crossed the Schuylkill at Matson's Ford before he could be intercepted. The affair ended with little loss on either side, and at the time was considered a brilliant piece of manœuvring on the part of Lafayette. To the enemy it was a source of chagrin and disappointment.

Lafayette at Barren Hill.

The British had occupied Philadelphia for more than eight months with a force superior to Washington's, but had failed to establish themselves in the State at large. With the Peace Commissioners came orders to return to New York. The concentration of their forces had become of greater importance than the occupation of territory. On the 18th of June the movement was begun, hastened, doubtless, by a report that a French fleet under D'Estaing was on its way to blockade the English in the Delaware. Between the hours of three and ten o'clock A. M., the entire army had been ferried across the river, and immediately took up the march northward through the Jerseys. All told, it numbered about fourteen thousand effective men, under Sir Henry Clinton, Howe having been relieved of his command, with a baggage and provision train eight or ten miles long, which included officers' luggage, and plunder from Philadelphia in carriages, saddle-horses, servants, women, and "every kind of other useless stuff." The heat was oppressive, rains had made the roads difficult of travel, and the way before them was long. During this tedious march, between six hundred and eight hundred Hessians deserted in safety.

The British leave Philadelphia.

The moment Washington was positively informed of Clinton's start, he broke camp at Valley Forge and followed in pursuit. Maxwell's brigade was pushed forward to join Dickinson's militia, to aid in the destruction of bridges, and delay the enemy. On the 21st, the American army crossed the Delaware at Coryell's Ferry, the present Lambertville; on the 26th, reached Kingston, twenty miles west of Freehold; and on the 28th it struck the rear of Clinton's columns, and the battle of Monmouth Courthouse followed.[1]

Washington pursues.

A council of war, held at Hopewell on the 24th, expressed a divided opinion as to the advisability of bringing on a general engagement with Clinton. Six generals, including Lee, advised that the enemy should be followed up and harassed by separate and cautious attacks, at vari-

[1] Clinton's first intention was to march to Amboy; but hearing at Allentown that Washington was nearing him, and might dispute the passage of the Raritan, he turned eastward to Sandy Hook, *via* Freehold or Monmouth. — *Clinton's Report.*

ous points, upon the retreating columns. Six of the generals, among whom were Greene and Lafayette, proposed more vigorous measures. Washington himself was clearly unwilling to permit the enemy to cross New Jersey without receiving an effective blow. As he approached Clinton, strong, select, and ably-led detachments were sent in advance of the main army. In the van was a corps about five thousand strong, exclusive of Dickinson's militia on the left, and Morgan's riflemen, who were ordered to threaten the enemy's right

Map of New Jersey.

flank. The command of this force was given first to Lafayette, but finally to Lee, as he claimed it on the ground of rank.

A little after noon on the 27th, Inspector-general Steuben reconnoitred the enemy in person, and reported that they lay encamped on the main road by Monmouth Court-house, in a strong position. Washington instructed Lee, in case Clinton resumed his march the next morning, to attack him at once. The distance between the two armies on the night of the 27th was only five miles, the American advance corps being at the little village of Englishtown, west of Mon-

mouth. Although requested by the Commander-in-chief to unite upon some plan of action with the generals in his command, Lee failed to name anything definite, preferring, he said, to be governed by circumstances. During the night, several hundred men were moved to points nearer the enemy.

At five o'clock on the morning of the 28th, word came to headquarters that the enemy were moving. Knyphausen marched with the baggage train and its strong convoy, while Clinton, with his best troops, followed about eight o'clock. Washington sent word to Lee to hasten in pursuit and bring on an engagement, unless some urgent reason to the contrary existed. The main army, leaving its packs, moved forward to support the advance corps.

General Dickinson's militia first engaged the enemy, between seven and eight o'clock in the morning, and, supposing himself to have encountered the advance of the returning British, when in fact it was merely a small flanking party, he sent for aid, while holding his ground, and the British presently fell back. At this time conflicting reports were brought to General Lee, some of the scouts thinking that the enemy were, and others that they were not, returning in force. Hence there was much marching and countermarching, and it was not until after nine o'clock that it was certainly known that the British were continuing their march toward Middletown. In this uncertainty, the opportunity for striking the left flank, according to Washington's plan, was lost. Battle of Monmouth.

The second skirmish took place between Colonel Butler and a small party of the enemy's horse, which was quickly driven through the village, Colonel Butler following with artillery and occupying a slight eminence while the other brigades came up. Here the British light dragoons charged vigorously, but were repulsed by Colonel Butler.

Up to this point the advantage was on the side of the Americans. The several regiments were well posted, in spite of the absence of any general leadership in the morning's movements, and a determined advance would have taken Knyphausen's column at great disadvantage. At this stage of the conflict, Lee sent orders to Wayne to move to the right, and capture the enemy's rear-guard. The other commanders, who were without orders, understood this movement to be a retreat, as they saw that the enemy was moving and apparently threatening their connection with Wayne. They abandoned their positions, and had fallen back some distance when, too late, orders came from Lee to stand fast. By this time the entire division was in retreat. By half-past eleven, the British had discovered the confusion attending these various movements, and had turned back in considerable force. Lee watched the retreat of his detachments across a ra-

vine, remained to see the last of his men safely over, and then followed them, to find that Washington had come up with the main army and assumed command in person.

The change of command was instantly felt among the troops who were retreating, and many of them at once rallied and formed a line. The regiments of Colonels Stewart, of Pennsylvania, and Ramsay, of Maryland, which were nearest at hand, Washington posted on the left of the road, with two guns, saying, "Gentlemen, I depend upon you to hold the ground until I can form the main army." On the right of the road he placed Wayne, Varnum, Oswald, and Livingston. The other retreating regiments, broken, but by no means panic-stricken, passed through the new line to re-form, many of them, however, voluntarily joining the troops already in position.

With the last of the retreating force came Lee, and that remarkable interview with Washington followed, in which he showed that "sublime wrath" to which he sometimes gave way, and which was not incompatible with his equally sublime patience and usual self-command. As Lee approached him, he instantly expressed his astonishment at the unaccountable retreat. "I wish to know, Sir," he exclaimed, "what is the reason — why this disorder and confusion?" Overawed by Washington's manner and stinging rebuke, Lee could only reply that he saw no other confusion than might naturally arise from disobedience of orders.[1] Washington may have understood, even then, that the confusion was not from disobedience of orders, but from the want of them, and that Lee was throwing upon others the responsibility for disaster which was the result of his own incapacity or treachery. The tradition is, that the commanding General was so moved that ordinary language did not suffice to express the depths of his indignation, and that he cursed Lee with emphasis and heartiness. Whether he did or did not sometimes lapse, when angry, into a manner of speech more common in that century than in this, is a question that can never be settled now by any positive evidence. He had more than one human weakness, great and good man as he was, and it is not at all improbable that swearing, under great provocation, was one of them. But when the storm, on this occasion, had blown over, Lee offered to bring the troops into some order in the front, and finally, being greatly fatigued, took command of the various bodies that had made their way to the rear. This was the end of his military career, as he was soon after

Washington rebukes Lee.

[1] This, substantially, is the version of the famous meeting, as Lee gave it himself in his written defence before the court-martial which tried him for disobedience. The proceedings of the court, and the testimony of officers, out of which alone can a correct account of the battle be unravelled, have been published in different forms, and most recently in the *Lee Papers*, published by the New York Historical Society.

brought to trial before a court-martial, found guilty of disobedience to orders, misbehavior before the enemy, and disrespect to the Commander-in-chief, in two letters written after the battle, and sentenced to suspension from command for a year.

Colonels Ramsay and Stewart soon felt the British advance, and their resistance brought on the general engagement of the day. Both stood firm until compelled to fall back before superior numbers. Ramsay held his ground desperately, and refused to yield, until he was wounded and taken prisoner.[1] Lafayette formed a second line just in time to prevent Clinton with his main body from out-flanking the position on both sides. The sharpest fighting took place near the road where Washington first checked the retreat. Here Lieutenant-colonel Monckton, of the Royal Grenadiers, was killed, and his body remained in the hands of the Americans. Firing continued until five o'clock in the afternoon, when the British, failing to make any impression, fell back. The losses of the two armies were nearly equal. Clinton reported 355, and Washington 362, killed, wounded, and missing; but on the side of the Americans there were many stragglers who had been overcome with the heat, and afterward reported to their respective regiments.

Colonel Ramsay's gallantry.

Losses.

Clinton continued his march to New York without further molestation, Washington following and taking his position at White Plains, to be in readiness for future movements. All eyes were soon directed towards Rhode Island, where, late in July, the Count D'Estaing arrived with a squadron of twelve ships, carrying four thousand French troops. This fleet was intended to relieve Philadelphia, but did not reach the Delaware till after that city was evacuated. There was not depth enough of water, D'Estaing believed, to admit the ships into New York harbor, and he therefore passed on to Newport. At his approach, twenty-one English vessels, large and small, were burned to avoid capture.

Arrival of D'Estaing.

Large hopes and eager curiosity waited upon this appearance of a French fleet with a French army as the first fruit of the new alliance. The disappointment was great that D'Estaing could not find his

[1] "While his men were on the retreat he [Ramsay] was attacked by one of the enemy's dragoons, who charged him very briskly. The Colonel was on foot. It was for some time between them a trial of skill and courage. After the horseman fired his pistol, the Colonel closed in, and wounded and dismounted him. Several dragoons now came up to support their comrade; the Colonel engaged them *cominus ense*, giving and receiving very serious wounds, till at length, attacked in his rear, and overpowered by numbers, he was made prisoner. General Clinton paid a proper attention to such uncommon prowess, and generously liberated the Colonel the following day on his parol." — *Revolutionary Letter, Mag. of Am. Hist.*, June, 1879.

way into New York bay, capture or destroy the smaller English fleet there, and blockade Clinton in his principal stronghold. It was thought that something else was wanting besides depth of water on the bar at the mouth of the harbor; but this was soon forgotten, when the English burnt their vessels at Newport, and the reduction of that place, which General Pigot held with six thousand British and Hessians, seemed a certain and speedy event. Sullivan was in command of ten thousand men — militia and Continentals — in Rhode Island, with Greene and Lafayette as division commanders, Varnum and Glover as brigadier-generals.[1]

The French and American armies were to coöperate in an attack upon Newport, to be made on the 10th of August. Sullivan, to take advantage of the abandonment of the north end of the island by the enemy, moved before the time agreed upon. He neglected to notify D'Estaing of his change of purpose, and out of this misunderstanding came delay which, in the end, defeated the enterprise. When, on the 9th, the French were ready to cooperate, a fleet of thirty-six vessels, under Lord Howe, from New York, appeared in the offing. D'Estaing reëmbarked his men, gathered his ships together, and put to sea. A northeast wind gave him the weather-gage of the Englishmen, who declined battle. A furious storm followed, which scattered both fleets. For ten days they were at sea, when Howe returned to New York, and D'Estaing to Newport, his ships so shattered by the storm that he determined to take his fleet to Boston to refit.

Disaster to his fleet.

Sullivan had pushed on, notwithstanding the absence of the French troops. He had compelled the enemy to withdraw within their lines of intrenchments stretching from Newport harbor to Eaton's Pond, and covered his own men by earth-works at various points, while waiting for D'Estaing's return. That the fleet needed to refit, there could be no doubt; the orders of the government were that in such an emergency D'Estaing should go to Boston, and that was the best port for his purpose. The public disappointment, nevertheless, was keen and bitter. It was easy to understand that sails and rigging might need to be replaced; that hulls and spars must be repaired; that water-butts should be refilled, and the stock of provisions be replenished. It was not easy to understand why four thousand soldiers should remain on board to watch the progress of this refitting. There was a prevalent feeling that these troops might have been left on Rhode Island to do a little fighting, and that the ship-carpenters, stevedores, calkers, and riggers in Boston would have done

[1] In Varnum's brigade was a negro regiment, organized with Washington's approval, composed of slaves emancipated on condition of enlisting.

quite as well without their presence. But D'Estaing gave little heed to such reasoning as this. He seemed to think that his ships and his soldiers were not to be separated; that together they formed an expedition which would be broken up if either acted independently of the other. The Frenchman was very polite but very persistent, and went to Boston — ships, sailors, and soldiers. The American general was more frank than polite, when he said in General Orders, that America might "be able to procure that by her own arms which her allies refuse to assist in obtaining." The popular feeling was on his side; Frenchmen were not always safe in the streets of Boston while the ships lay in that harbor, and one officer was killed in a brawl. Congress and the Commander-in-chief did all that could be done to soothe the wounded feelings of the French officers, that there should be no disturbance of the cordiality between the two governments.

Battle of Rhode Island.

Sullivan determined to attack on the 29th. If anything was to be done, it must be done quickly, for the volunteers, doubtful of success without the assistance of the French, were returning to their homes in large numbers. The roads leading to the town, and the hills near it, known as Quaker, Turkey, and Butt's, were taken possession of by the Americans. The British advanced from their works, and attacked at several points with great vigor, but were repulsed with equal steadiness. The fighting was desperate for several hours, though of Sullivan's five thousand men only fifteen hundred had ever before seen the smoke of battle. None behaved better than the raw troops of Greene's colored regiment, who three times repulsed the furious charges of veteran Hessians. The Americans were driven, at length, from some of their positions, but their loss in killed, wounded, and missing was only a few more than two hundred, while that of the other side was over a thousand.[1]

A dispatch from Washington the next day warned Sullivan that Pigot was about to be reënforced by Clinton with five thousand men. To risk a battle and attempt to hold the open country against superior numbers, would have been little else than madness. A retreat was begun, and in the course of the night the whole army crossed to the mainland at Tiverton in safety. It was just in time; the reënforcements, on board a hundred English vessels, were in Newport harbor the next morning. As Sullivan had escaped, Clinton reconciled himself to that disappointment by burning New Bedford and Fairhaven, and all the vessels at their wharves. Howe sailed for Boston, and challenged D'Estaing to battle, who was not yet ready for sea. When his fleet was refitted, he sailed for the West India station, without any further attempt then to aid the Americans.

[1] Arnold's *History of Rhode Island.*

Tories and Indians of Central New York.

In other parts of the country there were, in the course of the summer and autumn, military movements having no immediate connection with those along the coast, but which were nevertheless of great interest to those immediately concerned, and sometimes of general importance. Through all the West the Indians were instigated to hostility, — in New York by Sir John Johnson and other leading Tories, and in more distant regions by the English governors at Niagara and Detroit. The battle of Oriskany, the year before, where more than a hundred warriors had been sped on their way to the happy hunting-grounds, had aroused in several tribes of the Six Nations a thirst for vengeance not easily satisfied. Joseph Brant was the most powerful of all their chiefs, and education among the whites, in failing to change his savage nature, had given him the added power of a cultivated mind. His relations to the Johnson family — Brant's sister having been the mother of several of Sir William Johnson's children — attached him to the Tory interest, and to that interest, stronger in Central New York than in any other part of the country, he was a formidable ally. His name was a terror among the Whig population, for wherever he appeared, death and devastation were sure to follow.

Joseph Brant.

From July to November, from the valley of the Susquehanna northward through the country west of Albany, then called Tryon County, a merciless warfare was carried on by the Tories and Indians, in which the Tories were sometimes even more savage than their savage allies. Whole settlements were given to the flames, and as little mercy was shown to old women, and to infants in the cradle, as to men with arms in their hands. At Wyoming —

"On Susquehanna's side, fair Wyoming!" —

on the last days of June, two of the forts were taken, and many of the inhabitants of the valley compelled to fly for refuge to a third,

called "Forty Fort." The garrison was under the command of Colonel Zebulon Butler, who, overruled by rash counsel, led his men to battle against a superior force of Tories and Indians under Colonel John Butler. The result was a disastrous defeat, in which only about sixty of the three hundred American soldiers escaped. As the news spread through the valley, those who had not already left their homes fled to the woods and mountains, or sought safety in Fort Wyoming. This, in a day or two, was weakly surrendered by Colonel Dennison, with a stipulation that the settlers should be permitted to return to their farms and be unmolested. The stipulation was disregarded in the destruction of property, and many persons were killed, though it is questionable whether a general massacre followed.[1] Nor is it certain that Brant was engaged on this expedition.

Attack on Wyoming.

In others, however, he was the chief actor. He had, a few days before, entered the settlement of Springfield, on Otsego Lake, and burnt every house excepting one, in which he had placed the women and children in safety. Indian scouts and scalping-parties roamed through the summer along the banks of the Schoharie. Late in August or early in September, Brant, with a large body of followers, laid waste the settlements on German Flats, in the valley of the Mohawk, leaving for ten miles not a house, a barn, or a stack of grain of the lately gathered harvest, standing, and driving off all the cattle. This act, however, was fully avenged a few days later in the destruction of the Indian towns of Unadilla and Oghkwaga by Colonel William Butler, with a Pennsylvania regiment and a detachment of Morgan's riflemen, who had been sent for the protection of the harassed people.

Joseph Brant.

More pitiful than all was the fate that befell Cherry Valley early in November. Walter N. Butler, a son of the Tory Colonel John Butler, who had been a prisoner at Albany, had recently escaped, and, as a signal act of vengeance, he determined to destroy a village noted for the refinement and virtue of its inhabitants, as well as for their devotion to the revolutionary cause. Lafayette, when at Albany, the year before, to prepare for that abor-

The Massacre of Cherry Valley.

[1] Stone, in his *Life of Brant*, denies it. Dr. Thacher, in his *Military Journal*, gives some stories current at the time, which are almost incredible. See also Moore's *Diary of the American Revolution*, for contemporary rumors. Weld, in his *Travels through the States of North America during the Years 1795, 1796, 1797*, visited Wyoming — then Wilkesbarre — and says: "It was here the dreadful massacre was committed. . . . . Several of the houses in which the unfortunate victims retired to defend themselves, on being refused all quarter, are still standing, perforated in every part with balls; the remains of others that were set on fire are also to be seen, and the inhabitants will on no account suffer them to be repaired."

tive expedition against Canada which he was to lead, had ordered that a fort be built at Cherry Valley, the command of which was given to Colonel Ichabod Alden, who knew nothing of the Indian ways. He had warning of the approach of Butler and Brant, but took no precautions. He assured the villagers that there was no reason for apprehension, and they remained in their houses till they were startled by the savage war-cry. Alden himself was outside the fort, and was pursued by an Indian as he ran with all his speed to get within the gates. He turned and snapped his pistol, as he ran, again and again at his pursuer, who, before the fort was reached, came near enough to bury his tomahawk in the head of the unfortunate Colonel. Nearly fifty persons were killed in the course of the day, and all but sixteen of these were women and children. There were cases of peculiar atrocity, even for Indian warfare; the savage Butler or the savage Brant, either by choice or chance, marked the massacre to be remembered by the murder of women venerable in character and years. The fort was not taken, but most of the buildings in the village were burned. The only mercy shown was to release most of the women and children taken prisoners; Mrs. Campbell and Mrs. Moore, with their children, being still detained because their husbands were leading Whigs. The motive of Butler's clemency, — the motive of the attack on the village, — it may be, was the fact that his mother and several of her children were prisoners at Albany, and these taken at Cherry Valley were offered in exchange.[1]

Western pioneers.

But this Indian warfare was not confined to Central New York. Though the war so absorbed the resources, the interest, and the energies of the people between the mountains and the sea, in the western valleys the pioneer of civilization was fighting his way into the wilderness, not much concerned about the higher contest that was going on behind him. In 1775 Daniel Boone had made his first "blazed trace" in the wilderness west of Virginia, soon to be known as Kentucky; the territory of the present State of Tennessee was organized in 1776 as the County of Washington in North Carolina; Ohio was known as the District of West Augusta; in 1777 Kentucky had three military stations, Boonesborough, Logan's Fort, and Harrod's Station, on the "dark and bloody ground," the common hunting-fields of the northern and southern Indians; Boone, Logan, Harrod, Kenton, Patterson, Galloway, Montgomery, and many others, were names known and dreaded by the Indian tribes, as they penetrated through all this unbroken wilderness, — men who have left behind them memories of mighty hunters and of mighty fighters, whose lives were filled with romantic adventure, with deeds of daring

[1] Stone's *Life of Brant*. Campbell's *Central New York in the Revolution*.

and endurance, which have no parallel in the history of the settlement of any other part of the continent.

For, it was not merely that these pioneers encountered the jealousy and fears of natives dreading the encroachment of the white men upon their lands. To that natural dread the war lent a new and intense incitement. The commanders of the English posts at the west and northwest were diligent in arousing the hostility of the tribes to the Americans, and many an Indian expedition was instigated at Detroit, at Vincennes, and at Kaskaskia, on the river of that name, two miles from the left bank of the Mississippi. Colonel George Rogers Clark, one of the hardy and brave pioneers of Kentucky, determined to strike at the source of this evil, and on making known his bold plan to Governor Patrick Henry, received his approbation and aid. To his success it was due, that in the negotiations for peace between the powers in 1782, the Mississippi River, and not the Alleghany range, was made the western boundary of the United States.

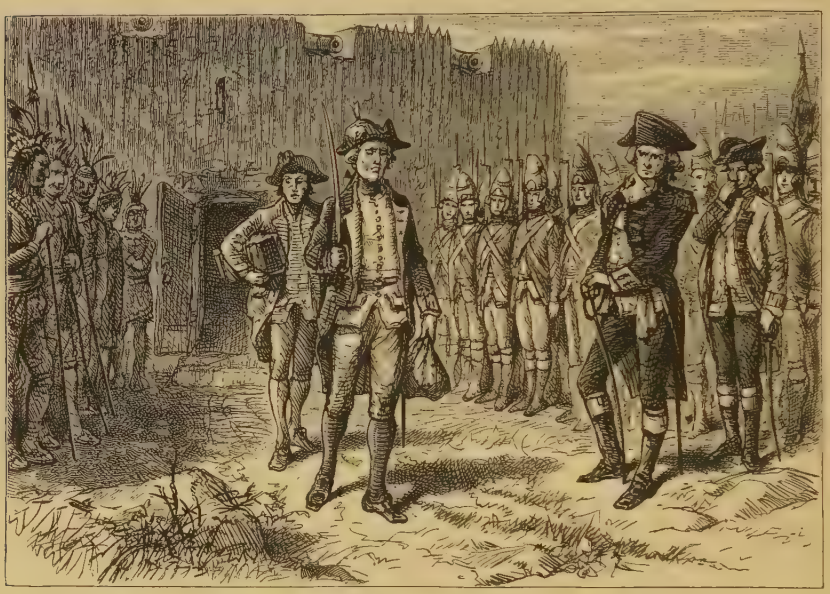
Clark's expedition to Illinois.

In May, 1778, Clark went down the Ohio with only a hundred and fifty men. At Corn Island, at the Falls of the Ohio, he remained a few days to receive additions to his company, and to build a block-house as a depot of provisions. Here he left five men, who, after he had gone, removed to the mainland, made clearings, and built log cabins where Louisville was to be. At the mouth of the Tennessee Clark left his boats and marched across to the Kaskaskia. On the evening of the 4th of July he crossed that river, and surrounded and took the town, whose inhabitants were not aware of the approach of an enemy. The Governor, Rocheblave, he sent prisoner to Virginia; the people he pacified by lenient treatment, and exacted from them an oath of allegiance to the United States. Cahokia, farther up the river, was then taken in the same way, and afterward Vincennes on the Wabash. In the autumn the county of Illinois was recognized and a civil commandant appointed.

Governor Hamilton of Detroit soon recovered Vincennes, where Clark had left only two men in the fort;[1] but late the following winter, Clark marched from Kaskaskia, through a country much of which, at that season, was under water, retook the fort, and sent Hamilton as a prisoner of war to Virginia. This signal success, and the judicious as well as brave conduct of Clark, so influenced the Indian tribes of the Illinois, that from bitter enemies they became either

[1] Governor Hamilton approached the fort with eight hundred men and demanded a surrender. Captain Helm — with his one soldier — refused till he knew the terms. Hamilton, not knowing the weakness of the garrison, conceded the honors of war: the eight hundred men were drawn up to receive with proper ceremony the retiring garrison.

friends of the Americans, or, at worst, neutrals in the war. It was more by skilful management, however, than by any display of material force — which was not at his command — that Clark brought about this result. He gave the savages, he says, "harsh language to supply the want of men, well knowing that it was a mistaken notion in many that soft speeches was best for Indians;" he assured them "they would see their great father, as they called him, given to the dogs to eat." [1]



Capture of Fort Vincennes by Governor Hamilton.

Operations at the South.

Towards the close of the year the war was shifted to the South, where the ministry made its final move for the subjection of the rebellious colonies. Lieutenant-colonel Campbell was sent, as the initial step, with two thousand men to reduce Savannah. General Robert Howe, of North Carolina, was in command at that point with from twelve to fifteen hundred men. With a lagoon in front, a morass on his right, the swamps of the river on his left, and the works of the town in his rear, he thought himself safe from assault. But Campbell soon discovered that a path through a swamp had been left unguarded, over which, led by a negro, a detachment

[1] A letter of Colonel Clark, in which he gives a narrative of his expedition to Illinois, and the journal of his second in command, Major Bowman, — both documents belonging to the Kentucky Historical Society, — were published for the first time a few years since, with notes by Mr. Henry Pirtle of Louisville.

gained and turned Howe's right. A simultaneous attack was made in front, and the Americans, taken by surprise, fell back through the town, losing, in a confused retreat, over five hundred men in killed, wounded, and as prisoners, with their baggage and artillery. The loss on the other side was trifling, and Savannah was the prize of their victory. A few days later General Prevost advanced from St. Augustine, taking Sunbury on his way. By the end of January, Campbell was in possession of Augusta, and the royal rule seemed, for the moment, once more restored over the whole of Georgia.

Partisan warfare.

But only seemed. Throughout that State, and in South and North Carolina, there broke out a partisan warfare which had had no parallel in any other part of the country. The loyal and the patriot parties were so nearly equally divided that each was confident of gaining the ascendency, and the bitterness of personal detestation intensified to cruelty the evils of ordinary war. A district of country remained loyal or patriot so long as it was occupied by the troops of either one side or the other. Citizens served as militia when organized militia operations promised success; when success seemed hopeless, or protection was no longer afforded by the presence of regular troops, they fled to the swamps and woods and carried on a murderous and predatory warfare against their neighbors who were on the other side. Soon after Augusta was taken, a Colonel Boyd marched with a body of Tories from the back counties of Carolina to join Campbell. Colonel Andrew Pickens gathered together a band of patriots from the district of Ninety-Six, intercepted and defeated Boyd, took seventy of his men prisoners, tried them for treason, and five were hanged. The next month, in March, Colonel Ashe, with fifteen hundred North Carolina militia, was ordered by General Lincoln — who had taken Howe's place — to move down the Savannah toward the enemy, who had left Augusta. At Briar Creek Ashe had a strong position, but, exposing his camp on one flank, he was surprised by the enemy, two hundred of his men were either killed or wounded, and his command disappeared like a mob that had been fired upon, almost all of them returning to their homes, a hundred or two only rejoining Lincoln's army. These two instances are fair indications of the nature of the contest at the South. Nowhere else, except to a limited degree in Central New York, was the war so entirely a desperate civil war, where neighbor was arrayed in deadly hatred against neighbor, each holding his life at the price of sleepless vigilance, each knowing that the death of the other was his only real security. Little reliance could be placed upon the aid of militia, where at any moment the troops might turn their backs upon the commanding officer and hasten home to the protection of their own firesides

against personal enemies. This condition of things gave an adventurous and romantic aspect to the partisan warfare in that region, and rendered all military movements uncertain.

Movements at the South.

Through the spring, Lincoln and Prevost moved from point to point in the open country, each striving to out-manœuvre the other, without any important result. On the 11th of May, the English commander was before Charleston, and summoned it to surrender. Some of the civil authorities were quite willing to compound for the safety of the town, by agreeing that

Charleston in 1780.

the State should remain neutral; but neither would Governor Rutledge, Moultrie, and other military leaders consent to abide by such an agreement, if made, nor would Prevost accede to it. Lincoln attacked the works of the enemy at Stono Ferry, without success and with considerable loss. But Prevost at length fell back upon Savannah, and the belligerents, by the middle of summer, were in about the same relative positions as at the beginning of the year.

Expeditions were sent out in the course of the spring and summer by Clinton, more for the purpose of plunder and of distressing the people, than with any hope of conquest. General Matthews, with twenty-five hundred men, landed in Virginia, destroyed large quantities of merchandise at Norfolk and Portsmouth, burned or carried off the tobacco along the shores of Chesapeake Bay, destroyed many

houses and a hundred and fifty merchant vessels, and broke up thousands of barrels of pork, pitch, and turpentine, inflicting distress and ruin upon a population hitherto exempt from the evils of war.

On the 5th of July, General Tryon landed at New Haven with three thousand men, where there was no force to oppose him. The people, nevertheless, bravely defended their homes. The Yale students formed themselves into a military company under Captain James Hillhouse; the Reverend Dr. Daggett, President of the College, after sending his daughters to a place of safety, shouldered his musket, and with his sons went out to fight the invaders. He was taken prisoner. The townspeople tore up the planks of West Bridge, and with a few field-pieces checked the advance in that direction. They took advantage of every commanding point about the town, of every bit of wood where an ambush could be made to annoy the troops and to impede their progress. But the British and Hessian soldiers overran the town; women were outraged, and men were murdered; houses were ransacked for plate, watches, jewelry, and clothing, and what could not be carried off was recklessly destroyed. It was a scene of robbery and debauchery disgraceful to civilized soldiers, doubly disgraceful to Tryon and the other officers of his command. It was a mere raid for the purpose of plunder, and the next morning the drunken soldiers were marched, or driven, or carried on board the ships, to sail for Fairfield. This fared even worse than New Haven. It was first given over to rapine, and then its eighty-five dwelling-houses, two churches, fifty or sixty barns, and a court-house were burned to the ground. Green's Farms and Norwalk were next visited, and the same pitiless destruction inflicted upon both. Houses, churches, barns, and vessels were given to the flames. Raids in Connecticut.

Before these raids, Clinton had made a purely military movement up the Hudson, and captured the half-finished forts at Verplank's Landing and Stony Point, then held by small garrisons. Washington marched at once to cover West Point, making his headquarters at New Windsor, determined to recapture both places. The first attempt was upon Stony Point, and was eminently successful. The details were planned by the Commander-in-chief, and their execution intrusted to General Wayne, whose courage and dash especially fitted him for so difficult an enterprise. His attacking column consisted of four regiments, under Colonels Febiger of Virginia, Butler of Pennsylvania, and Meigs of Connecticut, and Majors Hill and Murfree of Colonel Putnam's regiment. The attack was to be made at midnight on July 15; and at eight o'clock that evening, Wayne, who had made that day with his men a difficult march over the mountains from Fort Montgomery, was within a mile and a half of the fort.

After a careful reconnoissance in person, he divided his force into two columns and moved forward. The men were to depend on the bayonet alone, and an order was issued that the nearest officer should instantly cut down any soldier who took his gun from his shoulder before the word was given. That they might distinguish each other in the darkness, a bit of white paper was fastened to their hats, and they were to shout, "The fort 's our own!" as they entered the works.

Capture of Stony Point.

The neck of land leading to the Point was covered by a high tide with two feet of water. The delay in crossing this gave time to the enemy to discover the movement, and fire was opened upon the advancing columns by the pickets. The whole gar-

Stony Point.

rison were immediately at their posts. Wayne's men were more than twenty minutes in scrambling up the steep ascent, under heavy but random firing, climbing over, where they could not tear down, the abatis, but not firing a shot. Shouts came — says a contemporary account — from the fortifications of "Come on, ye damn'd rebels; come on!" — to which the assailants answered, "Don't be in such a hurry, my lads; we will be with you presently."[1] Lieutenant-colonel Fleury first scaled the parapet and struck the British colors; the right column poured in after him; Wayne was struck down by a ball in the forehead, but soon recovered, and was carried in by his

[1] Moore's *Diary of the Revolution.*

men. The capture was complete in less than half an hour from the firing of the first shot, with a loss of fifteen killed and eighty-three wounded. Nearly five hundred prisoners, fifteen pieces of cannon, and large quantities of stores and ammunition were the prizes of the victory.[1]

The works at Stony Point were destroyed, and the place abandoned, to be again occupied soon after by the British. Preparations to attack the fort at Verplank's Point, on the other side of the river, were given up, as Clinton moved to its support. These hostile demonstrations, however, and especially so signal an exploit as that of Wayne's, induced Clinton to postpone indefinitely a movement upon Connecticut, to support which he had moved a portion of his troops to Mamaroneck. Of the danger of leaving so active an enemy behind him, by undertaking any distant expedition, he received another warning the next month by the surprise of the post at Paulus Hook, now Jersey City. Before daylight on the 19th of August, Major Henry Lee, with five companies of Southern troopers, carried the place by assault without firing a shot, — took a hundred and fifty prisoners, and retired in safety, though hotly pursued by reënforcements from New York.

Paulus Hook surprised.

In a naval expedition sent out by Clinton in August, the success was altogether on the side of the English. Massachusetts sent a militia general, Lovell, with a thousand men, to reduce a British post within her territory on the Penobscot. With Lovell went three ships of the Continental navy, three of the Massachusetts navy, with thirteen privateers, altogether carrying three hundred guns, under the command of Commodore Saltonstall. The fort was too strong, or the investment was mismanaged, and reenforcements were sent for. But the delay gave time for aid to be sent to the besieged. Admiral Collier arrived in the bay with five ships, which Saltonstall saw fit to run away from instead of fighting. Several of his vessels fell into the hands of the enemy, but the rest he burned. The troops made their way back to Massachusetts as best they could through the wilderness, and for a while no question was so warmly discussed in that State as which of the leaders, Lovell

Disaster on the Penobscot.

[1] Wayne wrote at 2 A. M. that morning to Washington: "The fort and garrison, with Colonel Johnston, are ours. Our officers and men behaved like men who are determined to be free" The same day Colonel Febiger wrote to his wife: —

"My dear Girl: I have just borrowed pen, ink, and paper to inform you that yesterday we marched from Fort Montgomery, and at 12 o'clock last night we stormed this confounded place, and, with the loss of about fourteen killed and forty or fifty wounded, we carried it. I can give you no particulars as yet. A musquet-ball scraped my nose. No other damage to 'Old Denmark.' God bless you. Farewell. Febiger."
— [From original MS. in possession of Col. Geo. L. Febiger, U. S. A., New York city.]

or Saltonstall, was the more responsible for the disaster, and had more completely covered himself with disgrace.

Within one day of this disaster, John Paul Jones sailed from the coast of France. A month later he fought a battle without parallel in naval history, and, in its consequences, more important than any other event of the year. Hitherto the contest upon the sea had been mainly a predatory warfare of privateers, aimed at the destruction of commerce and the plunder of merchant vessels. The young republic was without a navy proper. "To talk of coping suddenly with G. B. at sea, would be Quixotic indeed," wrote John Adams in 1775. "The only question with me is, can we defend our rivers and harbors?"[1] But to the work of forming a navy Congress early addressed itself, and no one more earnestly than John Adams himself.

Naval affairs.

Five frigates and a number of smaller vessels were built or bought, in the course of four years, by Congress, but two of the frigates never were sent to sea, being burned in port to save them from the enemy; each province had a squadron of small vessels, and, though they could none of them cope with the heavier British ships, they were always ready to meet those of their own weight of metal. The foreign commerce of the country was destroyed by the war, and capital and men sought remuneration for its loss in privateering. How successful they were in helping, in this way, both themselves and their country, is shown by the commercial reports. Thus, two hundred and fifty British vessels in the West India trade, with cargoes of the aggregate value of ten million dollars, were captured by the American cruisers before the 1st of February, 1777. In the course of that year the number taken was four hundred and sixty-seven; of the two hundred engaged in the African trade, only forty escaped; thirty-five only were left of the fleet of sixty vessels that traded directly between Ireland and the West Indies; and in Martinique, where many prizes were carried, the market was so overstocked that silk stockings could be bought for a dollar a pair, and Irish linen at two dollars the piece.

Paul Jones and the *Bon Homme Richard.*

Paul Jones was one of the most daring of these cruisers. He had made many prizes in British waters, and his name was a terror all along the coast. Among the earliest recollections of Sir Walter Scott was the excitement aroused by the entrance of Jones by night into the harbor of Whitehaven, seizing the sentinels and spiking the guns of the fort, burning some of the shipping, while a fleet of more than two hundred colliers escaped destruction only by chance. To the "pirate Jones"—as the English called him for retaliating, in a mild way, on the coast of England, the atroci-

[1] Letter to James Warren, in Warren manuscripts.

FIGHT OF THE BON HOMME RICHARD AND THE SERAPIS.

ties committed on the coast of America — the King of France gave an old Indiaman, to be fitted out as a man-of-war. In compliment to Dr. Franklin's "Poor Richard," Jones called her the *Bon Homme Richard*, and in her put to sea on the 14th of August.

After a cruise of more than a month along the west coast of Ireland and the north of Scotland, on the 22d of September, the *Richard*, with two consorts, the *Alliance* and *Pallas*, came in sight of a fleet of merchantmen under convoy of the frigate *Serapis*, of fifty guns, and the *Countess of Scarborough*, of twenty-two, off Flamborough Head, on the coast of Yorkshire. Jones gave signal for pursuit, though his own men were diminished by drafts to man prizes, and his prisoners on board were two thirds as numerous as his crew. Landais, the commander of the *Alliance*, who throughout the cruise had been insubordinate and regardless of the Commodore's orders, intimated that their duty was to escape. Speaking the *Pallas*, he told her commander that if the English vessel were a fifty-gun ship they had nothing else to do. The *Serapis* was a new frigate, built that spring. She was rated at forty-four guns, but carried fifty. She had twenty guns on each of her decks, main and upper, and ten lighter ones on her quarter deck and forecastle. The *Richard* had six ports on each side of her lower deck, but only six guns there, which were intended to be used all on the same side. On her proper gun-deck, above these, she had fourteen guns on each side — twelves and nines. She had a high quarter and forecastle, with eight guns on these. She was of the old-fashioned build, with a high poop, and was thus much higher than the *Serapis*, so that her lower deck was but little lower than her antagonist's main deck.

John Paul Jones.

It was an hour past sunset, under a full moon, when the *Richard* came within hail of the *Serapis*. Captain Pearson spoke her twice. Jones did not answer, but opened fire, to which the *Serapis* instantly replied. At the first fire of the *Richard*, two of the heavy guns on her lower deck burst. The men on this deck

Fight with the *Serapis*.

who were not killed by the explosion went up to the main deck, and the guns on the lower deck were not fought afterward.

After his first broadside, Jones caught the wind again, and closed with the *Serapis*, striking her on the quarter just after her second broadside. He grappled their vessel, but, as he could not bring a gun to bear, he let them fall off. Captain Pearson asked if he had struck. Jones answered, "I have not begun to fight!" The English sails filled, Jones backed his top-sails, and the *Serapis* wore short round. As she swung, her jib-boom ran into the mizzen-rigging of the *Richard*. It is said that Jones himself then fastened the boom to his mast. Somebody did, and it did not hold, but one of her anchors caught his quarter; and so they fought, fastened together, each ship using its starboard batteries.

On board the *Serapis*, the ports were not open on the starboard side, because she had been firing on the other. As they ran across and loosened those guns, the men amidships found they could not open their ports, the *Richard* was so close. They therefore fired their first shots through their own port-lids, and blew them off.

The fire from the eighteen-pounders on the main deck of the *Serapis*, though it was probably that which sank the *Richard* the next day, passed for nothing so far as immediate execution went, for there was no one on the lower deck of the *Richard*, and her main deck was too high to be in danger. The main deck was a match for the upper deck of the *Serapis*, and her upper guns did execution, while those of the *Serapis* had too little elevation. On the quarter deck, Jones had dragged across a piece from the larboard battery, so that he had three nine-pounders almost raking the *Serapis*. There was very little musket-practice in the smoke and darkness.

Thus the firing went on for two hours, neither side trying to board, till an incident occurred to which both Jones and Pearson ascribed the final capture of the *Serapis*. The men in the *Richard's* tops were throwing hand-grenades upon the decks of the *Serapis*, and one sailor worked himself out to the end of the main-yard, carrying a bucket filled with these missiles, lighted them one by one, and threw them down her main hatchway. Here, in the centre of the deck, stretching the whole length of the ship, was a row of eighteen-pounder cartridges, which the powder-boys had left there when they went for more. One of the grenades lighted the row, and the flash passed fore and aft through the ship. Some twenty of the men amidships were blown to pieces. There were other men who were stripped naked, leaving nothing but the collars of their shirts and their wrist-bands. Farther aft there was not so much powder, perhaps, but the men were scorched and burned more than they were wounded.

Soon after this an attempt was made to board the *Richard*. About ten o'clock, an English officer, a prisoner on board the *Richard*, scrambled through one of the ports of the *Serapis*. He told Captain Pearson that the *Richard* was sinking; that they had had to release all her prisoners from the hold and spar-deck, himself among them, because the water came in so fast; and that if the English could hold on a few minutes more the ship was theirs, — all of which was true excepting this last.

On this news, Pearson hailed Jones again, to ask if he had struck. He received no answer, for Jones was at the other end of his ship, on his quarter, directing the fire of his three nine-pounders. Pearson then called for boarders; they formed hastily, and dashed on board the *Richard*. But she had not struck, though some of her men had called for quarter. Her crew were ready under cover. Jones himself seized a pike and headed them, and the English fell back again.

This was their last effort. About half-past ten Pearson struck. His ship had been on fire a dozen times, and the explosion had wholly disabled his main battery, which had been his chief strength. But so uncertain and confused was it all, that when the cry was heard, "They've struck!" many in the *Serapis* took it for granted that they had taken the *Richard*. In fact, Pearson had struck the flag with his own hands, as the men, half of whom were disabled, would not expose themselves to the fire from the *Richard's* tops. For his victory Jones was largely indebted to the ability of his subordinate officers, especially Lieutenant Richard Dale, who was severely wounded, but kept his post to the last, and at one time was left entirely alone at the guns below.

Surrender of the *Serapis*.

When Pearson delivered his sword to Jones, he is reported to have said, "I cannot, sir, but feel much mortification at the idea of surrendering my sword to a man who has fought me with a rope round his neck." To which Jones, returning the sword, replied, "You have fought gallantly, sir, and I hope your king will give you a better ship." Afterward, when Jones heard that Pearson had been knighted for his gallant though unsuccessful action, he remarked, "He deserved it! and if I fall in with him again, I will make a lord of him."

The morning after the battle, the *Richard* was found to be in a horrible condition. She was still on fire, and wherever her antagonist's main battery could reach she had been torn to pieces. There was a complete breach from the main-mast to the stern. For the *Serapis*, the jib-boom had been wrenched off, at the beginning, the main-mast and mizzen-top fell as they struck, and at daybreak the wreck was not cleared away. First, all the wounded were removed to the *Serapis*, then all the crew, and at ten the *Richard* went to the bottom.

While this desperate fight was in progress, the *Pallas* had engaged and taken the *Countess of Scarborough*. Landais in the *Alliance* had occupied himself between both vessels. Once and again her shot wounded men on board the *Richard*, so that some of her people supposed the *Alliance* was in English hands. It was even charged that she had deliberately poured more than one broadside into the *Richard*. Jones took his prize into Holland, when the *Serapis* and *Scarborough* were transferred to the French government. In order to relieve the Dutch from diplomatic difficulties, Jones took command of the *Alliance*, and went to sea. Landais subsequently sailed in the *Alliance* for America, but on his return was deposed from his command for insanity, and afterward was expelled from the navy. Jones also returned to America in the *Ariel;* and, after an absence of three years, reached Philadelphia on the 18th of February, 1781. Congress had given him a vote of thanks, and the King of France had presented him with a sword.

John Paul Jones's Medal.

The effect produced by Jones's exploits may be judged from the statistics of trade. The number of vessels that left Newcastle for foreign trade that year was little more than half the number in 1777. The coasting trade diminished almost as much. To defend the coast, volunteer bodies were organized in every district. The popular discontent with naval management had shown itself in the spring, in the strong vote for Mr. Fox's motion, condemning the government for sending out Admiral Keppel with an insufficient fleet. Keppel himself had given most damaging testimony as to the inefficiency of the arrangements of the Admiralty.

Popular indignation in England.

Fox's motion was defeated in a full house by a majority of only thirty-four, — a majority secured by Lord North's assuming the responsibility, which, in those days, might have been left for the Admiralty alone to bear.

The action between the *Serapis* and the *Richard* was the last important action between English and American ships in the war. The French fleet was relieving the American Government from the expensive necessity of meeting at sea[1] the greatest naval power in the world. And the various reverses of five years of hard fighting had reduced the American fleet to a very small establishment. Early in 1780, the *Providence*, the *Queen of France*, the *Boston*, and the *Ranger* fell into the hands of the English at the capture of Charleston. But few frigates now remained to the United States. Massachusetts still had the *Protector* and the *Defence*, besides merchant vessels employed as has been described. The fleet of privateers was perhaps larger than ever. What their number was, it is now impossible to say. But the Admiralty Court of the Essex district in Massachusetts — the largest of the three Admiralty districts — had condemned eight hundred and eighteen prizes in 1780. In the single month of May, 1779, eighteen prizes were brought into New London. In 1781, the privateer fleet of the port of Salem alone was twenty-six ships, — twelve of which carried twenty guns or more, — sixteen brigs, and seventeen smaller vessels. Here was a fleet of fifty-nine vessels, which carried nearly four thousand men, and mounted seven hundred and forty-six guns. It is true that the guns were light. But so were those of the enemies with whom they had to contend. So small was the public force of the Americans after so severe losses, that for the remainder of the war most of the naval actions were those of these privateers.

The privateer fleet.

[1] The English estimates for 1779 provided for 87,000 seamen and marines.

TABLE OF DATES.

1659. Settlement of Nantucket.
1678. Jeffries, Governor of Virginia.
1680. Culpepper, Governor of Virginia.
Brockholst, Lieutenant-governor of New York.
1683. Dongan, Governor of New York.
First popular Assembly in New York.
1684. Effingham, Governor of Virginia.
1688. Boundary Line between New York and Connecticut fixed.
1689. William and Mary proclaimed.
Nicholson, Lieutenant-governor of New York.
Leisler Revolution.
Revolution in Maryland.
War with the French and Indians.
1690. Destruction of Schenectady.
First Newspaper in Boston.
Nicholson, Lieutenant-governor of Virginia.
Copley, Governor of Maryland.
Church of England established in Maryland.
1691. Sloughter, Governor of New York.
Execution of Leisler.
1692. Nicholson, Governor of Maryland.
Andros, Governor of Virginia.
William and Mary College chartered.
Fletcher, Governor of New York.
1693. Expedition against the French under Schuyler.
1696. **Kidd sails from New York.**
1698. Bellomont, Governor of New York, Massachusetts, and New Hampshire.
1699. Penn returns to Pennsylvania.
Dudley, Governor of Massachusetts.
1701. Kidd hanged.
Andrew Hamilton, Governor of Pennsylvania.
1702. Cornbury, Governor of New York and New Jersey.
Nathaniel Johnson, Governor of South Carolina.
Government of New Jersey surrendered to the Crown.
1703. Boundary Line between Connecticut and Rhode Island fixed.
John Evans, Governor of Pennsylvania.
1704. Indian War in New England.

1706. French invade South Carolina.
1708. Lovelace, Governor of New York.
1709. Gookin, Governor of Pennsylvania.
1710. Port Royal taken.
Revolution in North Carolina.
Hunter, Governor of New York.
Spotswood, Governor of Virginia.
1711. **Indian War in North Carolina.**
Expedition against Canada.
1713. Five Nations become Six by the addition of the Tuscarora Tribe.
Eden, Governor of North Carolina.
1714. **Proprietary Government restored in Maryland.**
1715. **Indian War in South Carolina.**
1717. Proposed Settlement of the "Margravate of Azilia" in Georgia.
Robert Johnson, Governor of South Carolina.
Keith, Governor of Pennsylvania.
1718. **William Penn died.**
Suppression of Piracy on the Carolina Coast.
Scotch Presbyterians settled in New Hampshire.
1719. Revolution in South Carolina.
1720. Burnet, Governor of New York.
Nicholson, Governor of South Carolina.
1722. **Third Indian War in New England.**
Benning Wentworth, Governor of New Hampshire.
Drysdale, Governor of Virginia.
1725. Gordon, Governor of Pennsylvania.
1728. Gooch, Governor of Virginia.
Montgomerie, Governor of New York.
1729. **The Carolinas purchased of the Proprietaries by the Crown.**
Baltimore laid out.
1730. Belcher, Governor of Massachusetts.
1732. **Charter of Georgia granted.**
Cosby, Governor of New York.
Trial of Zenger for libel.
Spencer Phips, Lieutenant-governor of Massachusetts.
1733. **Oglethorpe's Colony settles in Georgia.**
1734. Salzburgers settle in Georgia.
Gabriel Johnston, Governor of South Carolina.
1736. **First Printing-press established in Virginia.**
Clarke, Lieutenant-governor of New York.
1739 Robert Johnson, reappointed Governor of South Carolina.
1740. George Whitefield's first visit to New England.
1741. **Negro Plot in New York.**
Shirley, Governor of Massachusetts.
1743. Lewis Morris, Governor of New Jersey.
Clinton, Governor of New York.
1744. **War between England and France.**
1745. **Capture of Louisburg.**
1747. Belcher, Governor of New Jersey.
1748. Ohio Company formed. Louisburg restored to France.
1749. Settlement of Halifax, N. S.

1752. Dinwiddie, Governor of Virginia.
1753. DeLancey, Governor of New York.
1754. **Colonial Congress at Albany, and Proposed Union.**
1755. **Braddock's Defeat.**
Battle of Lake George.
Banishment of the Acadians.
1756. Fort Oswego surrendered to the French.
1757. Massacre of Fort William Henry.
Pownall, Governor of Massachusetts.
1758. Defeat of Abercrombie at Fort Ticonderoga.
Fort Ticonderoga taken by Amherst.
Recapture of Louisburg.
Capture of Fort Niagara by the English.
1759. **Wolfe captures Quebec.**
1760. Bernard, Governor of Massachusetts.
1761. **Attempt to enforce Writs of Assistance in Massachusetts.**
Colden, Lieutenant-governor of New York.
1763. Pontiac's War.
1764. **Passage of the Stamp Act.**
1765. **Meeting of First Continental Congress.**
1766. **Repeal of the Stamp Act.**
1768. British Troops quartered in Boston.
1770. **Boston Massacre.**
British Troops removed from Boston.
1771. Hutchinson, Governor of Massachusetts.
1773. **Tax on Tea exported to the Colonies by the East India Company.**
Destruction of Tea in Boston and elsewhere.
1774. Boston Port Bill passed.
Gage, Governor of Massachusetts.
1775. *February* 26, **Troops sent to Salem, Mass., to seize Cannon.**
April 19, Fight at Lexington and Concord.
May 10, Capture of Ticonderoga and Crown Point.
June 15, Washington appointed Commander-in-chief. *June* 17, Battle of Bunker Hill. Siege of Boston begins.
October 17, Burning of Falmouth.
November 13, Montreal taken by Montgomery. Arnold's March to Quebec.
December 30, Death of Montgomery. Daniel Boone settles in Kentucky.
1776. Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, and North Carolina, adopt Constitutions.
County of Washington, N. C. (Tennessee), organized.
January 2, Union Flag raised at Cambridge, Mass.
February 27, Battle of Moore's Creek Bridge.
June, Arrival of British Fleet in New York Bay. *June* 28, Attack on Fort Sullivan, Charleston, S. C.
July 2, Declaration of Independence by Congress.
August 27, Battle of Long Island.
September 15, Americans abandon New York. *September* 16, Battle of Harlem Plains. *September* 21, Burning of New York.
October 28, Battle of White Plains.
November 16, Surrender of Fort Washington.
December 13, Capture of General Lee. *December* 26, Battle of Trenton.

1777. New York, South Carolina, and Georgia adopt Constitutions.
January 3, Battle of Princeton.
April 26, Tryon's Attack on Danbury, Conn.
May 21, Meigs's Attack on Sag Harbor.
June 14, **Flag of Stars and Stripes adopted by Congress.**
July 6, Burgoyne captures Ticonderoga. *July* 23, Howe's Army sails from New York for Chesapeake Bay.
August 6, Battle of Oriskany. *August* 16, Battle of Bennington.
September 10, Battle of Brandywine. *September* 19, "Paoli Massacre." First Battle of Stillwater.
October 4, Battle of Germantown. *October* 6, Forts Clinton and Montgomery taken by the British. *October* 7, Second Battle of Stillwater. *October* 17, **Surrender of Burgoyne.** Howe occupies Philadelphia.

1778. Conway Cabal.
Commissioners sent to Congress by Lord North with Proposals for Peace.
Alliance with France.
May, Clark's expedition to Illinois.
June, Attack on Wyoming. *June* 18, British leave Philadelphia. *June* 28, Battle of Monmouth.
July, Trial of General Lee by Court-martial. Arrival of French Fleet under D'Estaing. *July* 29, Battle of Rhode Island.
November, Attack on Cherry Valley.
December 29, Savannah taken by the British.

1779. *May* 11, Charleston, S. C., threatened by the British.
July 5, Tryon attacks New Haven and other towns. *July* 15, Capture of Stony Point.
August 19, Assault on Paulus Hook.
September 22, Fight between the *Bon Homme Richard* and the *Serapis*.